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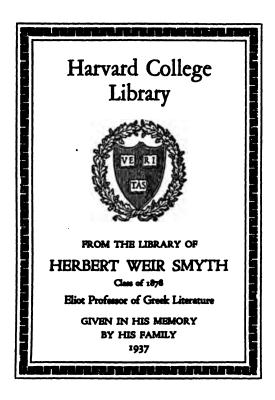
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COMMENTARY

ON

THE HELLENICA

UNDERHILL

HENRY FROWDE, M.A. PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINEURGH, AND NEW YORK

A COMMENTARY

WITH INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX

ON THE

HELLENICA OF XENOPHON

BY

G. E. UNDERHILL, M.A.

PELLOW AND SENIOR TUTOR OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE

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PREFACE

THE success of his edition of the first and second books of Xenophon's Hellenica, published in 1888, has encouraged the editor to revise and continue his work on the same lines, but on a slightly larger scale, so as to embrace the whole of the seven books. It was his original intention to prepare a revised text, and with that end in view he had already amassed considerable material-drawn more especially from a hitherto uncollated Palatine MS. of the Hellenica which it was his good fortune to discover, along with two others of inferior merit, in the Vatican Library. Finding, however, that the Delegates of the University Press had entrusted the task of revising the text of the whole of Xenophon's writings to Mr. E. C. Marchant, he most willingly abandoned this portion of the work, and has contented himself with collecting together in a short appendix such readings and conjectures-very few in number—as for some reason or other he has preferred to those admitted by Mr. Marchant into his own text.

The Introduction deals in the first section with the various problems that have been raised as to the composition of the *Hellenica*—with the relation of the first part to the History of Thucydides and with the relations of the various parts to each other, with the aim and object of the author and with his merits and de-

merits as a writer. The second section treats at very considerable length of the many chronological difficulties with which the Hellenica abounds, owing to the complete absence—at any rate after the second book of any definite system of reckoning. The editor has seen reason to abandon his former view that the date of Alcibiades' return to Athens was 408 B.C., and to prefer the later date 407, and in the succeeding history he has done his utmost-after a careful study of many histories, commentaries, and monographs—clearly to exhibit the evidence on which his own conclusions depend. The remaining sections of the Introduction aim to summarize as clearly as possible such information about the MSS. of the Hellenica, the life of Xenophon, and the chronological order of the events of the period as seemed most needful for the profitable study of the Hellenica.

Though no serious difficulty, whether grammatical or textual, it is hoped, has been left undiscussed or unexplained, if explanation be possible, the notes are mainly historical, and are intended more especially to elucidate the many historical problems to which the well-known sins of omission and brevity in Xenophon so often give rise. They also treat with some fullness the divergent accounts of other authorities, e.g. the account of the Aristotelian $A\theta\eta\nu\alpha l\omega\nu \pi o\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon l\alpha$ of the Despotism of the Thirty, and Plutarch's two accounts of the Liberation of Thebes—comparing and, as far as possible, estimating the value of the conflicting evidence.

In the historical sections of the Appendix (§§ 1-6) the editor has treated at greater length than the limits of the notes would allow certain portions and problems

of Athenian and Spartan history, and has tried to put together from various sources—alas! only too scanty—all the available information about the Spartan and Theban constitutions applicable to the period of the *Hellenica*.

The great indebtedness of the editor to the annotated editions of Dindorf, Breitenbach, and Büchsenschütz, is indeed evident on every page: his only apology must be that the abundant materials collected by them must of necessity form the basis of every future commentary. He wishes also to acknowledge the use that he has frequently made of Mr. H. G. Dakyns' admirable translation, and of Dr. Ernst von Stern's most valuable monograph on the Spartan and Theban Hegemonies.

Finally the editor wishes to acknowledge the courtesy of the editors of the *Journal of Philology* and the *Classical Review* in allowing him to reprint portions of articles which had already appeared in their pages, and to give his grateful thanks to his friend and colleague, Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, who kindly consented to revise the proofs, for many corrections and important suggestions, and to the staff of the Clarendon Press for their diligent care in detecting all too numerous errors of every kind.

Magdalen College, Oxford, Christmas, 1899.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA.

XENOPHON'S Hellenica furnishes us with a contemporary record of a considerable and important period of Greek History—from the autumn of 411 to the summer of 362—in all nearly forty-nine years 1. It begins in the middle of the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian War, at the point—or more exactly within a few weeks of the point—where Thucydides' unfinished work suddenly breaks off. It ends with the battle of Mantinea, wherein the Spartans suffered a crushing defeat, and the Thebans left their hero Epaminondas dead upon the field. With the loss of their leader Theban supremacy was at an end; Spartan power sank never to rise to prominence again; the general result for Greece was dependa καὶ ταραχή 2 greater than ever before.

Whether Xenophon himself gave the name of Hellenica to this work is perhaps more than doubtful, but the title implies and the universal opinion of antiquity testifies to the fact that it was early regarded as a treatise on Greek History, in the same sense in which Herodotus wrote a History of the Persian Wars, and Thucydides a History of the Peloponnesian War. Thus Polybius ⁸ (fl. 167 B. C.), who places Xenophon among ol λογώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφίων, by quotation and allusion shows apparently an intimate acquaintance with the Hellenica, and while he severely criticizes Ephorus for his foolish descriptions of the land battles, Leuctra and Mantinea, says not a word about Xenophon, implying, we may perhaps not unjustly infer, that he was satisfied with Xenophon's descriptions.

¹ Diod. xiii, 42. ² vii. 5. 27. ³ xiii. 6; vi. 45; ix. 8; x. 20. xem. hrll. ⁴

Dionysius 1 of Halicarnassus (fl. 30 B. C.) ranks Xenophon with Herodotus and Thucydides, and referring to the Cyropaedia, Anabasis, and Hellenica, praises his choice and arrangement of subjects, his diction, and his ħθος θεοσεβές καὶ δίκαιον καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ εὐπετές, ἀπόσαις τε συλλήβδην κεκοσμημένον ἀρεταῖς. Diodorus Siculus 3 (fl. 8 B.C.) puts Thucydides and Xenophon together as ἐπαινούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἰστοριῶν. Plutarch (fl. 80 A. D.) quotes Xenophon as an authority many times over, and in one passage 8 more particularly contrasts his truthfulness with Ctesias' lies. Lucian (fl. 160 A. D.), in his brilliant essay πῶς δεῖ ἰστορίαν συγγράφειν, also classes Xenophon with Herodotus and Thucydides, applying to him (§ 39) the epithet δίκαιος συγγραφεύς. The chorus of antiquity in favour of Xenophon as a historian is universal: adverse criticism is limited to his language and diction.

With the great historians of Greece of the present century Xenophon has fared very differently. Niebuhr indignantly exclaims: 'His history is worth nothing; it is untrue, written without care, and with perfect nonchalance.... The partiality towards Sparta is quite revolting; he glosses over her evil deeds, and acts the part of a calumniator and detractor towards his own country. His infatuation is inconceivable, for he imagined the supremacy of the Spartans to be salutary and beneficial to Greece: how could an Athenian say so?' Grote is almost as pronounced: 'To pass from Thucydides to the Hellenica of Xenophon is a descent truly mournful; and yet when we look at Grecian history as a whole, we have great reason to rejoice that even so inferior a work as the latter has reached us.' And again : 'The partiality towards Sparta, visible even from the beginning of Xenophon's history, becomes more and more exaggerated throughout the two latter books wherein he recounts her misfortunes; it is moreover intensified by spite against the Thebans and Epaminondas as her conquerors. But there is hardly any instance of this feeling, so glaring or so discreditable as the case now before us,' &c. Freeman' is still more condemnatory: 'Xenophon writes from the worst inspiration of local and temporary party-spirit. He writes history, not to record facts or to

¹ Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4. ² xi. 37. ³ Artax. 13. ⁴ Lect. Anc. Hist. ii. 36. ³ G. H. vii. 356 n. ⁶ ix. 449 n. ⁷ Historical Essaya, ii. 111.

deduce lessons, but at whatever cost of truth or fairness, to set up Agesilaus and to run down the Thebans. . . . In Xenophon we have to brand, not merely an unpardonable degree of weakness and passion, but sheer want of common honesty, a deliberate breach of the first moral laws of the historian's calling.' Finally—to cite the words of another modern writer, who in his general estimate of Xenophon as a man and as an author has shown a keen appreciation of his character and merits—Colonel Mure 1 says: 'As a historian he is notorious for a partiality the most unscrupulous, fortunately also the most transparent that has ever probably been exemplified in the page of any writer, otherwise moderately endowed with tact and judgement in the art of composition. He seems however rarely to have carried this defect the length of deliberate misstatement of fact. His method of falsification consists in suppressing, colouring, or otherwise misrepresenting truth; in giving special prominence to transactions honourable to the cause which he favours; in concealing or palliating those of an opposite tendency; and in a corresponding degree omitting what is creditable, dwelling on what is disparaging, or harshly construing what is indifferent in the conduct or motives of the opposite party.'

Not but what Xenophon has also found many defenders among the moderns, but they too all have to admit the obvious faults of which his detractors complain—the strange incompleteness, the curious inequalities of treatment, the numerous omissions both of events and of persons—only in defence they bring forward explanations more or less ingenious to save the bona fides of the historian.

No single key, however, has hitherto been found of the many that have been offered to unlock all the difficulties of the problem. Xenophon himself gives no direct help towards any solution: nowhere does he state what was the scope or plan of his work, nor where, when, or how he wrote it. External evidence based on ancient testimony is almost worthless. Internal evidence drawn from differences of language and style, and from casual remarks and expressions of the author is the only guide, and unfortunately the proper inferences to be drawn from such materials are by no means easy to reach.

In the following pages the external testimony will first be con-

¹ Gk. Lit, v. 254.

sidered; then, after that has been disposed of, the problems, mainly raised by the internal evidence, will be dealt with; here the theses maintained will be (1) that Xenophon's primary object was to write history on the grand scale like his predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides; but that from lack of capacity rather than of honesty he was unable adequately to carry out his purpose: (2) that though his partiality for Sparta and hatred of Thebes may sometimes explain his inclusion of some and omission of other occurrences, these subjective feelings seldom, if ever, lead him to distortion of actual matters of fact: and (3) that the lack of unity in the work is due partly to the nature of the matters dealt with, partly to the length of time over which its composition was spread, and partly to the shifting motives which animated the author himself at different times of his life.

External evidence carries us but very little way. Dionysius 1 of Halicarnassus in scarcely intelligible words speaks of την Ελληνικήν [ίστορίαν] και ήν κατέλιπεν άτελή Θουκυδίδης, έν ή καταλύονταί τε οί τριάκοντα και τὰ τείχη τῶν 'Αθηναίων & Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθείλον αδθις Apparently there is some corruption in the text: some 2 scholars propose to strike out rai before fir: others 2 to insert a second ral before in h, the former seeing in the passage an argument for the unity of Xenophon's work, the latter an argument for its division into two portions i-ii. 3. 10; ii. 3. 11-vii. Similarly Marcellinus 4, a compiler of a life of Thucydides, distinguishes two parts: τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἐτῶν (of the Peloponnesian War) πράγματα αναπληροί ο τε Θεόπομπος και ό Χενοφών, οίς συνάπτει την Ελληνικήν ioroplay. These two authorities, however, seem to mean by their statements nothing more than the simple fact that besides finishing the history of the Peloponnesian War, which it had been Thucydides' intention to write, Xenophon went on to write of other and later events. Diodorus simply states: Zevopev re kal Θεόπομπος ἀφ' ὧν ἀπελιπε Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποίηνται, καὶ Χενοφῶν μέν περιέλαβε χρόνον έτων τετταράκοντα καὶ διτώ; and again Teroφων ό 'Αθηναίος την των Ελληνικών σύνταξιν els τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστροφεν έπλ την Επαμεινώνδου τελευτήν—statements which prove that in

¹ Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4. ² E. g. Krüger. ³ E. g. Grosser. ⁴ § 45. ⁵ v. 26. ⁵ v. 26. ⁶ xiii. 42.

§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA

Diodorus' time the Hellenics covered the same period as they do in the form in which we now possess them. The obscure words of Diogenes Laertius 's seem to throw no light whatever on the problem: λέγεται δ' ὅτι (he says) καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος λαυθάνοντα αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν ήγαγεν. The reference seems to be to the story preserved by Marcellinus that Xenophon was the editor and publisher of Thucydides—a story probably invented to account for the unfinished state of the earlier historian's work. The statement is only quoted here, because it has recently been made the ground for the baseless hypothesis, that Xenophon in Hell. i-ii. 3. 10 uses in his narrative materials already collected by Thucydides.

Finally the MSS., though they all exhibit the Hellenica divided into seven books, yield evidence of a different arrangement and of a variation in title. Harpocration, it has recently been noticed, quotes words from eight books, viz. Θέογνις from β' (ii. 3. 2), πενέσται from γ' (ii. 3. 36), ἐκπολεμῶσαι from ζ' (v. 4. 20), ρόπτρου and πολύστροτος from η', i.e. ολοδοή (vi. 4. 36; 5. 11), and αμιπποι without a definite reference. Evidently therefore in his copy, wherever the divisions of the other books may have been, that between the second and third must have been drawn at ii. 3. 10. A Neapolitan 8 MS. gives the title of the Hellenics as ξενοφώντος τὰ παραλειπόμενα άπερ και ελληνικά εκάλεσεν, είς όκτω βιβλία διαιρούμενα, although like the other MSS. it contains the sevenfold arrangement of books. Similarly Aldus in his preface to the Editio princeps (1503) refers to την Ζενοφώντος έλληνικήν Ιστορίαν, άτινα λέγεται παραλειπόμενα της Θουκυδίδου ξυγγραφής: on his title page he prints 'paralipomena Thucydidis,' in the body of the book simply ελληνικών. Riemann again found in two MSS. παραλειπόμενα Ελληνικών, Θουκυδίδου παραλειπόμενα Έλληνικής Ιστορίας. From the MSS, evidence therefore two important inferences are deducible—the first that at an early date an intimate relation was supposed to exist between the History of Thucydides and the Hellenica of Xenophon; the second, that in discussing the relation of the various parts of the Hellenica to each other we need not confine ourselves to the prevailing division into seven books.

de Xenoph. § 57.

³ J. A. Simon, Xenophont. Stud. ii. Düren.

² G. Jorio, Codici Ignorati nelle Bibl. di Napoli: Leipzig, 1892.

xiv

Remembering these deductions, let us now turn to the internal evidence.

Two passages prove that the composition of the Hellenica extended over a period of at least thirty years. In ii. 4. 43 1 Xenophon praises the restored democrats at Athens after the final expulsion of the Thirty from Eleusis in 401-400°, because ἔτι καὶ νῦν όμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται και τοις δρκοις έμμένει ό δήμος—words which have no real meaning, if written more than ten or fifteen years after the amnesty; i.e. they cannot have been written later than 386 B.C., and may have been written earlier. In a digression upon Thessalian affairs (vi. 4) Xenophon states (§ 37) that Tisiphonus was reigning as successor to the murdered Alexander ἄχρι οδ όδε ό λόγος έγράφετο: but Alexander was murdered in 358 or 357 B.C. Moreover, throughout the work numberless passages 4 give so many picturesque details of time, place, and circumstance, that they must either have been written at the very time of the occurrences themselves, or extracted from a commonplace book, wherein they were noted at the time. In either case we must therefore suppose that for fifty years Xenophon entertained a more or less definite design of writing the history of his own times.

Again the ingenious statistics of the varying use of certain words and particles in the various works of our author, which have recently been compiled by Dittenberger, Roquette, Rosenstiel, and J. A. Simon—whatever may be their value in other respects—prove one thing at any rate to demonstration, that Xenophon must have been more or less occupied with the various sections of the Hellenica throughout the whole period of his literary activity.

Now although this slowly elaborated composition does indeed possess a certain unity of subject in so far as it treats throughout —with very few digressions—of contemporary Greek history, its composite character soon betrays itself even on the most cursory examination. Two main divisions at least can be distinguished, not only by their differences of date, but by their striking differences of style and treatment; and a closer investigation reveals three, four, or even more parts distinguished by differences doubtless less

¹ Cp. note ad loc.

³ Cp. note ad loc.

¹ Arist. 'A0. 50λ. 40.

⁴ E. g. books iii and iv.

marked, but still sufficiently determinate. Of the two divisions most easily distinguishable the first extends from book i to book ii. 3. 10, continuing the history of the Peloponnesian War from the point where it was left in the unfinished work of Thucydides down to the destruction of the Long Walls of Athens—an event which Thucydides 1 himself takes as marking the end of the war. Here Xenophon writes throughout from the point of view of an Athenian citizen resident in Athens, more conversant with Athenian affairs than with those of other states. The second (books iii-vii) resumes the narrative of Greek history from the Spartan expedition under Thibron to aid the Asiatic Greeks in 399 B.C., and continues it without any serious break down to 362 B.C., the year of the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. In 401 Xenophon left Athens never to reside there again: naturally therefore the Athenian point of view disappears, and with his philo-Laconian sympathies Xenophon shows his interest mostly in Sparta and her doings. In between these divisions come nearly two chapters, ii. 3. 11-4. 43, which most commentators regard as belonging to the first division, though some assign it to the second, while others again—perhaps with greater probability—regard it as a third division, more or less independent of the other two. It is occupied entirely with the history of the Rule of the Thirty at Athens, with which Xenophon, as resident at the time, must have been personally acquainted. Its point of view therefore, like that of the first part, is Athenian.

The second division again seems to fall naturally into two sections, the first extending from bk. iii to bk. v. 1. 36, i. e. from 399 B.C. to the Peace of Antalcidas 387-386, the second from bk. v. 2. 1 to bk. vii: but of this subdivision more hereafter.

Two questions therefore arise, (1) what is the relation of the first division to the History of Thucydides? and (2) what is the relation of the various divisions or sections to each other?

As to the first question the statements of Dionysius, Diodorus, and Marcellinus, as we have seen already, need imply nothing more than that Xenophon continued the history of Thucydides in the same way as Thucydides himself continued the history of Herodotus, although the words of Marcellinus might well be taken

to mean that Xenophon in this portion of his work deliberately intended to complete the unfinished plan of his predecessor 1. Internal evidence, however, though perhaps not conclusive, tends to show that this was really Xenophon's express purpose. On no other hypothesis, except indeed that the beginning of the Hellenica itself is lost (which seems unlikely 2), can it be satisfactorily explained why the author should begin, not only without an introduction—a preliminary which Xenophon dispenses with in other works-but without any explanation, however brief, of the events immediately preceding and of the persons engaged in them, sufficient to put the reader in a position to understand the further development of their history. On the contrary, Xenophon plunges him in medias res with the connecting phrase perà de raura, which seems to refer (with considerable obscurity, it must be confessed) to the battle of Cynossema, previously described by Thucydides. He is supposed to be already acquainted with Thymochares, the Athenian general, and Agesandridas, the Spartan general, who had a few months a previously met in battle off Eretria; and also to know the place, i.e. the Hellespont, where the Athenian and Lacedaemonian fleets were stationed when their second (§ I aldis 5) naval engagement took place; while not a word is said of the disaster which Diodorus (xiii. 41) relates to have overtaken Epicles with the fleet of Agesandridas off Mount Athos in the interval. Similarly Dorieus is suddenly represented as sailing from Rhodes to the Hellespont, whereas in Thucydides 6 he last appears at Miletus. whence he had been sent, Diodorus tells us, by Mindarus to Rhodes. The Athenian generals are introduced with the article (rois στρατηγοίε), as if they had been already mentioned, but we are left to gather from Thucydides that they were Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus. Mindarus, the Spartan admiral is introduced with equal abruptness. Xenophon omits altogether to mention the movement of the Athenian fleet from Cyzicus to the mouth of the

¹ So Büchsenschütz, Einleit. p. 3.

Cp. however Riemann, Qua rei criticae, &c., p. 52.
 Cp. Thuc. viii. 107, 108 bad τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους . . . πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρου.
 Thuc. viii. 95.

⁴ Cp. Diod. xiii. 39, 40.

⁶ viii. 84.

⁷ xiii. 38.

^{*} viii. 104.

Hellespont ¹, and the corresponding movement of the Peloponnesians under Mindarus from Elaeus to Abydos. So too (§ 5) Alcibiades sails up from no one knows where, and (§ 12) Theramenes comes from Macedonia; whereas Thucydides ² had left the one in Samos and the other in Athens. The motive of Tissaphernes' journey is never stated, and can only be supplied by a reference to Thucydides' narrative ². All these passages therefore, though they do not, it must be admitted, join on quite exactly, yet seem to take for granted an acquaintance with Thucydides; and if it be further supposed that the last few chapters of Thucydides' eighth book have been lost ⁴—for to all appearances an interval of some five or six weeks must have elapsed between the last event mentioned by Thucydides and the first alluded to by Xenophon—these points of obscurity also would be readily explicable.

Again in books i-ii. 3. 10 Xenophon adopts an annalistic mode of treatment, which, though not very thoroughly or successfully 8 carried out, would appear to be a distinct reminiscence of Thucydides' careful division into summers and winters. So soon, however, as he has brought his narrative down to the surrender of Athens, which Thucydides had announced as the goal of his undertaking, he drops this method, and relates the usurpation of the Thirty without any definite marks of time. Still even in the later books, where Xenophon as a rule groups events together much more according to their causal connexion than their chronological sequence, this annalistic treatment occasionally 7 reappears in the treatment of successive campaigns, which indeed most naturally fall into it. Further in the received text of the Hellenica as in Thucydides we find at the end of most years a brief account of contemporary events-in Persia, Sicily, or elsewhere-which the author could not well weave into his main narrative: but un-

¹ Cp. i. 1-2 with Thuc. viii. 107.

³ viii. 92, 108. ⁴ viii. 109.

Riemann (l. c.) thinks it equally probable that the beginning of the Hellenica may have been lost.

⁷ E. g. iii. 2. 21, the war in Elis; iii. 1. 1-3. 23, campaigns in Asia and the Corinthian War to the battle of Coronea; v. 2. 43-3. 26, the campaigns at Olynthus and siege of Phlius.

^{*} Cp. i. 1. 37; 2. 19; 3. 1; 5. 21; 6. 1; ii. 1. 8.

fortunately for the present argument there is very grave reason 1 to believe that most, if not all of these passages, are later interpolations. Finally it is noticeable that in this part, after the manner of Thucydides, Xenophon never departs from his impersonal narrative to make comments of his own, as he is so fond of doing in the later books, on the religious, moral, and political aspects of We have therefore mainly to rely on the persons and things. extraordinary nature of the opening words of the Hellenica, which, it is hard to believe, can ever have been meant to stand as the beginning of an independent work, and on the annalistic treatment of the remaining years of the Peloponnesian War, to which may be added the early date of its composition and the absence of personal comments, as arguments in support of our hypothesis that Xenophon purposely intended the first part of the Hellenica (i-ii. 3. 10) to be a completion of Thucydides' unfinished history.

In discussing the second question, the relation of the various parts to each other, we shall find that, however else they may be distinguished, they all alike suffer from their 'strange incompleteness,' their 'curious inequalities of treatment,' and their 'numerous omissions both of events and of persons.'

The first part (i-ii. 3. 10, 411-404 B.C.) which may be called the Sequel to Thucydides is undoubtedly distinguished from the rest by its more annalistic treatment, and by the absence of all personal comments, and of all references to sacrifices before and after battle, which are so frequent in iii-vii. In this part it has also been noticed that Xenophon states accurately the numbers of ships or soldiers in the contending forces, and the numbers of the slain or of prisoners taken in battle, while in the later books he uses the prepositions is or els, or the phrases obx $\delta \lambda$ dogovs f, $\pi \lambda \delta$ love, f, $\pi \delta \lambda \delta d$, $\delta \lambda \delta f$ and $\delta \delta d$ Philologists and statists affirm moreover that its language is more purely Attic, and therefore they rank it with the Cynegeticus as the earliest of Xenophon's compositions.

The second part (ii. 3. 11-4. 56, 404-401 B.C.), unlike the rest of the Hellenica, deals with a political event, the usurpation of the Thirty at Athens, and more than a third of it is taken up with speeches in *oratio recta*. Here the annalistic treatment has wholly

¹ Cp. infr. p. xxxviii. ² Cp. Roquette, De Xenophontis Vita, p. 55.

disappeared: no dates are given except quite incidentally like the mention of snow or ripe fruit, and of the eight months' rule of the Thirty in the middle of Cleocritus' speech. Xenophon's 2 'hoos beoreBés' first appears; and here he first makes personal comments of his own. The date of its composition, as we have seen already 4, cannot be later than 386 B.C., and the statists tell us that in diction it approximates more closely to the two succeeding books than to the first part of the Hellenica. Further it appears from the Aristotelian 'Abyraiwr moderaia, that it is not, as was formerly thought, separated from bk. iii by any interval of time: for the ὑστέρφ χρόνφ of ii. 4. 43 refers not to 403-402 but to 401-400, the very year of the expedition of the Ten Thousand, to which allusion is made in iii. 1. 1, 2. No special motive of the historian is discoverable beyond the general wish to record afterμνημόνευτόν τι: but as witnessed by Xenophon, when he was still in Athens, the events, whenever he may have noted them down, serve rather as an appendix to the Peloponnesian War, than as an introduction to the Spartan expeditions in Asia.

The third part (iii-v. 1. 36 5, i. e. down to the Peace of Antalcidas) is more finished and complete than either what precedes or what follows, if we are to regard the Hellenica as a general history of Greek affairs. Its main theme seems to be the power and glory of the Spartans, who at the outset seemed likely to follow up Xenophon's own Anabasis with a Homeric invasion of the dominions of the Great King under command of the hero Agesilaus—for such he seems to have appeared to Xenophon and his contemporaries. Agesilaus, however, was stopped in full career by his recall to meet the troubles raised at home by the Thebans, Corinthians, and other faithless allies: so that the rest of this section is occupied with tracing how the Spartans overthrew their Hellenic enemies and successfully emerged as the προστάται της ύπο βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήσης. It is doubtful when this section was composed, though the remark that the battle of Coronea (394 B.C.) eyérere

ζώντων επιφανέστατος, ώς εξρηκέ που καλ Θεόπομπος.

¹ ii. 4. 3, 21, 25. ³ ii. 4. 14, 18-22. ³ ii. 3. 56; 4. 43.

⁴ Cp. supr. xiv. 3 Some commentators have put the break between this part and the next at v. 3. 27. For arguments against this cp. Roquette, I. c. p. 56.

oĩa οὖκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν seems to have more force, if it was written before the battle of Leuctra. But at the Peace of Antalcidas the historian seems to have paused, meaning to lay aside his pen. Thus in v. 1. 35, 36 he recapitulates the results of Greek History from the destruction of the Walls of Athens 404 to the King's Peace 387-386; and in iii. 5. 25 he records the subsequent death of the exiled king Pausanias at Tegea, as if he would never again reappear in his narrative; whereas as a matter of fact he is mentioned again in the history of Agesipolis' campaign in 385. Moreover, the philologists and statists is discover a change in vocabulary and diction in comparing this part with what follows.

The fourth part (v. 2-vii, 386-362) is the most unsatisfactory of all-fullest of inequalities and unaccountable omissions of events and persons. Here Xenophon in Herodotean fashion shows how the Bos of Sparta in seizing the Cadmea (382) soon brought with it its own repeats in its unexpected loss (379), and still worse in her crushing defeat at Leuctra (371). Hereafter Xenophon seems to have had neither the heart nor the patience to trace the gradual downfall of his beloved Sparta and the growth of the hated Thebes. His history becomes as confused as the wars and politics of the times, until it stops with the battle of Mantinea, which, while it brought no advantage to the conqueror, ended for ever all possibility of Sparta's again becoming the champion of Greeceάκρισία καὶ ταραχή έτι πλείων μετά την μάχην έγένετο η πρόσθεν έν τῆ Έλλάδι. As to the date of the composition of this section, if our previous conjecture as to the date of the third part be accepted, it must have been begun (if we leave out of consideration the notes, which it seems to have been Xenophon's habit to jot down in a commonplace book at the time of the events) some time after the battle of Leuctra, shortly after which Xenophon seems to have shifted his habitation from Scillus to Corinth; and the allusion to the reign of Tisiphonus proves that it was not completed in the year 358. It must, therefore, have occupied the last few years of Xenophon's life: for his death can be assigned with reasonable certainty to the year 354 B. C.

Thus far we have been occupied mainly with proving our

¹ v. 2. 3.

² Cp. Roquette, l. c. p. 25.

³ Cp. Roquette, l. c. p. 25.

⁴ vi. 5. 37.

hypothesis 1 that the lack of unity in the Hellenica is due partly to the nature of the subject-matter, partly to the length of time over which its composition was spread, and partly to the shifting motives which animated the historian at different periods of his life.

Our next task is to consider the numerous omissions and inequalities which occur throughout the whole of the Hellenica, though less perhaps in iii-v. 1. 36 than in the other parts of the work. First of all, however, two general theories to account for their origin may be briefly disposed of. The first is that the Hellenica in its present shape is only a later epitome of Xenophon's own work. To refute this theory it is sufficient to adduce the fact, that while the characteristics of an epitome are to leave out unimportant details altogether, and to give a summary of the whole, laying most emphasis on the matters of most importance. in the *Hellenica* the case is reversed almost more frequently than not. The second theory that our present text is very corrupt and has suffered much at the hands of interpolators, who, it is argued, may have seen good to omit just as well as to insert, is capable of neither proof nor disproof. The discovery of a papyrus fragment of the third century A.D. exhibiting the text, with the passages which are now almost universally regarded as interpolations, much in the state of the textus receptus, renders this hypothesis even more improbable than before.

We must now turn to the omissions and inequalities themselves. The most convenient arrangement will be to treat each of the four parts above distinguished separately, as different reasons may perhaps be discoverable for their occurrence in each part, and at any rate somewhat different theories to account for them have been advanced.

First Part: i-ii. 3. 10. 411-404 B.C.

Omissions occur here not only in the interval between the point where Thucydides ends and Xenophon begins, but frequently

³ Cp. supr. p. xvi.

Cp. supr. p. xii.
 Campe, Uebersetzung, &c., 1856; A. Cyprianus, περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν κ.τ.λ., Athens, 1859; Grosser, Jahr. f. Phil. 93, 95, 105, &c.

throughout the whole section. Thus Xenophon does not mention the Spartan offer1 of peace to the Athenians after the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B. C., and the similar offer a made after the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. The recovery of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians, which the Athenians had held ever since 425 B.C., Xenophon represents as the mere expulsion of some runaway Helots; and he does not say a word about the unsuccessful expedition which the Athenians sent under Anytus to relieve their garrison in the place; nor about the recovery by the Megarians of their port of Nisaea at the same time, which had been in the possession of the Athenians since 424; nor yet about the battle which shortly ensued, when the Athenians defeated the Megarians with great slaughter. Again, nothing is said about Alcibiades' plundering expedition against Cyme, though according to Diodorus 8 it was one of the chief causes of the complaints against him, which brought about his downfall. Similarly 6, Xenophon does not tell how in the year of his admiralty Lysander organized the oligarchical clubs in Asiatic Greece and the Aegean, which after the battle of Aegospotami did such good service to the Lacedaemonian cause.

Obscurities due to the omission of some important link in the chain of events, or to excessive brevity, are even more numerous. It has already been shown how Xenophon presupposes a knowledge of Thucydides, and that even then more has to be supplied to fill up the interval between the two narratives; but the same defects are noticeable throughout. For example, the newly appointed generals coming from Syracuse are made to take over the fleet at Miletus, which Xenophon had represented as built and still in dock at Antandros. Thrasyllus was sent to Athens to procure reinforcements for the Athenian armament in the Hellespont; but when at last he is given them, he takes them, without any word of explanation, to Ionia. No reason is assigned to for the Lacedaemonian ambassadors and Hermocrates attaching themselves to

¹ Cp. i. 1. 23 with Diod. xiii. 52; Nepos, Alc. 5; Aesch. Fal. Leg. 76.
2 Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 34, quoted by the Schol. on Aristoph. Frogs, 1532.
3 Cp. i. 2. 18 with Diod. xiii. 64, 65.
4 Cp. i. 5. 15 with Diod. xiii. 73.
6 Cp. i. 6. 4; ii. 2. 5 with Diod. xiii. 70, 104; xiv. 10 and Plut. Lys. 5.
7 Cp. supr. p. xvi.
8 i. 1. 26, 31.
9 i. 1. 8; 2. 2.

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the Athenian ambassadors, to whom Pharnabazus had promised a safe conduct to the Persian king after the capture of Byzantium. These ambassadors at Gordium meet other Lacedaemonian ambassadors, returning from the king, who, though never previously mentioned, are introduced with the definite article as if already known. What finally became of Hermocrates, when he attempted to return to Syracuse, is never stated. Callicratidas at an important crisis sent ships to Sparta to procure supplies, but nothing more is heard of them. Though in 409 B. C. Chalcedon was not captured by the Athenians, yet in 405 B.C. it appears in their possession.

The inequality and disproportionate length with which many episodes are treated, are still more extraordinary. Personal and military details, as any one acquainted with the other writings of Xenophon would expect, are often given with considerable fullness. like the negotiations between Lysander and Cyrus, the stratagem whereby Conon contrived to send to Athens news of his blockade in Mytilene, and the measures adopted by Eteonicus to quell the mutiny of his troops at Chios. On the other hand, many important events are dismissed in a few words, e.g. the expulsion of the philo-Laconian party from Thasos and the consequent exile of Pasippidas; the capture of Selymbria; the joint attack of Thrasybulus and Alcibiades upon Phocaea; the capture 11 of Delphinium by the Spartans; the accusation 12 of Erasinides #epl rije στρατηγίας after Arginusae; the στάσις 13 in which the demagogue Cleophon was slain; the revolt of the Athenian allies and the institution 14 of Harmosts and Decarchies by Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami; the amnesty 18 of Patroclides, by which he attempted to unite all parties at Athens to sustain the coming siege; and lastly the opposition 16 offered to Theramenes' proposals for peace with Sparta and the ultimate surrender of the city. There is the same want of proportion in the speeches reported in this section. While the speech of Alcibiades to his fleet before the battle of Cyzicus is dismissed 17 in three lines, the speeches 18 of

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¹ i. 4. 2.
                                     ¹ ii. I. I-4.
                                                                 13 i. 7. 35.
2
  i. 1. 27-29 ; 4. 7.
                                     i. 1. 32.
                                                                 14 ii. 2. 5, 6; 3. 6, 7.
i. 6. 8, 9.
                                     i. 3. 10.
                                                                 <sup>15</sup> ii. 2. 11.
i. 3. 8; ii. 2. 1.
                                    10 i. 5. 11.
                                                                 <sup>16</sup> ii. 2. 22, 23.
i. 5. 2-7.
i. 6. 19-21.
                                    11 i. 5 15.
                                                                 <sup>17</sup> i. z. z4.
                                    12 i. 7. 2.
                                                                 18 i. 6. 5, 8-11.
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Callicratidas to the discontented Lacedaemonians and to the Milesian assembly are given at some length. Similarly only the bare subject of Alcibiades' speeches 1 before the Athenian Council and Assembly on his return from exile is indicated; whereas the speech of Euryptolemus in defence of the generals after Arginusae, delivered on an occasion of scarcely greater importance, is the longest in the whole of the Hellenica.

To account for these and similar defects—besides the general theories already alluded to—various special theories have been constructed. One is that for this portion of his work Xenophon used the rough materials already collected by Thucydides for the completion of his history. Such a hypothesis not only rests on no evidence whatsoever, but furnishes no explanation why some events should have been put in and others left out, why some parts should have been elaborated and others not, especially as in the more elaborated portions (e. g. the speech of Euryptolemus) there are no traces of Thucydides' peculiarities of style.

More worthy of examination is the theory that these defects are due to Xenophon's partiality for Sparta and her aristocratic constitution. In support of this view is adduced the omission of the humiliating offers of peace made by Sparta after the defeats of Cyzicus and Arginusae; of the crushing defeat of the Megarians just after they had succeeded in recovering their port at Nisaea; of Agis' unsuccessful sally from Decelea right up to the walls of Athens; of Lysander's organization of the oligarchical clubs among the Asiatic Greeks; and of Lysander's cruel conduct towards the Milesians—to which might be added the defective account given by Xenophon of the recovery of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians. But an almost equal number of omissions may be collected of incidents favourable to Sparta, and of insertions of things damaging to her reputation. Thus Xenophon never has a word of praise for Lysander, although he was the victor at Aegospotami and the main cause of the downfall of Athens; and he evidently has a much greater admiration for the unsuccessful Callicratidas, between

i. 4. 20.

Cp. Volckmar, de Xen. Hell., Göttingen, 1837.

Cp. Sievers, Comment. Inst. de Xen. Hell., Berlin, 1833.
Diod. xiii. 72.
Diod. xiii. 104.

whose unselfish and patriotic behaviour and Lysander's meanness and ambition a tacit contrast is manifestly implied. Xenophon omits the recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians, and the capture of Chios, Iasos, and Sestos by the Peloponnesiansall Lacedaemonian successes most damaging to Athens. On the other hand he relates in full the disastrous defeats of the Peloponnesians at Abydos, Cyzicus, and Arginusae, and even gives verbatim Hippocrates' pitiable letter to the Spartan Government. Moreover, to take the converse of the theory, it seems to be just as much a matter of accident what incidents Xenophon happens to insert or omit favourable or damaging to the reputation of Athen's. Thus on the one side he does not relate the failure of Anytus' expedition to relieve Pylos, nor the subsequent trial of that demagogue, when he only escaped condemnation by bribing his judges; though this was. Diodorus tells us, the first known instance of corruption in an Athenian law court. And though on the other side he does indeed relate how conscience-stricken the Athenians felt after the battle of Aegospotami, fearing that now they themselves would suffer the same fate as they had inflicted on defenceless people like the Melians, yet he omits Cleophon's opposition to the Spartan offers of peace after Cyzicus and Arginusae, and his still more foolish opposition to the comparatively mild terms first offered by Sparta during the siege of Athens.

It would seem therefore that however much reason there may be for accusing Xenophon in the later books of allowing his partiality for Sparta to warp his judgement and spoil his history, in this section at any rate the charge is groundless.

Neither does the theory of personal prejudice against individuals carry us very far. Enough has already been said about Lysander and Callicratidas, to dispose of the charge in their case; but Xenophon's picture of Alcibiades deserves more notice. It is true that he passes over Alcibiades' most splendid exploits in a word or two, like his capture of Selymbria, his escort of the Eleusinian procession by land, and his successful speeches before the Athenian Council and Assembly. But on the other hand he passes still

¹ Diod. xiii. 65, 104, 106.

⁴ i. 3. 10; Plut. Alc. 30

more briefly 1 over his failure at Andros, his marauding expeditions from Samos in the winter of 407-406, for which the first complaints were brought against him at Athens, and his final disgrace and loss of his generalship; and he omits altogether the scandalous tales which Plutarch and other authorities delight to retail against him. Moreover, he even enlarges on the favourable feelings with which far the larger section of the Athenian people welcomed him on his return, while he dismisses the murmurs of his enemies against him in a few scarcely intelligible lines; and he dwells at some length on the patriotic advice which Alcibiades gave the careless Athenian generals just before the battle of Aegospotami, suppressing the fact, which Diodorus relates, that the would-be patriot was at the same time actuated by motives of private interest. The defects therefore in his picture of Alcibiades are neither more nor less than those to be found in his sketches of other persons. like Hermocrates, Callicratidas, and perhaps Conon, with whom he was certainly more in sympathy.

So far then our examination has brought us only to the negative result, that there is no single key whereby to solve all the difficulties with which bks. i-ii. 3. 10 abound. Most of them indeed seem to admit of no explanation whatever. In some cases we can perhaps see that Xenophon's fondness for personal anecdote or interest in the art of war has led him to narrate little incidents, in themselves of no importance, at disproportionate length, but personal feelings either one way or the other do not help us to account for his omissions. Perhaps the most obvious theory to explain them is to regard them as due to want of personal knowledge; but even on this theory we can see no particular reason why Xenophon's treatment of events should be so uneven. For events occurring almost simultaneously at Athens, on the Hellespont, in Ionia, and elsewhere are related in one place with unaccountable fullness, in another with unaccountable brevity; and no known incidents of his life explain the difference. But there the defects are, and we shall soon see that they are not peculiar to this section.

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¹ i. 4. 21-23; Plut. Alc. 35.

² Cp. i. 5. 16 note; Plut. Alc. 36; Diod. xiii. 73, 74.

³ ii. 1. 25.

⁴ xiii. 105.

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Second Part: ii. 3. 11-4. 43. 404-401 B. C.

This like the first part belongs to what has been called Xenophon's Attic History, dealing with events which happened while the author was still a resident in Athens. In its general tone it resembles very closely the account of the Trial of the Generals after Arginusae; and here again we are met with the same kind of omissions and of inequalities of treatment. Nothing is said either here or in the preliminary notice (ii. 3. 1) as to the events which led up to the appointment of the Thirty; we are told nothing of the selection of an oligarchical committee of Five (of which Lysias 1 speaks) who were called Ephors out of compliment to Sparta, nor of the succeeding struggle between the oligarchs and democrats wherein many of the generals, taxiarchs, and other important persons belonging to the democratic party were arrested; not yet of the second visit 8 of Lysander to Athens at whose dictation the Thirty were appointed; and, stranger still, he omits to notice Alcibiades' murder⁸ and the share that Lysander at the instigation of Critias had in bringing it about. So too the cruel decree of the Spartans, forbidding any Greek State to give shelter to the Athenian exiles, is passed over; and the ultimate fate of the Thirty is dismissed in a single unintelligible phrase.

Here again events are alluded to as well known of which no previous account has been given. Thus Theramenes in his defence against Critias refers to the banishment of Thrasybulus, Anytus, Alcibiades, and others, although not a word has previously been said about them; and after the death of Theramenes the Thirty forbid all the tow καταλόγου to enter the city, though it nowhere appears that they had previously been driven out. Finally the Ten in the Piraeus are introduced with the definite article, although never mentioned before.

Similarly the inequalities of treatments are as striking as before. Constitutional questions interest our author but little. A couple

7 ii. 4. 10.

¹ Lysias xii. 43.

² Cp. ii. 3. 2 note with Lysias xiii. 15. ² Cp. ii. 3. 42 with Plut. Alc. 39 and Nep. Alc. 10.

Cp. ii. 4. 1 with Lysias xii. 99 and Diod. xiv. 6.

³ Cp. ii. 3. 44 with 13, 14, 21. 4 ii. 4. I.

of lines 1 suffice to describe the appointment of the Thirty, and the restoration 2 of the democracy occupies no greater space. The dramatic story of Theramenes' 2 execution on the other hand is told at great length, and so too is the device 4 of the oligarchical engineer to hinder the advance of Thrasybulus' siege engines.

In this second part Xenophon's impartiality is quite unimpeachable. He dilates on the enormities of the Thirty and the brutality of Callibius the Spartan harmost. While he attributes to Pausanias mean motives of personal pique for checkmating Lysander's design of extermination against the Athenian exiles under Thrasybulus, he evidently approves the measures taken by that hesitating monarch for the salvation of the Athenian democrats. The violence of Critias is shown up with unsparing hand, and the brave death of Theramenes, whose unscrupulous intrigues have been previously recounted, extorts from the historian for the first time words of praise in the first person.

In this and the following part, which have been called the Spartan History, Xenophon writes first as an exile from and never as a resident in Athens. Throughout he writes as a partisan of Sparta and an ardent admirer of Agesilaus her king: throughout he is just—even indulgent—towards Athens; and throughout he is unfair and bitter against Thebes, the overthrower of his most cherished ideal of Spartan Hegemony by land and perhaps Athenian Hegemony by sea. His impartiality can indeed be put to a simple test: for while in the years 7 395-362 he mentions more than forty Lacedaemonian generals and officers and nearly as many Athenian, he mentions no Theban general by name except Epaminondas (Pelopidas is only once noticed as an ambassador to the Persian court), and then only at the end of his career and in words of obviously reluctant praise.

To come, however, to the *omissions* in this third part—a few may be dismissed at once as due to mere negligence: thus nothing is

said as to what became of Dercylidas and his troops after ¹ his treaty with Tissaphernes in 397: and three years later Dercylidas is introduced ⁸ quite casually as meeting Agesilaus at Amphipolis with the news of the battle of Corinth. Similarly ⁸ Euxenus is left by Agesilaus in Asia with 4,000 men, but nothing more is told of them. Again Teleutias gets ⁴ ships from Samos in 391 (?), but Xenophon never tells us, what we gather from Diodorus ⁸, that his predecessors had subjugated the island. So Eteonicus is said ⁶ to be again in Aegina, but no previous visit has been mentioned.

Other so-called omissions may be due simply to the judicious selection of his events by Xenophon: thus we hear nothing of Lysander's intrigues 7 to obtain the Spartan throne for himself; nothing of Herippidas' exploits at Heraclea Trachinia; nothing of the negotiations of for peace after the capture of the Long Walls of Corinth in 392-391. But far the most important and the most suspicious omissions are those involving any Theban success or Spartan reverse. Xenophon never lets us see, what a formidable rival Thebes had become to Sparta in northern Greece after the battle of Haliartus, 395; his only hint is iv. 3. 3 10 Λαρισαΐοι . . . καὶ Κραννώνιοι καί Σκοτουσσαίοι καί Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι όντες Βοιωτοίς: but we have to go to Diodorus 11 to learn of Ismenias' successes over the Lacedaemonians at Pharsalus and Heraclea and of his victory at Naryx. Again, nothing in Xenophon's narrative 12 would lead us to suspect, as we only discover from Diodorus and other sources, that the decisive victory won by Conon and Pharnabazus at Cnidus (394) over the Peloponnesian fleet was only their crowning success in a series of efforts, which included a previous victory at Caunus and the revolt of Rhodes, and which were begun as early as 397.

Still more apparent in the inequalities of his narrative is Xenophon's partiality for Sparta, and especially for Agesilaus, and his hatred of Thebes. The copious and picturesque details with which he recounts the campaigns of Thibron, Dercylidas, and Agesilaus

in Asia (399-395), and of Agesilaus' expedition against Piraeum (390) and perhaps too of his expeditions against the Acarnanians (389)—are sufficiently explained by the fact that Xenophon was himself an eyewitness, and here relates even at undue length matters which most struck him or most interested him. What however can be urged in defence for his descriptions of the battles of Corinth and Coronea, at the latter of which he was himself1 present? At the battle of Corinth he seems to impute to the Thebans a cowardly fear of facing the Lacedaemonians, tampering with the auspices, and the adoption of a deep column formation much to the disadvantage of their friends-charges which he insinuates rather than attempts to justify. Xenophon's story of Coronea is a mere panegyric of Agesilaus, detailing with loud notes of admiration his brave but rather foolish and certainly unsuccessful attempt to stop the Thebans, returning from pursuit of the Orchomenians, from rejoining their friends on Mount Helicon. Not that Xenophon is wholly blind to the faults of Sparta nor even of Agesilaus himself. By the mouth of the Theban orator at Athens in 305 he states quite plainly how farreaching was the hostile feeling roused in Greece by Sparta's high-handed proceedings at Athens, in Elis, and elsewhere, and that too among her old supporters the Corinthians, the Arcadians, and the Achaeans. Similarly he censures 4 Agesilaus' appointment of his incapable brother-in-law Pisander to be admiral of the Peloponnesian fleet. Again he recounts with an evident sense of the fitness of things how Agesilaus' arrogance towards his prisoners of war and the Theban envoys was crushed by the news of Iphicrates' annihilation of the Spartan mora at Lechaeum.

Such instances may serve indeed to warn us against too harsh a judgement about Xenophon's omissions and inequalities in this part. Suppressio veri does of course amount to suggestio falsi: but there is nothing to show that Xenophon wilfully misstates matters of fact. What we have to lament is that Xenophon does not always give us his facts in their proper setting, and that this occurs too frequently in cases involving the humiliation

¹ Anab. v. 3. 6. ² iv. 2. 18. ⁸ iii. 5. 8-15. ⁴ iii. 4. 29. ⁵ iv. 5. 6.

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of Sparta or the triumph of Thebes to be regarded as altogether accidental.

Fourth Part: v. 2. I-vii. 5. 27. 386-362 B. C.

In this part Xenophon seems to have given up all attempt to write a connected history of Greek affairs. It consists mainly of isolated sketches, many of them-like the long digression on the petty affairs of the little town of Phlius-well written and interesting in themselves, but of small importance from the point of view of general history. Thus to give a list of omissions in this part would amount to rewriting Greek History. It will therefore be sufficient only to point out those omissions-numerous and important enough by themselves-which involve breaks in the chain of causation in the events narrated by Xenophon, and which in many places would render his narrative unintelligible, could it not be supplemented from other sources. Here again the events omitted are in so many cases unfavourable to Sparta, that the historian's reputation for impartiality correspondingly suffers, though there is at the same time no reason to convict him of wilful misstatement of facts.

Thus the story of the Olynthian Confederacy and its aggressions on its neighbours comes upon us in the speech ¹ of Cligenes (382 B.C.) as a bolt from the blue: nowhere does Xenophon explain the nature of the League nor its previous relations with Amyntas king of Macedon. True, the story seems only to be introduced at all to account for Sparta's seizure of the Cadmea; but if introduced, it ought to have been made intelligible. After the capture of the Cadmea, though he speaks ² of the indignation at first felt at Sparta at this unauthorized act of Phoebidas, Xenophon says nothing of the fine, which according to the other authorities ³ was imposed upon him: in all probability however, as very shortly afterwards ⁴ we find Phoebidas made by Agesilaus harmost of Thespiae, the fine was never really exacted, and this may account for Xenophon's omission. To the new and important Athenian Confederacy of

¹ v. a. 11. ¹ v. a. 32.

Diod. xv. 20; Plut. Pel. 6; Nepos, Pel. 1.

⁴ v. 4. 41.

378 B.C., which at the time seems to have influenced Lacedaemonian policy much more than the action of Thebes, Xenophon 1 makes the barest reference: Diodorus gives more detail, but is hopelessly inaccurate, and but for monumental evidence we should have but the haziest notion of what took place. No doubt the historian always takes but little interest in naval warfare, and this may account for his vague and unintelligible allusion to the important Lacedaemonian defeat at Naxos in 376 B.C., which he does not even mention by name, though introducing it with the definite article as a famous engagement. Why again has he omitted to mention the Theban victory agained by Pelopidas over the Lacedaemonians at Tegyra in 375-374, to which he has an obscure allusion in vi. 4. 10? Or why has Xenophon so much to say about Jason of Pherae⁵ (374-370) and his successors down to Tisiphonus (358) and their influence in Thessalian affairs, and yet gives us not a word about the many expeditions of the Thebans into Thessaly under their greatest generals Pelopidas and Epaminondas (except an obscure allusion in vii. 1. 28), which alone made the doings of these tyrants of any importance to the history of Greece? Most extraordinary of all, Xenophon has entirely omitted the principal object which Epaminondas had in view in his first invasion of the Peloponnesus (370-369)—the restoration of Messenian independence, to which however he is compelled by his narrative of 368-367 to allude in terms in themselves quite inexplicable without recourse to other authorities. Similarly though he has occasion later on to speak 7 of the Megapolitans, he omits the foundation of Megalopolis c. 370. Again as to Philiscus' mission 8 from Ariobarzanes we are left quite in the dark both as to what were its causes and what were its consequences. Indeed, as stated already, bk. vii is no continuous history at all: it is a series of sketches, dealing now with the Theban invasions of Peloponnesus, then with the Arcadians and Eleans, again with the affairs of Sicyon or Phlius, of Athens or of Corinth, and winding up with a fairly full and well-written account of the fourth and last Theban

¹ v. 4. 34 and note. ² xv. 29. ² v. 4. 61. ⁴ Plut, Pel. 15, 25; Diod, xv. 37. ³ vi. 1. 4 ff.; 4. 20-5. 1. ⁴ vii. 1. 27. ⁸ vii. 1. 27. ⁸ vii. 1. 27.

§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA xxxii

invasion of Peloponnesus which ended in the fateful day of Mantinea.

The omissions then in this part tend more especially to obscure the growth of the power of Thebes and the glories of her statesmen and generals and to gloze over the decay of Sparta. Still even here philo-Laconism and anti-Thebanism alone are not sufficient to account for Xenophon's attitude. No words could be stronger than his own 1 in condemnation of the Spartan seizure of the Cadmea, the vépeous for which he thinks directly sent from heaven. No narrative could better show up the weak side of Agesilaus' character than the simple story wherein he relates the king's share in procuring the iniquitous acquittal of Sphodrias. No one could have more powerfully depicted the growing weakness of Sparta (374-373) than Xenophon himself in telling how the Lacedaemonians were obliged to confess their inability to help the Pharsalians against Jason of Pherae. No one could have told to the Spartans more bitter home truths than Xenophon³ has put into the mouth of the Athenian orator Autocles. all his omissions in favour of Sparta: he alludes only very briefly to the barbarous destruction of Plataea by the Thebans, and altogether omits their still more barbarous⁵ treatment of Orchomenus.

What then is the result of this long and tedious examination? Xenophon, we must suppose, was animated, like many another man, with an irresistible impulse to write a history of his own times. For nearly half a century he must have kept a diary or commonplace book. These notes at various times in his life he attempted to work up into a more or less continuous history. But he never succeeded, like Plato's philosopher, in viewing the course of events as from a high and lofty watch-tower. In many of them he played no inconsiderable part himself, and in all he takes no pains to conceal his own personal feelings and predilections: he is an oligarch, a friend of Sparta, an admirer of Agesilaus, a hater of Thebes. Naturally therefore all the corresponding feelings tend to find a place in his narrative; they influence con-

¹ v. 4. I. ¹ vi. 3. I, 5.

¹ v. 4. 25-34. ³ Diod. xv. 79.

³ vi. 3. 7.

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sciously or unconsciously his selection of subjects, his omissions and his commissions. Above all, however, he is an honest man, fond of truth and justice for their own sake, a pious worshipper of the gods. This higher side of his character appears in constant conflict with the lower. Thus in the case of Agesilaus his personal admiration of his hero leads him to exaggerate his exploits and minimize his reverses; but his sense of truth and justice does not allow him to pass over all the king's follies and mistakes. So it is everywhere: Xenophon seems always to fall between two stools. No writer of personal reminiscences has ever written a better book than the Anabasis, the story of Xenophon's own campaign; and there are corresponding parts in the Hellenica which reach as high a level. Unfortunately, however, the satisfactory accomplishment of the object, which Xenophon seems to have set before himself in the latter work, demanded a different treatment and a different genius—the all comprehensive genius of a Thucydides, and with this not the most ardent defender would pretend that Xenophon was endowed.

Tried by such a standard Xenophon falls short of the ideal: but it is very greatly to his credit that his detractors should wish to apply it to him at all. Tried, however, by the standard of the other authorities, who write about the same times, Xenophon comes out easily first. Modern historians and commentators now almost with one consent recognize that the contemporary orators, like Andocides, Lysias, and Isocrates, the historian Diodorus, and the biographer Plutarch, when they deal with the same events, can be used only to supplement, not to correct Xenophon's narrative. The orators naturally speak in the heat and passion of the moment: their first object is to persuade, to which but too often they make the truth but secondary. The actual value of any particular portion of Diodorus or Plutarch varies of course with that of the more ancient authorities on which it happens to be based; and to estimate such value is one of the most difficult problems of the modern writer. To speak generally, however, they are both far inferior to Xenophon. Diodorus, it is but too apparent, cares for history, not so much for its own sake, but as an opus oratorium, in which he can display his own surprising talents. Plutarch, however charming and artistic his biographies may be, evidently uses the facts of history only 'to point a moral or adorn a tale.' Xenophon alone by his simple and unvarnished style, by his general impartiality and love of truth, even too by the very defects, which, however much they may mar and disfigure his narrative, yet by their curiously fortuitous and unaccountable occurrence tend rather to confirm its truth—leaves upon the mind of his reader the impression that his history, so far as it goes, is a history of facts.

§ 2. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLENICA.

THE chronology followed in this edition is based on Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, published in 1834: here and there, however, will be found certain departures which the discovery of ancient inscriptions and the general advance of historical knowledge have seemed to necessitate. It is the object, therefore, of the following pages to justify these changes, and at the same time to discuss several of the dates, admitted by Clinton himself to be doubtful, on which any new light has been thrown. For the sake of convenience the discussion is divided into paragraphs dealing with the dates of different periods. Controversy has, as far as possible, been avoided, and it is sufficient here merely to refer to the formidable bibliography on the subject.

For greater accuracy the years are reckoned from April to April—the time when the Greeks were accustomed to open their campaigns, as thereby the difficulty is avoided of separating the writer's events between two years of the Christian era.

Many references will be found to the years of the archons in Diodorus. The archons entered upon office on the 1st of Hecatombaeon (c. July), the first month of the Attic official year. But as the Athenians reckoned by lunar months, and were certainly often as much as a month wrong, if not more, it is well to remember the caution of Thucydides (v. 20) σκοπείτω δέ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους (summers and winters) καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ ἡ ἀρχόντων ἡ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαινόντων πιστεύσας μᾶλλον. οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές ἐστιν οἶς καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ μεσοῦσι:

ral bross truxé re inspirer on. Diodorus, moreover, in his annalistic treatment begins the history of each year apparently about midwinter, but nevertheless prefixes to it the name of the eponymous archon as well as those of the Roman consuls; and for his Greek history he seems to have used the work of some chronologist, who dated events strictly by the Athenian archonship, beginning in July. Naturally this led to confusion: and almost more often than not Diodorus in his carelessness puts events, if in the right year, yet under the wrong archon; or if under the right archon, yet under the wrong year. Frequently he is mistaken in both.

A. The last years of the Pelopannesian War.

In the first two books of the Hellenica we find that not only is the beginning of each year of the war marked by such phrases as τφ δὶ ἄλλφ ἔτει, τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἀρχομένου ἔαρος ¹ (where Xenophon is evidently following the system of Thucydides ²), but in several passages additional accuracy is apparently given by the mention of Olympiads, the year of the war, or the names of the eponymous archons and ephors, and also by the notice of contemporary events in Persia and Sicily ³. But by all recent commentators such passages have been suspected, and with justice, to be interpolations.

It is true that both Herodotus and Thucydides occasionally give the names of Olympic victors: but Herodotus sometimes simply styles a man 'Ολυμπιονίκης ' as a general mark of distinction without specifying any particular victory, and sometimes relates the victories, whether in the chariot race ', pentathlum ', or pancratium ', as incidents in the lives of eminent men like Miltiades the Athenian or Demaratus the Spartan; but in no case does he use an Olympiad to fix a date. Thucydides once ' like Herodotus uses the epithet 'Ολυμπιονίκης as the mark of a distinguished man: twice ' however he gives the name of the victor to help fix the date, in the first instance not specifying the contest, in the second taking the name

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1 i. s. 1; 3. 1; 4. s; 6. 1; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1.

2 v. so.

3 i. 1. 37; s. 19; 5. s1; ii. s. 24.

4 v. 47, 71.

3 vi. 36, 70; ix. 103, 125.

4 vi. 92; ix. 75.

5 ix. 105.

8 ii. 8; v. 49; cp. 50.
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of the victor in the pancratium; but in both instances the celebration of the Olympic festival has an intimate connexion with his general history of the war, and is not introduced merely as a chronological datum. Moreover, Polybius 1 expressly states that Timaeus, the Sicilian historian (flor. 264 B.C.), was the first to use the first Olympiad as a chronological era, for which, however, the list of the victors in the less famous stadium or foot-race was chosen. Nevertheless, in i. 2. I the 23rd year of the war is called the 93rd Olympiad (really it was the fourth year of the 92nd): and in ii. 3. I the Olympiad (really the 94th) is denoted by the name of the victor in the stadium without any number attached. The first instance is an obvious mistake, the second for the reasons alleged is equally spurious.

Again, Herodotus once mentions the name of the eponymous archon at Athens to fix the date of one particular event, the invasion of Attica by the Persians; and Thucydides sometimes gives the archon, ephor, and even the priestess of the Argive Hera, to mark some unusual occurrence; but neither of them ever use these official lists to distinguish successive years. Xenophon records seven years of the war: but the interpolator only inserts the names of five archons and five ephors. Further, in two passages the names given in the text of the Hellenica are incorrect: for in ii. 3. 9, 10, a continuous list of twenty-nine ephors appears in which Pantacles immediately precedes Pityas, whereas Xenophon makes two whole years elapse between i. 3. 1 and i. 6. 1, where Pantacles and Pityas are respectively mentioned, to mark the beginning of the years 4; and exactly the same mistake is made with the archons. Evidently therefore the interpolator must have had before him complete lists of the ephors and archons, must have known the right names for the year 404, and then reckoned backwards from that year, but unfortunately overlooked the beginning of a new year in i. 4. 2, where no magistrates are mentioned. Of this, however, more below.

In three ⁶ passages the numbers of the year of the Peloponnesian war are given, all of which are incorrect. In a fourth ⁶ passage the war is wrongly stated to have lasted 28½ years, and this number is

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      1 xii. 12.
      2 viii. 51.

      3 ii. 1; v. 19.
      4 Cf. i. 4. 12.

      4 ii. 3. 1; 6. 1; ii. 1. 7.
      6 ii. 3. 9, 10.
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substantiated by a list of 29 ephors ¹. But Thucydides ² distinctly says that the war from the Theban attack on Plataea down to the capture of Athens lasted almost exactly 27 years; so that, if to this another six months be added to include Lysander's return to Sparta at the end of the summer's campaign in 404, the total number of years is only 27½.

As for the notices of Sicilian and Persian history to which marks of time, like ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, τούτῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, are mostly attached, though it is certain that the chronology of the Hellenica does not at all agree with that in Diodorus Siculus, yet, as that author is so exceedingly inexact in his dates, this disagreement does not amount to much of an argument against them. Some of the passages on Sicilian history, however, seem to be inconsistent with each other. The difficulties of the first * passage, which is evidently inserted to account for the Ephesians conferring their citizenship upon the Selinuntines, may perhaps be resolved by supposing that Hannibal captured the cities of Selinus and Himera in the spring of 408 (not 409). For both the Hellenica (if the chronology be right) and Diodorus 5 put the event in the year 409-408; so that this supposition would account for two Selinuntine ships still appearing 6 in the autumn of 400 in the Aegean as Peloponnesian allies, and yet having returned 7 to Sicily before the capture of the two cities. Again, the capture of Acragas, which Diodorus puts in the year 406, is related twice over, once as happening in 407, and the second time apparently as happening in 405, though in this second passage, it is true, its date is not precisely stated, but left open to inference with a πρότερον. On the other hand, the date of Dionysius' seizing the tyranny in the latter passage seems to be fairly correct. Finally the battle of Gela, referred to in ii. 3. 5, is put after the capture of

¹ Morus (Xen. Hell. p. xxiii) has ingeniously shown how the interpolator arrived at the mistaken total. It appears probable from Thuc. v. 19, 36, that the Ephors entered on their office about the autumnal equinox. When the war began therefore, Aenesias, who had entered on his office in Sept. 432 had still four months of his ephorate to run. Twenty-seven more names carry us down to Sept. 404. Then the interpolator adds a twenty-ninth, because Eudicus must have entered on his office just before Lysander returned to Sparta.

 ^{*} v. 26.
 * i. 1. 37.

 * i. 2. 10.
 * xiii. 44, 61, 62.
 * i. 2. 8-12.

 * Diod. xiii. 61.
 * xiii. 91.
 * i. 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.

Athens in the spring of 404: really 1 it occurred the autumn before (405). There are similar difficulties in the references to Persian history. The first (i. 2. 19) states a mere fact, which there is no means of confirming or denying. The second (ii. 1. 8, 9) is assailable on more grounds than one: it contains forms of words, which could not have been used by Xenophon, viz. Dapetalov and Dapetalor with Δαρείου in between, and κόρη instead of κάνδυς (Cyrop. viii. 3. 10); the sister of Darius was the daughter of Artaxerxes and not of Xerxes, as stated; it professes to give a secret reason for the recall of Cyrus by his father ώς ἀρρωστῶν, for which in § 13 Xenophon is content simply to give the ostensible reason, which he repeats again in § 15: and it makes too long an interval to elapse between the arrival of the message and the departure of Cyrus. On the whole, therefore, the balance of probability appears to be in favour of regarding as spurious all these passages, which have evidently been inserted in imitation of Thucydides' custom of closing each period of six months with brief notices of events, which have not been recorded in his general narrative.

We are left therefore for our chronological data only with the phrases τῷ δὲ ἄλλφ ἔτει (i. 2. 1), τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους (i. 3. 1), τῷ δ' emióντι έτει (i. 6. I; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1), supplemented occasionally by additional marks of time like ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος, ἀρχομένου χειμώνος, χειμών ἐπήει κ.τ.λ. Not all of these, however, are above suspicion. One of them (i. 6. 1) is probably in the wrong place: for the election of the ten Athenian generals, who replaced Alcibiades and his colleagues (two, Conon and Aristocrates, were re-elected), and who afterwards fought at Arginusae, though in the ordinary course of events it would have taken place in the spring of 406, is recorded in i. 5. 16: then μετὰ ταῦτα certain operations of Conon's are inserted; and then only (to leave out of account the spurious o enautos thayer of § 21) comes τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, intended to mark the same spring of 406. Two more τφ δε άλλφ έτει (i. 2. 1) and τοῦ δ' επιόντος έτους (i. 3. 1) are combined, one with the phrase ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους, the other with the phrase inpos apxopérou—formulae which in i. 4. 2 and in the last five books of the Hellenics occur alone, as sufficient by themselves to mark the beginning of the year. The remaining two τφ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει (ii. i. 10; 3. 1) have no such objections ¹ Cp. Diod. xiii. 96, 108.

attached to them, and may be paralleled by $r\hat{\phi}$ & invipe tree of vii. 1. 1; 2. 10. All five, however, occur in connexion with the names of the archons and ephors, which have justly been bracketed as spurious. There remains still another difficulty in the chronology even more serious. Xenophon continues Thucydides from the point where he breaks off in his narrative of the 21st year of the war in the autumn of 411 B.C. The war lasted twenty-seven years, ending in the summer of 404. There ought, therefore, to be seven of these notices of the beginning of a new year: as a matter of fact there are only six; somewhere or other one has been left out, and the question arises, where?

Two answers have been given to this question. Dodwell 1, followed by Clinton, Grote, Büchsenschütz, Beloch, and many others, puts the beginning of the omitted year at i. I. II, whence it follows that Thrasyllus (i. 2. 1) set sail in the summer of 409, and that Alcibiades (i. 4. 12) returned to Athens in 407. Haacke 2, followed by Krüger, Böckh, Curtius, Kirchhoff, Breitenbach, &c., maintains that Thrasyllus sailed in the summer of 410 and that Alcibiades returned to Athens in 408: he and his followers, therefore, put the beginning of the omitted year at some point in ch. 5 after the departure of Alcibiades (i. 4. 21). In this edition Dodwell's system has been adhered to mainly for the following reasons. In the winter 411-410 Thrasyllus sailed to Athens to ask for reinforcements. Then ήδη τοῦ χειμώνος λήγοντος (Diod. xiii. 49) Mindarus collected his fleet, and after sundry evolutions, which must have occupied a considerable time, was defeated and slain by Alcibiades in the battle of Cyzicus (c. April 410). The news only reached Sparta after some delay, and the Lacedaemonians in despair humbly begged for peace (Diod. xiii. 53 b) which through the influence of Cleophon was refused. These negotiations cannot be placed much before the end of Theopompus' archonship (411-410). Then Agis made his sally from Decelea (i. 1. 33) and was repulsed by Thrasyllus; we now learn from Lysias (xxxii. 5, 7) that Thrasyllus was στρατηγός έπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, so that, unless he received an extra-

¹ Annales Thucyd. et Xenophont.
2 Cp. Beloch, Philologus, 1884, p. 276.
3 Dissertatio Chronologica.
4 i. r. 8.

⁶ Cp. Philochorus, fr. 117 Λακεδαιμονίων πρεσβευσάντων περὶ εἰρήνης ἀπιστήσαντες 'Αθηναίοι οὐ προσήκαντο ἐπὶ άρχοντος Θεοπόμπου (411-410).

ordinary appointment, he must have been elected in April 410, and entered on office in July. The probability therefore is that in this capacity he commanded the Athenians against Agis. Encouraged by the success the Athenians (§ 34) thereupon voted him 50 triremes, besides horse and foot, i. e. not much before August 410. It is reasonable to suppose that the winter months were occupied by him in fitting out his fleet; for Alcibiades in 407 took three or four months (i. 4. 21) to fit out his fleet, and in the following year, notwithstanding all their efforts, the Athenians were thirty days (i. 6. 24) in despatching the fleet of 110 ships, which afterwards fought at Arginusae. Then in the spring, or rather early summer (i. 2. 1), of 409, Thrasyllus set out for Samos, made some descents upon the Ionian coast and invaded (§ 4) els την Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, i. e. June.

Again, after the battle of Cyzicus, Pharnabazus allowed the shipless Syracusans (i. 1. 25) μανπηγείσθαι τριήρεις ἐν ᾿Αντάνδρφ δσας ἔκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ῦλην ἐκ τῆς Ἱδης καμίζεσθαι φράζων. While they were building the ships, the Syracusans found time to help the Antandrians build their city wall and do them other services for which they were rewarded with the Antandrian citizenship. Nevertheless they had their 20 ships ready (i. 2. 8, 12) to meet Thrasyllus in July (§ 7). This could only be July 409: for it is inconceivable that the Syracusans could have felled the timber and built their ships by July 410, only two or three months after the battle of Cyzicus.

Thirdly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Hypoth. to Lysias xxxii) actually states that Thrasyllus ἐκπλεῶν els τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος (410-409).

Finally, Xenophon (i. 2. 18) and Diodorus (xiii. 64) put the recapture of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians in the winter of the same year as Thrasyllus' expedition; and we know from Diodorus that the siege was a long one, involving a blockade by sea as well as by land. It must therefore have been taken, while the sea was still navigable, i. e. in the autumn. But from CIA. i. 188, v. 10 it appears that Pylos in October 410 was still in the possession of the Athenians: probably, therefore, it was taken in the following year.

Beloch (l. c.) ingeniously groups together a number of other coincidences all leading to the same result, that Thrasyllus sailed

in 409 and not in 410: but the arguments above given are the strongest (not indeed that much reliance can be placed on Dionysius' chronology), and seem to be quite sufficient in themselves.

If, then, Thrasyllus sailed in 409, it follows from the chronological data of the Hellenics (as already stated) that Alcibiades returned to Athens in 407 (not 408). This again can be otherwise strongly supported. In the first place the ten generals, who were elected (i. 5. 16) in succession to Alcibiades and his colleagues, were the generals who fought at Arginusae έπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλίου (Athen. v. p. 218a). In the ordinary course of things they must have been elected about April 406 and entered on office in July of the same year. Again, in the summer of the same year, Callicratidas succeeded Lysander in the Spartan admiralship (i. 6. I) παρεληλυθότος ήδη τοῦ χρόνου, i. e. a year since Lysander (similarly in 407) succeeded Cratesippidas (i. 5. 1) της ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας. But Lysander's appointment was simultaneous (cp. ibid. πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλφ χρόρφ) with Alcibiades' stay in Athens. Finally the historian Andron 1, so far from putting Alcibiades' return in 408, put it in 406 in the archonship of Antigenes 407 July to 406 July (for Alcibiades, it must be remembered, landed at Piraeus in June), and he is said to have differed from Xenophon περὶ τῆς καθύδου. The battle of Notium, therefore, was probably fought early in 406.

Here, again, Beloch (l. c.) confirms these main arguments by a number of coincidences, which it is unnecessary here to reproduce.

B. The Despotism of the Thirty, 404-403.

The dates given in the Aristotelian 'Αθηναίων πολίτεια (34-41) confirm the chronological data of the Hellenica and the results previously arrived at by Clinton. The Thirty, we are told (35. § 1), were appointed in Πυθοδώρου δρχοντος 404-403. Taken strictly this should mean that the Thirty came into power in or after July

¹ Ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1422 περί τῆς δευτέρας αὐτοῦ λέγει ἀποχωρήσεως, ῆν ἐκῶν ἔφυγε, κατελθῶν μὲν ἐπὶ 'Αντιγότους (407-406) . . . διὰ δὲ τὸ πιστεῦσαι 'Αντιόχω τῷ κυβερνήτη τὸ καυτικόν καὶ ἡττηθῆναι ὑπὸ Αυσώνδρου δυσχερανθεὶς ὑπ' ᾿Αθηναίων. ''Ανδρων δὶ διαφέρεται πρὸς Βενοφῶντα περὶ τῆς καθόδου. Καλλίστρατος δέ φησιν ὅτι οὖτος ἦν ὁ καιρός, καθ' ὁν ἔφυγεν ὁ 'Αλκιβιάδης.

404, a month or two later than is generally supposed; the interpolator in the Hellenics (ii. 3. 1), however, tells us that afterwards the Athenians struck out Pythodorus' name δτι ἐν όλιγαρχία ήρέθη, and called the year arapxia; and Aristotle also says that the Thirty appointed πεντακοσίους βουλευτάς και τάς άλλας άρχάς, so that his election must have taken place before any archon eponymous had been regularly elected (i.e. before July): otherwise the Athenians would scarcely have erased his name. Again, ήδη δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος imoreros (35. § 1), when Thrasybulus seized Phyle, agrees with Xenophon's ἐπιγίγνεται . . . χιων παμπληθής (ii. 4. 3). Further, Aristotle, though he mentions no definite time, speaks of the expulsion of the Thirty (38. § 1), which Xenophon puts after an eight months' reign (ii. 4. 21, c. February), as happening a considerable time before the final amnesty1: in this interval therefore there was time for the appointment of the Ten at Athens, for various negotiations between Athens and Sparta, and for the expedition of Lysander, followed by the second expedition of king Pausanias at the head of the Peloponnesian Confederacy. Meantime the Athenians in the city suffered great hardships from famine and want of money (Xen. Mem. ii. 7.2; Isocr. xvi. 13), so that we need not be surprised to find that according to Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 349 f.) Thrasybulus did not return to Athens till the 12th of Boedromion (September). The final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, which Xenophon (ii. 4. 43) merely states as happening ύστέρφ χρόνφ Aristotle (40. § 4) definitely fixes to έτει τρίτφ μετά την εξοίκησιν επί Χεναινέτου άρχοντος, i.e. 401-400.

C. The Elean War 1, 399-397.

Clinton's chronology of this war (401-399) was long ago overthrown by Grote's common-sense remark (ix. 49), that, had the war been going on at the time of the Olympic festival (400 B.C.), the

¹ Cp. 39. § 1 δγίνοντο δ' al διαλύσεις ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου άρχοντος, 403. This passage is an apparent contradiction to the same author's statement infr. 41. 1 ἐπὶ Πυθοδάρου . . . άρχοντος (404-403). In a way both statements are right. Pythodorus' year was the year of anarchy, and Euclides was not elected archon till the democracy was restored, i. e. after Sept. 403: cp. Plut. Glor. Athen. 349 f.

fact would hardly have been left unnoticed by all the ancient authorities.

The chronological problem is here twofold. (1) Did the war last two years or three? (2) Did the war take place before or after the 95th Olympiad?

As to (1) Xenophon is perhaps ambiguous 1: Diodorus (xiv. 17, 34) limits the war to two years; but Pausanias (iii. 8. 3-5) who evidently follows Xenophon, speaks distinctly of three years - re de έφεξης έτει . . . τρίτφ δε έτει τοῦ πολέμου. Did he then misinterpret Xenophon, who being a contemporary authority is manifestly of the chiefest importance? If we examine the passage in the Hellenica (iii. 2. 21-30), there can hardly be a doubt that he did not. According to Xenophon, Agis' first campaign was cut short by the occurrence of an earthquake. But περιόντι τῷ ένιαυτῷ the ephors again declared war against the Eleans. Now the phrase περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ can only mean, 'when the year was drawing to a close' (cp. Classen's note to Thuc. i. 30 περιόντι τῷ θέρει); and as Xenophon, like Thucydides, always begins his year about our April, the close of his year must be February or March. On this interpretation, what follows immediately becomes intelligible. The Spartans, we are told, summoned contingents from their allies, who all, even including the Athenians, obeyed the summons, except the Boeotians and Corinthians. Then Agis at the head of this army entered Elis through Aulon, whereupon the Lepreates and others revolted from the Eleans. The Spartan king sacrificed at Olympia without opposition, and next proceeded to plunder the country; so rich was the booty that many Achaeans and Arcadians volunteered to join him. As he approached the city itself, internal dissensions broke out; notwithstanding this, Agis after waiting awhile inactive retired, leaving a garrison at Epitalium. All this must have occupied a considerable time, namely, all the spring and the best part of the summer of the second year's campaign, so that we are not surprised to learn (§ 30) that this garrison continued to ravage the country 70 λοιπόν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμώνα. At last τοῦ ἐπιόντος θέρους (i. e. in the third year) the Eleans, to avoid further suffering, consented to accept the terms imposed by Sparta. Evidently, therefore,

¹ Grote (l. c.) follows Xenophon and Pausanias : Curtius, Gr. Gesch. v. Anm. 70, prefers Diodorus.

Xenophon represents the events as extending over three years, and Diodorus is wrong in limiting them to two years.

As to (2), Xenophon's 1 narrative seems to imply the later date, 399-397, rather than the earlier, 402-401, which is given by Diodorus (l. c.) who is followed by Grote and Curtius?. For in iii. 2. 21 he distinctly states that τούτων . . . πραττομένων έν τῆ 'Ασία ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδα at the same time the Elean War took place in Greece. Now, by reckoning back from Xenophon's Anab. vii. 6. 1, and from the eclipse of August 14, 3943, it appears that Dercylidas took the command in Asia in the autumn of 399 and that Agesilaus succeeded him in the spring or summer of 396. At the time of Cinadon's conspiracy, which is related by Xenophon immediately before the king's expedition to Asia 4, Agesilaus had not yet been a year upon the throne. Supposing then that his predecessor Agis died in the spring of 397, the conspiracy may very well have taken place in the winter months of 397-396, and would give an additional reason⁵ for the ephors being willing to send Agesilaus abroad at the head of 2,000 Neodamodes or enfranchised Helots. If then Agis died in the spring of 307 immediately after the conclusion of the Elean War (as is plain from iii. 3, 1), his first expedition against Elis must have taken place in 309, the year after the Olympic festival, 398 must have been the year of his second and principal invasion, and peace must have been concluded in 397.

D. The Corinthian War, 395-386.

The dates for the beginning and end of the Corinthian War are well established, the first by the eclipse of August 14, 394 , the second by the consensus of evidence that the Peace of Antalcidas, which ended the war, was concluded in the archonship of Theodotus, July 387-July 386. The eclipse fixes first the date of the

¹ Cp. Sievers, Gr. Gesch. p. 382; Breitenbach, Xen. Hell. notes; A. Holm, Gr. Gesch. iii. 8.

² For an examination of Curtius' arguments cp. Classical Review (l.c.). iii. 3. 4.

³ iv. 3. 10. ⁸ Cp. Brasidas' expedition to Thrace, Thuc. iv. 80.

iv. 3. 10; Lysias, xix. 28.

⁷ Aristides, ii. 370; Diod. xiv. 110; Polyb. i. 6.

outbreak of the war in the preceding year, in which campaign 1 Lysander was slain at Haliartus; and secondly the dates of the sea-fight at Cnidus, a few days before the eclipse; of the battle of Coronea a short time after the eclipse; and also of the battle of Corinth, which was fought a few weeks earlier, in the beginning of the archonship of Eubulides 2, July 394. The chronology of the subsequent events has been much disputed owing to the vagueness of the marks of time given by Xenophon and the palpable mistakes of Diodorus; a difference indeed of as much as two years appears in the various arrangements advocated by different chronologists, some placing the destruction of the Spartan more by Iphicrates in 392, others in 390, according as they date the biennial Isthmian games mentioned by Xenophon 3. Clinton takes the earlier date; Grote prefers the later, which has been adopted in this edition, on the ground that not only is it more probable in itself, but that what little additional evidence has been collected since his time tends to confirm it.

The prime difficulty is due to the fact that Xenophon has chosen to narrate the events of the war by land and by sea in two wholly distinct sections, which only cross each other certainly at one point and doubtfully at another, and out of neither case can much help be derived towards fixing the chronology. The events of the land-war he narrates uninterruptedly from iv. 4. I. when Agesilaus at the end of the campaign of 394 B.C. disbanded his army, to iv. 7. 7, where he recounts an expedition of Agesipolis against Argos. Then from iv. 8. 1 to v. 1. 35 he professes to relate πάντα . . . τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττη πόλεις γενόμενα—all the events that happened by sea during the same period of time, under the limitation, however, that he treats only of row mpdfewr ταs αξιομνημονεύτους. The problem is therefore so to combine these two sections and harmonize them with the scattered statements of other authorities, as to evolve a tolerably self-consistent scheme of chronology.

³ CIA. ii. so84 Δεξίλευς . . . ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου ἐγ Κορίνθο τῶν πέντε ἐπτέον : cp. Aristides, ii. 370.

³ iv. 3. Io. Agesilaus heard the news of the battle of Cnidus just

before the battle of Coronea.

* iv. 4. 19; iv. 8. 23: Teleutias' 12 ships.

At the end of the campaign of 394 B.C., Agesilaus 1, we are told, disbanded his army and sailed home; and Conon², while blockading the Hellespont, collected ships for the ensuing campaign. Accordingly next spring (393) Conon and Pharnabagus sailed across the Aegean, made various descents upon the Peloponnesian coast, captured Cythera, and sailed to the Isthmus of Corinth, where they found a number of allies assembled to prosecute the war with Sparta. Pharnabazus urged them to act vigorously, leaving with them at the same time a considerable sum of money, and then sailed homewards. On the way, however, Conon persuaded him to allow him to stay with the fleet at Athens, and to provide him with money for the purpose of rebuilding the Long Walls and the fortifications of Piraeus. Thus was Conon enabled to do this great service to his country. That all these events. including at least the beginning of the rebuilding of the Long Walls, must have taken place before July 393, is proved by an inscription 4 recently discovered at Athens, which records the hiring of artisans by Conon for this purpose in the archonship of Eubulides, July 394 to July 393. With the Persian gold the Corinthians also found the means to equip a fleet, with which they gained the mastery over the Corinthian Gulf and maintained it, nothwithstanding the efforts of the Lacedaemonians to dispossess them, until Teleutias (apparently in the following year 392-391) succeeded to the command of the Lacedaemonian ships and asserted once more the Lacedaemonian supremacy.

So far all is clear: now comes the first difficulty. Are the dissensions and battles at Corinth narrated by Xenophon in iv. 4 to be put before or after the visit of Conon and Pharnabazus? Grote argues with great force that they are to be put afterwards. He maintains that on the first outbreak of the war in 395, when they received money from Tithraustes, and again, in 393, when they received money from Pharnabazus, the Corinthians were zealous in carrying on the war and had no reasons for discontent;

¹ iv. 4. I. This happened some time after the Pythian games (September): cp. iv. 3. 21 with Plut. Ages. 19.
2 iv. 8. 7.
3 iv. 8. 8.

^{*} CIA. ii. 830. Köhler, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit in Athen, iii. 1878, p. 50, and Wachsmuth, Königl. sächsisch. Gesell. 1887, p. 372.

* iv. 8. 10, 11.

* ix. 152.

* iii. 5. 1.

whereas the discontents spoken of in iv. 4. I could only have arisen from causes which 'took effect after a long continuance the hardships of the land-wars, the losses of property and slaves, the jealousy towards Attica and Boeotia as being undisturbed, &c.' At least the summer of 393 must therefore be allowed, wherein the ravages complained of may have taken place; so that, if the month 1 of the Euclea 2 be February, the massacre of the oligarchs must have happened about February 392. Then Praxitas gained his victory within the walls of Corinth in the summer of the same year, and at the end of the campaign large armaments were given up on both sides, and the contending parties henceforward limited themselves to harassing each other with mercenary forces stationed at Corinth and Sicyon respectively. In the same year may be placed the exploits of Iphicrates' peltasts at Phlius and in Arcadia, and the rebuilding of the Long Walls of Corinth with the help of the Athenians. Agesilaus' first invasion of Argos, the event next recorded by Xenophon , thus falls naturally at the opening of the campaign of 391-a date confirmed by Andocides , who apparently

¹ Kirchner, De Andocidis quae fertur tertia oratione, p. 10. Could more reliance be placed on this conjecture, based upon the analogy of the Calendar of Corcyra, the colony of Corinth, it would be a still stronger confirmation of Grote's view.

2 17 4 19.

stronger construction of Grote's New.

3 iv. 4. 2.

4 iv. 4. 15-18.

5 iv. 4. 19.

6 Cp. iii. 18-20. It seems impossible to make Andocides quite consistent with Xenophon. He speaks of three Peloponnesian victories, and by the third over 'Aργείουν μὲν ἄπανται καὶ Κορινθίουν, ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ Βοιωντῶν τοὸς καρόντας (cp. Xen. Hell. iv. 4. 9) he evidently means Praxitas' victory within the Long Walls of Corinth. If Xenophon be right, then Andocides must be wrong in stating that the Lacedaemonians at the same time captured Lechaeum—a pardonable exaggeration in an orator, especially when we remember what Xenophon tells us, that many of the Boeotian guards within the town were slain upon the walls and upon the roofs of the docks. Andocides goes on to say that, now that the war had lasted four years (395-392), the Boeotians were on the point of making peace, agreeing to leave Orchomenus independent, though this had been their original subject of dispute with Sparta; whereas the Argives, secured by their πατρία and ἰδία εἰρήνη from all ravaging of their country (i. e. before Agesilaus' invasion in 391), were eager for the war to continue. At this moment the Athenians were (§ 12) already in possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and according to Andocides the Lacedaemonians were now ready to admit their claims to these possessions; whereas Antalcidas' proposals (Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 12-15), that the Athenians should recognize their independence, had resulted in the complete breakdown of his negotiations. This implies that Antalcidas'

in the winter of 392-391 speaks of the war as having continued four years (i. e. 395-392) and of the Argolis being as yet unravaged. It is to be noted that Diodorus (xiv. 97) also speaks of an invasion of the Argolis by Agesilaus in the archonship of Nicoteles 391-390; but he represents Agesilaus as returning immediately to Sparta, instead of marching onwards, as Xenophon relates, to the Isthmus, so that not too much stress must be laid upon this coincidence. The invasion of the Argolis was followed by the capture of Lechaeum through the joint action of Agesilaus and Teleutias 1. This brings us next² (ἐκ τούτου) to Agesilaus' expedition against Corinth at the time of the Isthmian Games 3 (c. June 390), shortly after which occurred the destruction of the Spartan mora by Iphicrates at the time of the Hyacinthian Festival (midsummer). This latter date is indirectly confirmed by the passage already referred to in Andocides (iii. 37), where the orator states that though the war has continued four years, the Spartans had as yet suffered no reverse by land—a statement which would have been quite impossible after this victory of Iphicrates.

It is natural to suppose that Agesilaus' campaign against the Acarnanians, which Xenophon anext relates, belongs to the following year, though there is no reason, except its order in his narrative, why it should not be put a year later, i.e. 388: for the only marks of time that the historian gives (§ 12 τὸ μετόπωρον and 7. § Ι παρελθόντος του χειμώνος) do nothing towards fixing the year. Similarly Agesipolis' invasion of the Argolis, which happened & τούτου, may be equally well assigned to 388 or 387: it appears at any rate from v. I. 29 that it must have occurred very shortly before the Peace of Antalcidas.

scheme was earlier in date (perhaps the summer of 392) than the proposed peace advocated by Andocides; and that both the Athenians and the Spartans in the interval had seen some additional reasons for wishing for peace. These may well be found, on the part of the Athenians in the loss of Conon's services owing to his arrest by Tiribazus, and on the part of the Spartans in the breakdown of Antalcidas' negotiations and consequent fear of Persia.

iv. 4. 19 and iv. 8. 11. ² iv. 5. 1. ³ If this expedition be referred (with Clinton, Dodwell, Breitenbach, &c.) to 392, then all the events hitherto spoken of have to be crowded into the single year 393 instead of being spread over the three years 393-391. iv. 6, 1-14. iv. 7. 2.

So much for the chronology of the events by land.

The chronology of the events by sea is still more difficult owing to the fact already mentioned, that Xenophon only professes to make a selection of the most important events (iv. 8. I-v. I. 35). How far he has narrated them in chronological order, and how far he has grouped them together for purposes of convenience in narrating, is in many cases impossible to discover. Little help can be gained from other sources. Diodorus gives practically none: his unreliability is abundantly evident from two palpable mistakes that he makes in the course of this period (not to mention others); (a) Diphridas, he says in contradiction to Xenophon 1, commanded in Asia before and not after Thibron; (b) he leaves, obviously by accident, a whole year blank between Thrasybulus' setting out to the Hellespont and his death at Aspendus. Fortunately Polybius (and his statement is confirmed by Aristides, ii. 370) fixes with certainty the Peace of Antalcidas to the year 387-386. Only two inscriptions throw any light upon the question. The first (CIA. ii. 830) confirms the date already assumed for Conon's rebuilding of the Athenian Long Walls (393 spring or summer): the second (CIA. ii. Add. 14 b) is thought to prove that the final acceptance of the Peace of Antalcidas must be put some months later than the date assigned by Clinton; for the inscription shows that Athens was still endeavouring in the archonship of Theodotus (387-386) to strengthen her influence in Clazomenae. This, it is rightly argued 4, would have been impossible after the acceptance of the Peace, which must therefore be dated, not at the beginning, but nearer the middle of Theodotus' archonship.

Beyond these scanty materials no further direct evidence from ancient sources seems to be available. But a certain amount of indirect evidence can be obtained from the succession of Spartan admirals, if two or three preliminary assumptions be granted. The first assumption is that the admiralship at Sparta was, as a general rule, an annual office; the second that the newly elected admiral generally entered upon his office about midsummer. For both

* i. 6; cp. Diod. xiv. 110, 117.

¹ xiv. 97-99; cp. Xen. Hell. iv. 8. sr.

⁸ xiv. 94-99.

Cp. Swoboda and Köhler, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit. vii. 188a.

these assumptions a very considerable amount of evidence can be collected, and their general truth may be granted. The third assumption is that the six names, which can be collected from the Hellenica between the years 393 and 387, viz., Podanemus and his temporary successors, Teleutias, Ecdicus, Teleutias, Hierax, Antalcidas,—furnish an exhaustive list; and the fourth, that Teleutias, whatever may have been his title, practically filled the office, like Lysander before him, on two, if not three occasions, notwithstanding the law of rópos abrois dis ròv abròv ravapxeis. Under these four assumptions, which in several points, as will appear, are incidentally confirmed, the various dates in the maritime war can be fixed with some degree of apparent accuracy.

How then is this list of six admirals arrived at? In Hell. iv. 8. II we are told that Podanemus was put in command of a fleet to counteract the Corinthian fleet, which had been equipped with the gold of Pharnabazus in 393 B.C. This cannot have occurred till after midsummer , so that Podanemus' year of office must have been 393-392. Podanemus was however slain, and succeeded first by his secretary Pollis, who, being wounded, was in his turn succeeded by Herippidas. If then we suppose that at midsummer 392 Teleutias replaced Herippidas in the ordinary way, although Xenophon does not on this occasion call him ravapyos, we then get an important synchronism between the series of events by sea and land. For this would make Teleutias' year to have been 392-391, and it appears from the dates for the war by land already arrived at, that it was in the spring of 391 that Teleutias captured the docks of Lechaeum on the same day that his brother Agesilaus re-took the Long Walls of Corinth (Hell. iv. 4. 19).

Xenophon nowhere says that Ecdicus (iv 8. 20) was Teleutias' immediate successor. Can it be proved that he was? Here our only resource is to reckon backwards from Antalcidas, whose year can be fixed with something like certainty to 388-387. For the Peace negotiated by him cannot for the reasons alleged by Clinton be put very late in the archonship of Theodotus, nor yet very early, as appears from the inscription about Clazomenae already

¹ Cp. Beloch, Rheinisches Museum, xxxiv. 1879; Philologus, xliii. 1884 Appendix, p. 344.

² ii. 1. 7.

³ Cp. supr. p. xlvii.

alluded to (CIA. 14 b). Further it appears from Xenophon's narrative 1 that the negotiations were carried on by Antalcidas during his year of office. Out of that time his journey to Susa and back, and his business there, cannot have occupied less than six months, and he appears in active command of his fleet both before and after his journey. On his return to the coast of the Aegean he found a contingent of Syracusan and Italian ships ready to help him, which, under the conditions of ancient navigation, cannot have reached the Hellespont before May. He then captured 8 Athenian ships, and further collected a fleet of 80 ships, with which he obtained so complete a command over the Hellespont that the Athenians in alarm once more became eager for peace. Finally a congress of Greek deputies met (probably at Sardis) to consider the terms offered by the King of Persia, and after this some considerable interval must have elapsed between this congress and the final acceptance of the Peace by the various Greek states about Nov. 387. All these proceedings must have required many months, so that, as Antalcidas seems to have undertaken his journey to Susa shortly after he entered upon his office, his year of command must, beyond all reasonable doubt, have been 388-387. His immediate predecessor was the admiral Hierax (v. 1. 3, 6), whose secretary was Gorgopas, and whose year must evidently have been 389-388. In that passage Xenophon relates with some detail under what circumstances Hierax took over the fleet from Teleutias; and in the previous chapter (iv. 8. 23) how Teleutias had in his turn succeeded or rather perhaps superseded the admiral Ecdicus. It seems therefore legitimate to infer that Teleutias must at any rate, whether he was entitled ναύαρχος or not, have held the ordinary year's command 390-389; while, if he superseded Ecdicus a few months after the latter's appointment, as an attempt will be made to show, he must then have been de facto commander-in-chief of the Spartan fleet for more than eighteen months. This would make Ecdicus' year of office to be 391-390; whence it follows from what has already been stated, that Ecdicus in his turn must have been Teleutias' immediate successor, shortly after the latter's capture of Lechaeum in the early summer of 391.

The lists of Spartan admirals having been thus arrived at, the remaining events of the maritime war can be arranged with comparative ease.

393-392. Podanemus, admiral; Pollis, secretary.

Certain skirmishes took place this year in the Corinthian Gulf of which Xenophon gives no details 1, except the death of Podanemus and the wounding of Pollis, whereupon the command was taken by Herippidas.

392-391. Teleutias, admiral (?).

A priori and on the analogy of Lysander it would be natural to suppose that Teleutias was regularly appointed admiral this year, and that afterwards owing to his distinguished services and as the brother of King Agesilaus he was on the two subsequent occasions irregularly appointed to the supreme command. In the absence of all direct evidence however this must be left an open question.

This summer (392) Antalcidas' attempt² to bring about a general peace among the contending Greek states in the name of Tiribazus, the Persian satrap at Sardis, failed owing to the opposition of Athens, Thebes, and Argos.

In the autumn Tiribazus, having first arrested Conon, who had come as envoy to his court to represent Athenian interests against Antalcidas, repaired to the Persian Court at Susa. After his arrival the Persian king sent down Struthas to succeed him at Sardis. Some six months must be allowed for these two journeys, which brings us to the spring of 391. This spring Teleutias captured the docks of Lechaeum on the same day that Agesilaus after his invasion of the Argolis re-took the Long Walls of Corinth. About the same time the Lacedaemonians, finding Struthas hostile to their interests in Asia, sent out Thibron to oppose him: but Thibron was soon defeated and slain.

391-390. Ecdicus, admiral.

The Lacedaemonians at one and the same time sent out their admiral Ecdicus to help their supporters in Rhodes, and Diphridas to collect the remains of Thibron's army and continue the war against Struthas. Diodorus (xiv. 97), it is to be noticed, synchronizes the

¹ iv. 8, 11, 2 iv. 8, 12-15, 3 iv. 8, 16, 17, 4 iv. 4, 19.

invasion of the Argolis by Agesilaus (which however, as was noted above, he describes with some difference of detail as compared with Xenophon), and the expedition of Eudocimus (presumably Ecdicus?), Philodicus, and Diphridas. It is noticeable too that he records them both under the year of the archon Nicoteles 391-390. The synchronism is doubtless more reliable than the date; still they both confirm the present scheme of chronology, which puts the expedition of Agesilaus in the same natural year (301) as the admiralship of Ecdicus: for according to Diodorus' system of reckoning, which begins the year in mid-winter or early spring, 301 is the proper figure, whereby to denote the whole archonship of Nicoteles. Ecdicus, Xenophon tells us 1, finding the enemy too strong at Rhodes, remained inactive at Rhodes until his recall on the arrival of Teleutias σύν ταίς δώδεκα ναυσίν αις είχεν έν τῷ περί 'Αχαίαν και Λέχαιον κόλπφ. At this point, if we suppose that Teleutias simply succeeded Ecdicus in the ordinary way, we have to assume not only that Ecdicus remained inactive for the remainder of his twelve months' command at Cnidus, but that Teleutias also after his first year had remained a second year in command of these same 12 ships in the Corinthian Gulf, after his victory and the permanent occupation of Lechaeum by the Lacedaemonians had rendered his further presence there unnecessary. In favour of this hypothesis it might of course be argued that, if neither of the two commanders had done anything of importance within the year, Xenophon would, according to the principle which he laid down for himself in iv. 8. 1, have simply skipped over the interval. Still it seems to be more consistent with Xenophon's narrative here, and, as will appear hereafter, with the exploits of Thrasybulus, who was sent out against Teleutias, and of his successors, to suppose that the Spartan government, contrasting the victorious energy of Teleutias at Lechaeum in the spring with the unsuccessful inactivity of Ecdicus at Cnidus, decided to supersede the regular admiral after a few months only of his command had expired. If this hypothesis be correct, Teleutias must have sent (§ 23 ἀποπέμψαι) Ecdicus home in the autumn of 391, and must have continued for some twenty months or more (just like Lysander in

¹ iv. 8, 22; cp. iv. 4. 19.

405, 404 B.C.) de facto admiral of the Spartan fleet, whatever his title may have been. Soon after his arrival (i.e. late autumn of 391) Teleutias sailed to Rhodes and on the way captured 1 an Athenian squadron, which had been despatched under Philocrates to assist Evagoras in Cyprus. The Athenians thereupon made great exertions to counteract the activity of Sparta in the eastern Aegean, and sent a fleet of 40 vessels under Thrasybulus the Stirian to help the Rhodian democrats. Most of the winter of 391-390, we may well assume, was occupied in equipping this fleet, so that Thrasybulus probably sailed in the spring of 390. For fear of Teleutias, however, he directed his course to the Hellespont, where among other things he succeeded in winning over Byzantium to the Athenian side and in imposing the toll upon vessels passing through the Bosporus once more for the benefit of Athens.

390-389. Teleutias, de facto admiral.

Diodorus², as it has already been said, chronicles these operations of Thrasybulus under the two years 392 and 390, leaving by some mistake the intervening year a blank. Now it appears from Lysias (xxviii and xxix), Demosthenes (xx. 59, lvii. 38), and various inscriptions³, as well as from Xenophon and Diodorus, that Thrasybulus' successes were wide and far-reaching in their results, so that his operations may well have extended over two years or rather parts of two years. Probably therefore he spent the whole of the summer of 390 on the Hellespont and Bosporus, and the winter months at Lesbos, and undertook the disastrous raid upon Aspendus in which he lost his life in the spring of 389, i. e. in the latter half of the archonship of Demostratus. Diodorus, it will be noticed, also puts his death in the archonship of Demostratus, meaning thereby, however, our year 390. Still he is by no means particular under which year he arranges his events, so that the coincidence noted is some small confirmation of the present arrangement of events.

If then the spring of 389 be adopted as the date of Thrasybulus' death, the succeeding events may be put in the order narrated by Xenophon.

389-388. Hierax, admiral; Gorgopas, secretary.

¹ iv. 8. 24. ² xiv. 94, 97. ³ Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit. vii. 188a, 174 ff., 31s ff.

Of this year's generals the Athenians sent out Agyrrhius 1 to take the command of Thrasybulus' ships, which had retreated to Rhodes; Iphicrates, the mercenary leader (there is no need to suppose that he had been regularly elected στρατηγός), to counteract the measures which the Lacedaemonians were taking to undo Thrasybulus' work upon the Hellespont; and Pamphilus to put a stop to the piracy of the Aeginetans. After an encounter with Pamphilus at Aegina, Teleutias was succeeded by Hierax, the regular admiral for the year. Hierax at once sailed to Rhodes, leaving his secretary Gorgopas behind at Aegina, who for five months besieged Pamphilus in a fortress which the Athenians had built upon the island: whereupon the Athenians removed Pamphilus and his troops. Aristophanes in the Plutus (174, 176; cp. Eccles. 184), which was exhibited about Feb. 388, has an obscure allusion to Agyrrhius and apparently to some legal process going on against a Pamphilus who may very reasonably be identified with the unsuccessful general at Aegina.

388-387. Antalcidas, admiral; Nicolochus, secretary.

After their removal of Pamphilus, the Athenians began once more to suffer from the depredations of the Aeginetans; so now they equipped a new squadron under Eunomus, probably one of the new generals for the year, against them. Shortly afterwards the new Spartan admiral Antalcidas arrived at Aegina.

The remaining events of the war seem to present little chronological difficulty. Antalcidas took Gorgopas with him as escort from Aegina to Ephesus, whence he immediately sent him back again, at the same time that he despatched his secretary Nicolochus to Abydos to succeed Anaxibius, who had been defeated and slain by Iphicrates in the previous year. Gorgopas on his return voyage fell in with Eunomus 4, drove him back to Aegina, and next day defeated him, capturing four of his ships. Shortly afterwards, however, he was himself defeated by Chabrias, who was on his way to Cyprus to help Evagoras. Eteonicus was apparently appointed to succeed Gorgopas at Aegina. These events may all very well have occurred before or during the autumn of 388. Xenophon then

¹ iv. 8. 31; Diod. xiv. 99.

* v. 1. 5.

* v. 1. 7-9.

* iv. 8. 31; v. 1. 1, 2.

* v. 1. 17-9.

goes on to say έκ δέ τούτου οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αδ έκπέμπουσιν έπι ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον.

If by paúapyos Xenophon here means the ordinary admiral for the year, we must suppose that the operations of Teleutias recorded in the following sections (v. 1. 13-24) belong to the year 387-386, and that they are inserted out of their chronological order, because in § 25 Xenophon goes on to speak of Antalcidas, who appears to be still in his year of office (i.e. 388-387). It is, however, much simpler to suppose 1 that the designation ravapyos is here specially limited by the addition in rairas ras rais, and that the Spartans, in the year of Antalcidas, were merely once more (ab) availing themselves of the services of their hitherto only successful commander at sea. In fact a continuous reading of Xenophon's narrative, especially § 20 έκείνος (Teleutias) γάρ ένόμισεν αμελέστερον μέν έχειν τούς 'Αθηναίους περί το έν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικόν Γοργώπα ἀπολωλότος, seems to necessitate this hypothesis: for Gorgopas was slain about midsummer 388, and the exploits of Teleutias here recorded evidently followed close upon his death.

Meantime Antalcidas, having spent some six or eight months in his negotiations with the Persian king and in his journey to and from Susa, came down (c. March 387) again to the Aegean coast. There hearing that Nicolochus was besieged by Iphicrates at Abydos, he went by land to that city. Arrived at Abydos he collected a fleet of more than 80 ships, with which he drove Iphicrates and the other Athenian commanders out of the Hellespont, and soon reduced the Athenians at home to wish eagerly for peace. Then followed (c. May or June 387) the congress of Greek deputies, assembled under the presidency of Tiribazus (probably at Sardis), to listen to the terms dictated to them by the Great King. The next six months must have been occupied in the return of the deputies to their respective states, the opposition raised by Thebes, Agesilaus' threatened invasion of Boeotia, and the terrorizing of Corinth and Argos into submission, until at last probably about November of the same year the ἐπ' ᾿Ανταλκίδου εἰρήνη was finally accepted by all the Greek states.

¹ Cp. Breitenbach, note ad loc.

E. From the Peace of Antalcidas to the Battle of Leuctra, 386-371.

In this section the chronology of the first seven or eight years is extremely doubtful. We have to content ourselves with the dates and arrangement of Diodorus, except in so far as they can be corrected from the order observed by Xenophon in recording the same events. The chronology of the last eight years can be determined with much greater certainty, since we are here no longer mainly dependent upon Diodorus. Xenophon himself gives several definite marks of time, fixing the events of at least four successive years, 378-375. Two Attic inscriptions are of great importance; the first 1, dated the archonship of Nausinicus 378-377, deals with the affairs of the Second Athenian Confederacy: the second 3, dated the archonship of Hippodamas 375-374, practically settles, as will be seen, the date of Timotheus' expedition round the Peloponnesus. The speech of Apollodorus (Dem. xlix) contra Timotheum fixes the date of Timotheus' second command to April 373, and his trial to November of the same year. The Pseudo-Demosthenes (lix. 1357) and Plutarch (Ages. 28) agree in assigning the battle of Leuctra to the year 371, the latter giving the day of the month as the fifth of Hecatombaeon, viz. July 6 or 8. The data for arranging the events of the successive years, where they differ at all from Clinton, are given under each year.

386-385 B.C. Sparta seems to have occupied the whole of this year in enforcing the provisions of the 'King's Peace,' of which she was the originator and had been constituted the champion.

385-384 B.C. Clinton is apparently right in assigning the siege of Mantinea by Agesipolis to this year, though the data are very unsatisfactory and even contradictory. Xenophon would seem to imply that the siege began in the year after the expiration of the Thirty Years' Peace between Sparta and Mantinea. Now we know from Thucydides that it was concluded in the winter 418-417, so that it must have expired in the winter 388-387. Xenophon ought therefore to mean that the war broke out in 386 at

latest. It is noticeable that in § 4 he implies that the siege did not last a very long time.

Diodorus 1 puts the war in the archonship of Mystichides 386-385, i.e. in 386, thus agreeing with Xenophon. However he contradicts himself by saying 2 of the Spartans οὐδε δύο ἔτη φυλάξωντες τὰς κοινὰς σπονδάς, since in this very chapter he assigns the declaration of war to the first year after the Peace of Antalcidas. Then he makes the siege end under the archonship of Dexitheus in the winter of 385-384, i. e. 385, thus regarding it as lasting some eighteen months. Probably therefore the best way out of e difficulty is to take 385 as the year for the whole campaign, the beginning of which may very well have been in the last months of Mystichides' archonship, May or June, and the end in the first half of Dexitheus' archonship, September or October. In this case we must not press too strictly the date of the termination of the Thirty Years' Peace: in fact Xenophon himself (§ 2) introduces it with an elignoro. Moreover some eighteen months between the final ratification of the Peace of Antalcidas and the actual renewal of hostilities a priori does not appear too long.

The action of the Phliasian exiles to procure their own restoration was, Xenophon ⁴ tells us, occasioned by the fate of Mantinea, which surrendered, as we have seen, in the autumn of 385. This event therefore falls most naturally into the winter months 385-384.

384-383 B. C. The historian records no events of this year.

383-382, 382-381 B.C. The events next related by Xenophon⁵, are (a) the appearance of Acanthian and Ambraciot envoys at Sparta to ask for help against Olynthus (which may probably be put in the winter or early spring), and the resolution of the Lacedaemonians and their allies to accede to the request; (b) the preliminary expedition of Eudamidas $\dot{\omega}s$ $\tau \dot{\alpha} \chi \iota \sigma \tau a$ (§ 23) after this resolution and the surprise of the Cadmea by his brother Phoebidas, while he was on his march, $\theta \dot{\epsilon} \rho \sigma v \sigma s$ (§ 29), to join him.

It is a question whether these events should be assigned to the Julian year 383 or 382.

E. Curtius, E. von Stern , and others prefer the year 383.

xv. 2, 5.
 xv. 5.
 xv. 12.
 v. 2.
 8-10.
 v. 2.
 11-43.
 Spartan. u. Theban. Hegemonie. Dorpat, 1884, p. 34.

Clinton and Grote the year 382. There seem to be only two arguments in favour of 383: (a) Xenophon is silent about any intermediate events between the Phliasian affair and the embassy of the Acanthians and Ambraciots; (b) Diodorus records this embassy under the year of Phanostratus 383-382, i.e. 383. The first argument is of little or no weight. The second argument is quite valueless, because Diodorus puts the capture of the Cadmea in the archonship of Evander 382-381, whereas it is plain from Xenophon's narrative that the two events must have occurred in the same Julian year: in fact the testimony of Diodorus ought rather to be used against this theory, the embassy falling in the last six months of Phanostratus and the capture of the Cadmea in the first six months of Evander—an arrangement which accounts for the confusion in Diodorus in the usual fashion.

On the other side, in favour of the year 382 may be urged (a) the passages in Diodorus already cited; (b) the testimony of the orator Aristides 3, Πυθίων δυτων ή Καδμεία κατελήφθη; (c) the fact that the succeeding events in Xenophon's narrative fall in better with the year 382 than 383. As to the first argument enough has already been said. From the passage in Aristides it would follow that the capture of the Cadmea took place about August 382; for it is generally agreed that the Pythian festival was held every third Olympic year, and the Delphian month Bucatius (c. August) is proved by an inscription to have been the time of the festival, simultaneous with the autumn meeting of the Pylagorae. This, it must be confessed, is not very consistent with Xenophon's before orrow (v. 2. 29), and the preceding words rds γυναίκας εν τή Καδμεία θεσμοφοριάζειν suggest that Aristides' memory has here failed him. For in the context he is dealing with the implety of the Greeks in the course of these wars; and after citing the capture of the Cadmea Hubiur orrun, goes on to speak with some inaccuracy of the fight over the Isthmian games in 390, and then alludes to the fight at the Olympic games in 364. It is therefore tempting to suppose that Aristides really means Phoebidas' disregard of the Thesmophoria. If this be so, the passage cannot on the one hand be used to fix the year to 382, nor on the

¹ xv. 5, 19. 2 xv. 20. 3 i. 258. 4 ClA. ii. 545. 5 iv. 5. 1. 4 vii. 4. 28.

other need Xenophon's before be strained to square with the autumn of the Pythian games, but may be taken in its natural sense, viz. c. June. The date of the Theban Thesmophoria is quite unknown; in Athens the festival was held in October, but in Syracuse in the spring 1; but it is impossible to argue from one or the other to Thebes. We are thus thrown back mainly on the third argument—the order of events in Xenophon's narrative. The capture of the Cadmea, it appears, was followed in the same summer 2 (ἐκ τούτου) by the trial and execution of Ismenias. Then without any break Xenophon continues: τούτων δή πεπραγμένων οί Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολύ δή προθυμότερον τήν είς τήν "Ολυνθον στρατιάν συναπέστελλον. Accordingly they sent out Teleutias as harmost in command of την els τους μυρίους σύνταξιν, and after various military operations τούτο μέν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διήκε κ.τ.λ. Stern, Curtius, &c., interpose the winter of 383-382 between the execution of Ismenias and the departure of Teleutias. Here not only is it much more natural to regard τοῦτο τὸ θέρος of § 43 as the same as the θέρους δυτος of § 29; but it seems absurd to suppose that after solemnly resolving in the early spring that each state should send τὸ els τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα for the summer's campaign, and after actually dispatching Eudamidas' force in advance, the Spartans and their allies waited a whole year before carrying their resolution into effect—especially when we read that after the Theban affair they all acted πολύ δή προθυμότερον § 37, and that Teleutias actually took with him this την els τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν. Surely the narrative implies that immediately after sending out Eudamidas' preliminary expedition before the capture of the Cadmea-for Xenophon carefully notes that Phoebidas only followed his brother with rous imoλειπομένους των έαυτω (i.e. Eudamidas) προστεταγμένων, not with the main army-steps were taken to organize the larger force, and this being ready to hand, Teleutias conducted it against Olynthus as soon as the affair of the Cadmea was settled.

381-380 B.C. "Αμα δὰ τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαινομένῳ * Teleutias began anew operations against Olynthus: then after several skirmishes προιόντος τοῦ χρόνου (§ 3) he was slain and the whole besieging force was obliged to disperse.

¹ Diod. v. 4. ² v. a. 35, 36. ² ib. § 37. ⁴ v. g. r.

Diodorus ¹ assigns the death of Teleutias to the archonship of Evander 382-381, i.e. to the same year as the capture of the Cadmea. Xenophon proves that this is too soon, though it is quite possible that his death may have occurred in the last month of Evander, i.e. circ. June 381. Diodorus goes on to attribute to Agesipolis a whole year (i.e. 381) spent in petty skirmishes. Xenophon leaves it indeterminate, whether Agesipolis set sail as soon as possible after the death of Teleutias, i.e. August or September 381, or whether he waited till the spring of 380. He implies ² however that the Spartan government met the emergency with all possible vigour, so that, combining this with Diodorus, we cannot go far wrong in preferring the earlier date.

380-379, 379-378 B.C. Xenophon a marks exactly the time of Agesipolis' death with the words κατά θέρους ακμήν. This agrees with Diodorus 4, who not only puts the occurrence under the archonship of Pytheas 380-379, but adds that he had reigned for fourteen years, and was succeeded by Cleombrotus, who reigned for nine years. Now Cleombrotus was slain at Leuctra in July 371, so that once more we arrive at the year 380. Polybiades was sent out as harmost to take the command at Olynthus: although he prosecuted the war with vigour, he was obliged to starve the town into a surrender. This must necessarily have been somewhat a lengthy process, so that the capitulation cannot well be dated earlier than the first half of 379. This date agrees well enough with Diodorus, who assigns it to the same archonship as the death of Agesipolis, i. e. Pytheas 380-379. Moreover it appears from Xenophon's narrative that it took place just after or simultaneously with the reduction of Phlius. This is an unusually safe inference, because it is evident from the way that Xenophon in this chapter leaves events at Olynthus to record what was going on at Phlius, then goes back to Olynthus, again to Phlius, and once more to Olynthus that he is strictly following their relative chronological order. In § 25 he definitely states that the Phliasian affair lasted twenty months. It appears from its order in his narrative, that the complication began between Agesipolis' departure for Olynthus circ. August or September 381 and his death in July 380. For the same reason

¹ xv. 21, 22. 2 v. 3. 8. 2 v. 3. 19. 4 xv. 23. 5 v. 3. 20. 5 v. 3. 27, 19, 21.

we gather that the actual siege of the town began before the death of Agesipolis and continued after it. If therefore we assume the complication to have arisen about October 381 and the surrender to have taken place about March or April 379, no very wide margin for error will be left. Olynthus, as we have seen already, fell at the same date or just afterwards. Diodorus 1 affords us no help for the Phliasian affair. He compresses it into one year 383 and dismisses it in a couple of lines.

It is beyond all doubt that the Cadmea was recovered from the Spartans about the winter solstice 379-378. Xenophon^a records the event next in order after the surrender of Phlius and Olynthus. It occurred * ἐπ' ἐξόδφ τῆς ἀρχῆς, i. e. Boeotarchship, which expired * about the time of the winter solstice. Immediately on receipt of the news the ephors sent out Cleombrotus μάλα χειμώνος δντος (§ 14). Plutarch also 5 says for reperos, and in another passage 4, that it was a little after the surrender of Phlius. Moreover this date is indirectly confirmed by monumental evidence: for Xenophon affords us data, which exactly determine the four successive years 378-377-375-374, and the last of them is fixed by an inscription 7. Diodorus therefore is manifestly wrong in putting the recovery of the Cadmea under the archonship of Nausinicus 378-377, though, if it happened as late as January 378, which is quite possible, his mistake is easily accounted for: in fact on his system it is hardly a mistake at all.

378-377-375-374 B.C. Three passages in Xenophon determine these years exactly. In v. 4. 56 we read of the Thebans μάλα πιεξόμενοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῦν ἐτοῦν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκτῆς γῆς. Then § 58 ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ῆρος Cleombrotus led an expedition against the Thebans, which never reached its destination. Finally in § 63 we learn that the Thebans had leisure to subject their neighbouring cities ἄτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας οἰκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὕτ' ἐν ῷ Κλεόμβροτος ῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὕτ' ἐν ῷ Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε. The two years alluded to in the first passage, it appears from the context, are the two years immediately following the recovery of the Cadmea, viz. 378-377, 377-376; and the two years of the last passage are 376-375, 375-374, the last of which, as

before mentioned, is confirmed by an inscription. The events of these years can thus be fixed with ease.

378-377 B. C. v. 4. 20-24. Sphodrias' unsuccessful attempt upon the Piraeus.

v. 4. 35-41. Agesilaus' first invasion of Boeotia.

This chronology is indirectly but strongly confirmed by the inscription CIA. ii. 17. Xenophon¹ tells us that after the departure of Sphodrias οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάση προθυμία ἐβοήθουν. This inscription, dated the archonship of Nausinicus 378-377, shows the outcome of this activity in the enlistment of many new allies into the Athenian maritime confederacy, including the Thebans.

377-376 B.C. ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη (§ 47), Agesilaus marched out on his second expedition into Boeotia.

Diodorus⁸, it may here be noted, compresses Agesilaus' two expeditions into one, which he assigns together with the first declaration of war to the archonship of Callias 377-376.

376-375 B.C. ὑποφαίνοντος πάλιν τοῦ ἦρος (§ 58) Cleombrotus commanded the Lacedaemonian forces.

Chabrias (§ 61) defeated the admiral Pollis and the Lacedaemonian fleet—at Naxos according to Plutarch τη ἐκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ βοηδρομώνος, c. Sept. 10.

Diodorus 4 puts this victory a year too soon.

375-374. v. 4. 63-66. Timotheus sailed round Peloponnesus, winning Corcyra and τὰς περὶ ἐπεῖνα πόλεις over to the Athenian confederacy. This date is verified by the inscription (CIA. ii. 49) dated the archonship of Hippodamas, 375-374, which records the inclusion of the Corcyraeans, Acarnanians, and Cephallenians in the Athenian Confederacy. If Polyaenus is to be trusted and the festival of Σπίρα is the same as the Σπιροφόρια (Scirophorion is the name of the Attic month corresponding to June), Timotheus defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus off Leucas or, as Xenophon says, at Alyzia, about the month of June.

374-373, 373-372 B. C. From a comparison of Xenophon v. 4. 63 and vi. 1. 1, where it is implied that it was not until after the Thebans had completed the subjugation of their immediate neigh-

bours, which had engaged them both during the year of Cleombrotus' expedition and that of Timotheus' circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus, that they attacked the Phocians—it follows that Cleombrotus' third expedition to help the Phocians falls in 374 and not as Clinton puts it, in the previous year.

Then σχοδύν περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Polydamas the Pharsalian came to Sparta to ask for aid against Jason of Pherae.

After narrating this transaction with some detail, Xenophon¹ goes back to the Lacedaemonian expedition in support of the Phocians, and tells how the Athenians-doubtless in the same yearmade a separate peace with the Lacedaemonians. Immediately afterwards orders were sent to Timotheus at Corcyra to return to Athens. On his way home he replaced certain Zacynthian exiles in their island. This was regarded by the Spartans as a violation of the new peace; whereupon eidie (§ 3) they collected a fleet of 60 ships and despatched it under the admiral Mnasippus with orders to sail against Corcyra, and at the same time appealed to Dionysius of Syracuse for aid. Unfortunately Xenophon gives no more definite marks of time for this or the next three or four years. Diodorus makes positive mistakes. He speaks of a preliminary expedition (which of course is quite possible) sent out by the Lacedaemonians under Alcidas, which was shortly followed by Mnasippus with his 60 ships. He then goes on to say, that the Athenians tried to counteract this move by sending Ctesicles to Zacynthus and by collecting a fleet, which was put under the command of Timotheus. All these events as well as the defeat and death of Mnasippus he puts in the archonship of Socratides 374-373, by which he means 374; whereas, as will shortly appear, Timotheus set sail in 373.

To return to Xenophon⁵: hard pressed by the ravages of Mnasippus, who finally succeeded in blockading their city, the Corcyraeans appealed to Athens for help. The Athenians decided ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι, sent Stesicles with 600 peltasts across the mainland, and ἐψηψίσαντο καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναῶς πληροῦν, Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν. Fortunately the exact date of

¹ vi. 2. I. ² xv. 46, 47. ² Cp. Grote, ix. 358. ⁴ Probably a mere oversight for Corcyra, as in ch. 47 he speaks of Ctesicles as sent to Corcyra. ⁵ vi. 2. 8-11.

Timotheus' departure from Athens is preserved by Apollodorus (ps.-Dem. lix. 1186)-- ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδου ἄρχοντος μουνυχιώνος μηνός, i. e. April 373. Evidently therefore, as Mnasippus' operations must have taken some considerable 1 time and the Athenian fleet, we are informed, was very slow in its outfit, Mnasippus must have sailed in the autumn of 374; for he sailed as soon as possible (§ 3 εὐθύε) after the violation of the peace, and the Spartans would hardly have ventured on such extensive sea operations in the winter. Consequently Stesicles must have set out about midwinter.

Stern² has conclusively proved that Curtius and other scholars are mistaken in following Diodorus' dates and narrative in preference to that of the contemporary Xenophon, supported as it is by Apollodorus' (Demosthenes') oration against Timotheus. In accordance with the latter it is evident that Iphicrates replaced Timotheus in the early summer of 373 and sailed for Corcyra, after completing by his vigorous measures the outfit of the fleet, some time between midsummer and autumn. The defeat and death of Mnasippus happened before Iphicrates arrived at Corcyra. Timotheus' trial and acquittal is fixed by the same oration 3 to the month of November 373. Here there is an apparent discrepancy between the oration and Xenophon's narrative. It might appear from the former that both Iphicrates and Callistratus were present at the trial. The language however does not necessitate this interpretation, and the presence of Callistratus at Athens is fully explained by Xenophon 5 himself, who tells us that on Callistratus' representing to his colleague that, if he returned to Athens, he would either send supplies to the fleet or procure peace with Sparta, Iphicrates let him go.

372-371 B.C. Iphicrates stayed in Corcyra and the neighbourhood all through this year, maintaining his armament partly by hiring out his sailors to work in the fields for the Corcyraeans, partly by allowing his mercenaries to serve in the pay of friendly states, and partly by ravages in the enemy's country.

371 B. C. The dates of the peace congress in Sparta about June and of the battle of Leuctra, fought according to Plutarch 7 twenty

• vi. 2. 37, 38.

¹ Cp. vi. 2. 16 δυοίν μηνοίν: this only shows that the blockade must have lasted more than two months: it does not prevent its having lasted eight or nine months, which actually seems to have been the case. ³ p. 1190. Ages. 98. • p. 1187. l. c. pp. 107-113.

days later, are sufficiently well attested by the evidence collected by Clinton.

F. From the Battle of Leuctra to the Battle of Mantinea, 371-362.

371 B.C. In the few weeks following the battle of Leuctra, which was fought in July 371, must be placed the expedition of Archidamus¹, and the congress at Athens, in which the peace of the previous June was solemnly renewed. Xenophon² next relates the restoration of Mantinea, which was effected evidently before and not, as Pausanias² says, after the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus.

370-369 B.C. The most important event of this year was the assassination of Jason of Pherae just at the moment when he was making great preparations to appear at the Pythian games (370 c. August), the mention of which satisfactorily fixes the date. His death freed the Greek world from a great danger, and enabled⁵ the Thebans to turn their attention with safety to affairs in the Peloponnesus. There the restoration of Mantinea, the formation of the Arcadian League and the foundation of Megalopolis in the winter of 371-370 by the Arcadian democrats had given rise to great internal commotions. The Tegeate oligarchs had appealed to Sparta, and the Ephors had despatched Agesilaus to their assistance in the winter 370-369. All these dates are in harmony both with Xenophon and Diodorus. The retirement of Agesilaus to Sparta was immediately followed by the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus, which according to Diodorus lasted eighty-five days, and which ended while it was still winter, i.e. early in 369.

369-370 B.C. τῷ ὑστέρφ ἔτει 10, i. e. April 369 (for Xenophon, it must be remembered 11, always reckons the year to begin with the spring), a new alliance was concluded between Athens and Sparta. Then the Thebans made their second invasion of the Peloponnesus. The time of year is perhaps marked by the arrival and

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<sup>1</sup> vi. 4. 17, 18; 5. 1.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 4. 17, 18; 5. 1.

<sup>3</sup> ix. 14. 4.

<sup>4</sup> vi. 4. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Stern, L.c. pp. 165, 166.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Clinton. The foundation is not mentioned by Xenophon.

<sup>7</sup> vi. 5. 20 η μέσος χειμών.

<sup>8</sup> vi. 5. 50 ἔτι καὶ χειμών ην.

<sup>10</sup> vii. 1. 1.
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¹¹ Clinton, forgetting this practice, postdates the Second Theban Invasion and the following events.

departure of the troops, which Dionysius I of Syracuse sent to the aid of the Spartans: for under the conditions of ancient navigation they could hardly have arrived before May, and according to Diodorus 1 they returned at the end of the summer.

368-367 B.C. The words ή παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια² fix with tolerable accuracy the next events recorded by Xenophon. For Dionysius I died in the spring² of 367. Their arrival was simultaneous with the congress at Delphi summoned by Philiscus, the envoy of the satrap Ariobarzanes. If Köhler's interpretation be correct, this date is confirmed by the inscription a recording the honours voted by the Athenian assembly to Dionysius I towards the end of the archonship of Lysistratus, 369-368, which in lines 5 foll. seems to refer to this congress at Delphi. The so-called Tearless Victory was gained this year by the Lacedaemonians over the Arcadians and Argives.

368-365 B.C. The chronology of the next three and a half years is most uncertain. It depends very much on the time assigned to the movements of Pelopidas, all of which, with the exception of his embassy to Susa, are unnoticed by Xenophon. Clinton omits them altogether. Grote departs , without sufficient justification, from the ancient authorities and rearranges them on purely a priori principles.

Taking the events as they stand in Diodorus 7 and Plutarch 8, we may accept the date assigned by the former for the arrest of Pelopidas and Ismenias by Alexander of Pherae, and for the unsuccessful expedition of the two Boeotarchs, Cleomenes and Hypates to rescue them—viz. 368. Whether Epaminondas' expedition for the same purpose is to be put in the later months of 368 or in the early months of 367, is a doubtful question. Stern 9 prefers the later date on the ground that Diodorus and Plutarch represent Epaminondas as once more elected Boeotarch and that the elections to that office usually were held about the time of the winter solstice—an argument at this point without much weight, as the two unsuccessful Boeotarchs were evidently deprived of their office and Epaminondas put in their place.

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1 xv. 70 τοῦ θέρουτ λήγροντος; cp. Xen. vii. 1. 22.
2 vii. 1. 28.
3 vii. 1. 32; Diod. xv. 72.
4 CIA. ii. 51.
5 vii. 1. 32; Diod. xv. 72.
6 Cp. Stern, l. c. p. 201.
7 xv. 71.
8 Pel. 27.
9 l. c. 196.
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367-366 B.C. Assuming then the early months of this year to be the correct date for Epaminondas' expedition into Thessaly, we must suppose that immediately on his return to Thebes Pelopidas was sent as envoy to the Persian court. Not less than five or six months must be allowed for the journey up to and down from Susa, and another month or more for the subsequent congress at Thebes and for the despatch of the Theban envoys after its failure to the various Greek States. This brings us at earliest to the autumn of 367; and it is natural to suppose that not until all these negotiations were over did Epaminondas 1 lead his expedition against the Achaeans-perhaps in November or December of this same year. This kind of dead reckoning is at this point our only resource, because Diodorus, though he mentions Epaminondas' expedition and puts it, as we assume, correctly under the archonship of Polyzelus 367-366, omits altogether the embassy of Pelopidas to the Persian Court, which must necessarily have occupied a long time, except for a brief allusion 2 in speaking of the exploits of the hero after narrating his death at Cynoscephalae.

One of the indirect results of Epaminondas' expedition into Achaea was the political revolution at Sicyon, which finally resulted in Euphron's seizing the tyranny—probably at the very beginning of 366.

366-365 B.C. In the next two chapters (2, 3) Xenophon records a number of simultaneous events more or less centring round the person of Euphron and the little town of Phlius. Euphron so joined the Theban harmost of Sicyon in an attack upon Phlius. The Athenian Chares was sent to assist the Phliasians, and after various operations the Phliasians began to build a fortress at Thyamia. At this point Xenophon introduces a digression, describing the further career and assassination of Euphron. From vii. 4. 1 it appears that this happened before the departure of Chares from Phlius and therefore, notwithstanding Grote's remark that a year is too short for Euphron's career, his death must be assigned to this same year. Then the historian returns from his digression to the Phliasians fortifying Thyamia roū Xáppros tra παρόντος, when Oropus, at the time in the occupation of the

¹ vii. 1. 41. 2 xv. 81. 2 vii. 2. 11-23. 4 x. 26. 3 vii. 4. 1.

Athenians, was seized by some exiles. The Athenians summoned Chares to help them to recover the town, but they were obliged to content themselves with leaving it in the hands of the Thebans, until the question of their claims should be settled by arbitration. With the departure of Chares and the Athenian troops the Sicyonians were free to recapture their harbour, which Euphron just before his death had seized with the help of some Athenian mercenaries and handed over to the Lacedaemonians.

This date for the capture of Oropus agrees with Diodorus³, who puts it under the archonship of Cephisodorus 366-365. Immediately afterwards, it would appear from the sequence in Xenophon's an arrative, the Corinthians, Phliasians, and Epidaurians, weary of the long wars, with the consent of Sparta made a separate peace with Thebes. This must be the peace which Diodorus wrongly represents as a universal peace made through the intervention of the Persian king. His date for it, however, is to be accepted, viz. the archonship of Cephisodorus 366-365, which is further confirmed by his remark—πόλεμος κατελύθη πλείου μείνας έτῶν πέντε, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν, Leuctra having been fought in 371.

In this year too arrived the third reinforcements from Syracuse for the Spartans, sent this time by Dionysius II, his father having died, as already mentioned, in the spring of the previous year.

365-364 B.C. The chronology of this and the next year presents but little difficulty. We may take Xenophon's words μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον as marking somewhere near the beginning of 365, when war broke out between the Eleans and Arcadians. To this year we may certainly assign all the events recorded in §§ 12-18; and though it is tempting to suppose that the words in § 19 οἱ δ' αδ 'Αρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται άλλην στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἡλιν mark the beginning of the following year, it seems better to follow the chronology of Diodorus and to put this second campaign together with the capture of Cromnus by Archidamus under this same year 365. At the latest these events can hardly be placed

¹ Cp. vii. 4. 1 with vii. 3. 4 and 2.

³ vii. 4. 6-11.

⁴ xv. 76.

⁵ vii. 4. 12.

⁷ xv. 77.

later than January to March 364; for Xenophon ought to mean by the words ἐπιώντος Ὁλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους ¹ about April 364.

364-363 B.C. The Arcadians in the spring began to make great preparations for their celebration of the Olympic festival, which would take place in July.

This was the year of the death of Pelopidas at Cynoscephalae, which is fixed with something like certainty by the mention of an eclipse in Diodorus and Plutarch. This must be the eclipse of July 13, 364.

364 July-362 July. The remaining sections of the Fellenica are occupied with the commotions in Arcadia, which arose from a dispute over the use of the sacred treasures of Olympia, and which culminated in the intervention of the Thebans and the battle of Mantinea in 362. Xenophon gives absolutely no marks of time, so that it is impossible to distribute the events which he records over this interval with any semblance of probability; and no help whatever can be gained from the confused narrative of Diodorus.

The first event to which a date can be given is the treaty of the Arcadians, Achaeans, Eleans, and other Peloponnesian states with the Athenians, which is actually extant in an inscription 7, dated the archonship of Molon, i.e. 362-361, who entered upon office about July. The battle of Mantinea occurred shortly after the conclusion of this treaty σίτου συγκομιδής ούσης, probably at the end of July or the beginning of August, the harvest in the highland of Arcadia being late. Diodorus and Plutarch therefore must both be mistaken in putting the battle under the archonship of Chariclides, 363-362, the latter even giving the exact date, or rather that of the annual festival, which was held to commemorate the victory, as the 12th of Scirophorion (June). Diogenes 11 Laertius repeats the mistake. The date of the festival seems somehow to have been different from the day of the battle, how or why-cannot be explained. But the evidence of the inscription, backed up as it is by Xenophon's σίτου συγκομιδή, must be taken to outweigh 12 this

¹ vii. 4. 28. ² vii. 4. 28. ³ xv. 8o. ⁴ Pel. 32. ⁵ xv. 8a. ⁶ vii. 5. 1-3. ⁷ CIA. ii. 57 b. ³ vii. 5. 14. ¹⁰ xv. 8a. ¹⁰ De glor. Ath. 850 a. ¹¹ ii. 54.

¹⁸ Contrast Unger, Philol. N. F. iii. 121, who puts the battle in the year 363.

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strange unanimity on the part of three authorities, each one of whom would by himself be of but little importance.

§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE HELLENICA.

The extant MSS. of the Hellenica are numerous, and of very varying importance for establishing the text. They are twenty in number, besides three papyrus fragments recently discovered; namely:—

- π' . A fragment from iii. 1. 3-7 among the Oxyrhynchus papyri.
- π". A fragment from vi. 5. 7-9 also among the Oxyrhynchus papyri.
- II. A fragment from 1 and 2. 2-5. 8 among the papyri now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.
- B D I C A E. Six MSS. in the Bibliothéque Nationale at Paris.
- M. An Ambrosian MS. at Milan.
- V v v'. Three MSS. in St. Mark's Library at Venice.
- N n. Two Laurentian MSS, at Florence.
- P. In the city library at Perugia (E. 65).
- R. In the city library at Ravenna (131. 2. B).
- F. A Perizonian MS. at Leyden.
- P' V¹ V³. A Palatine and two Vatican MSS. at the Vatican Library in Rome.
- X. A MS. in the library of the Oratorio Napolitano at Naples.
- H'. A MS. in the British Museum (Addit. 5110).

π' has been collated and published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I, London, 1898, and is by them assigned to the second century A. D. It contains fragments of three columns from a larger MS. The text is written in a 'nearly upright square uncial hand. . . . Iota adscript is commonly written. Both single and double dots are used to mark a pause in the sense, as well as the marginal paragraphus. Short lines are filled up by the usual angular sign. A rough breathing is inserted once. Collated with Keller's text (1890) the papyrus shows προσελαβεν for προσέλαβε in § 6, and probably ἡτήσατο for ητήσατο in § 4.'

π" has also been collated and published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part II, London, 1899, and is by them considered to belong at least to the second and possibly even to the end of the first century A. D. The fragment contains three short and narrow columns, of which the first two are nearly complete. The MS. is written in a medium-sized neat uncial, and is carefully punctuated, the high stop denoting a longer, the low stop a shorter pause. The variants are not many, nor important, e.g. § 7 δ Στάσιππος for τοιοῦτος δ Στάσιππος, § 8 κελεύοντες βοηθείν for βοηθείν κελεύοντες, [Mart]ινηκς for Martireis, and § 9 καταφυγόντες for καταφεύγοντες.

II has been collated and published by K. Wessely 1, and is by him referred to the first decades of the third century of our era. It contains fragments of four chapters in the first book, viz. 2. 2, 3; 6, 7; 10-13; 17-19; 3. 1-7; 9-19; 22; 4. 1, 2; 5-7; 10-15; 18, 19; 21, 22; 5. 3, 4; 7, 8. The text is written on the back of seventeen columns of a papyrus roll of an official list recording the names of persons liable to the Land Tax, dating about 200 A. D. Like the Aristotelian 'A train moderate, it is obviously only a private copy, carelessly written and full of blunders, e.g. $\mu \in [i\lambda] \eta \tau [ov]$, i. 2. 2; $\pi \circ \lambda \in \tau \iota av$, i. 2. 10; $\sigma v \nu \phi v \gamma a \delta a$, i. 2. 13; ενπεσοντος, i. 3. 1; οπλειτων, i. 3. 3; οπλε[ι]τας, i. 3. 6; ιδεν, i. 3. 6, 7; 4. 7, 14, 19, 22; χερρονησειτας, i. 3. 10; ομειεισθαι, ομιειται, i. 3. 11; ακροβολιζμος, i. 3. 14; γορδειω, i. 4. 1; κρεινεσθαι, i. 4. 14; καστρωματος, i. 4. 18. There are no accents; breathings and other symbols are rare: όρκους, i. 3. 9; οῖ, i. 3. 10; τοια, i. 4. 2; μετ' αυτων, κατ' ίδεν, i. 4. 19; κατεκλείσαν, i. 4. 22; å, ίδιον, i. 5. 3.

Iota adscript is sometimes written, sometimes not, e.g. ιδια, but βουλομενωι, i. 2. 10; ε'ν μεθ[υμ]νη, i. 2. 12; τω πολεμω but τωι στρατ[οπεδ]ωι, i. 3. 1, 2; στρατια, i. 3. 5; θρακης, i. 3. 10; επιλιπη, i. 5. 3 The avoidance of hiatus is just as variable, e. g. δε a[θ]ην[αιο]ν, δε ανεψ[ιον], i. 2. 13; δε εξωθεν, i. 3. 5; δε ελων, i. 3. 10; δε αθηναιοι, i. 3. 5, 14; but δ' αθηναιοι, i. 3. 16; τ' ην, i. 3. 4; μετ αυτου, i. 4. 2; μετ' αυτων, i. 4. 19. Short lines are filled up either by a stroke or by angular signs. This papyrus goes far towards establishing the excellence of B above all the other MSS.: i. 2. 2 τω τειχει,

¹ Mitth, aus der Samml, der Papyri Erzherzog Rainer, vi. pp. 17-33.

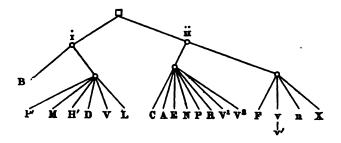
EEN. HELL. f

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Π Β F M D; § 6 τισσαφερι ης, Π Β; i. 3. 2 καλχηδονι, Π Β; i. 3. 5 αντιπαρεταξαντο, Π Β C M; μεχρι, Π Β; § 7 στενωποριαν, Π cp. Β; § 10 μεχρι ελθοι, Π Β C; § 19 απολλυμενους, Π Β; i. 4. 14 υπερβαλλομενοι, Π Β F M; § 21 λευκολοφίδου, Π Β M D V; i. 5. 8 αθυμως μεν, Π Β F M D. However, besides errors of spelling and the obvious error κατ' ίδεν for κατιδών, i. 4. 19, the papyrus gives but few peculiar readings: i. 2. 11 εὐθυ Λεσβου for ἐπὶ Λέσβου; i. 3. 5 εξωθεν for ἔξω and εβοηθει for προσεβοήθει; § 9 μηδε for μή; § 10 οῖ ηκεν for ἡκεν and ιππεας for ἰππείς; § 15 κοιραταδης for Κοιρατάδας; § 17 ποιησουσαι for ποιοῦσαι; § 18 επαγομινος for ὑπαγόμενος and απολογουμενος for εἰπών; i. 4. 2 λεγοντες for καὶ ἔλεγον; § 11 ἐπειδη δ' for ἐπεὶ δ'; § 18 ευθυς for εὐθίως.

The importance of this papyrus is that it proves that in the third century of our era the text of the Hellenica was essentially the same as that which we now possess (e.g. i. 3. 1), and that the chronological interpolations of the first two books—if interpolations they be—are of an earlier date.

The MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on which the text of the Hellenics mainly depends, have been proved by Riemann 1 to fall into two families, which can easily be distinguished according to the presence or absence of a remarkable series of lacunae in v. 1. 5-13: the better family exhibits three lacunae; the second family, which is in other respects inferior, is here complete. The relationship of the better known among the twenty MSS. may thus be shown in a table.



1 Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione, &c., Paris, 1879.

i. Superior Family.

B, Paris 1738, on bombycine paper, dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its pre-eminence among all the extant MSS. has been universally recognized, and it has been taken as the foundation of almost all the printed editions. It has lost one leaf at vii. 1.20 ἀκοντίζοντες-- § 31 ἔπιπτον, and several leaves at the end of the book, vii. 1. 38 & & ad fin.; and here and there single words or the ends of lines have become obliterated. The iota subscript is generally, but not always written. The accents are often wrong. Ourses is often written before a consonant, and so too is y ideakurτικόν. The copyist, when he could not read his original, carefully noted all the letters that he could decipher, e. g. ii. 3. 34 émixes . p. ή . έ for έπιχειρήσειε; ii. 4. ΙΙ συν . ε . πειράθησαν for συνεσπειράθησαν, V. 3. 12 δια . πε . πρα . μένοι for διαπεπραγμένοι. This MS. not only preserves the proper spelling of many proper names and of the pluperfect indicative, but in many places alone preserves the true reading, and in many others, even when itself erroneous, alone retains traces of the true reading, where otherwise it could not be recovered. Its faults are chiefly the omission of words and even of whole lines, strange alterations of words, and sundry interpolations; but its faults are mostly of such a nature that they can be easily corrected.

P', Palatine 140, is now in the Vatican Library. It is a bombycine MS. of the fourteenth century, containing only Xenophon's Hellenica on 174 leaves of the size 23 × 16 cm. I first consulted this MS, while on a visit to Rome in 1892, and found that it exhibits all the lacunae in bk. v. I of the better family of MSS. On testing it I further found that in 156 readings it agreed with B in 79 passages, with M in 132, with D in 120, with V in 106, with C in 103, and with F in 113, and that in these same 156 passages, if Keller's text of 1800 be taken as the norm, it exhibited 60 good readings, where B showed 67 and M only 52. It appeared to me therefore to stand in merit second only to B and to be of special importance in constituting the text of bk. vii, where B is defective. Accordingly in the following year Dr. Tschiedel at my request made a complete collation of bk. vii with the result that in 244 readings it was found to agree with M in 190, with D in 176, with V in 159, with C in 141, and with F in 159. It exhibited, however, only

11 peculiar readings: vii. 1. 8 καὶ τὰ μὲν for τὰ μὲν; § 28 παρρουσίας for παρρασίους; vii. 4. 2 ἐπεὶ δὶ δὴ for ἐπειδὴ δὲ; §§ 16, 26 ἐμέλησαν for ἐμέλλησαν; § 18 ᾿Ολόρου for ᾿Ολούρου (but "Ολουρον three lines above); § 25 σπεισομένους for σπεισαμένους; § 35 οῦτως for οῦτω; vii. 5. 23 ἀνίππων for ἀμίππων; § 25 ἡττώμενοι for ἡττημένοι; and § 26 συνεληλυθείας for συνεληλυθυίας.

M, Ambrosian A. 4, at Milan, is a bombycine MS. dated 1344, containing Thucydides and Xenophon's Hellenics. It is very carefully and accurately written. The breathings and accents appear in their proper places, and the iota subscript is generally written. But the scholarly carefulness of the scribe in a way defeats itself, as it has led him laboriously to follow the erroneous rules of the grammarians of his age. Riemann has demonstrated the general excellence of the MS., and has shown that it preserves the best reading in more places even than B—with the difference however that, while B alone in many passages preserves the best reading or traces of it, there is no reading in M which could not have been supplied from other sources.

D, Paris 1642, of the fifteenth century, written on paper, contains the Hellenics among many other treatises. It is neatly and elegantly written, but was never revised. Consequently it abounds in lapsus calami: letters and words are often omitted, and accidental repetitions and other faults frequently occur. Though the MS. manifestly belongs to the better family, the scribe, however careful himself, seems to have copied from an original full of lacunae and arbitrary alterations. These lacunae, which do not appear in B C F M, he seems to have filled by mere conjectures, a few of which are good in themselves, but unsupported by any manuscript authority. The corrupt alterations he has in many passages marked with some sign, while in others he has added and commended conjectural emendations of his own.

V, Venice 368, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, written on paper, contains many of the works of Xenophon besides the Hellenics. It is very closely connected with D, and is carefully written and corrected by another hand. The scribe marks doubtful readings, and possessing a sound knowledge of Greek, writes the breathings and accents correctly, and suggests a number of good emendations. The most remarkable feature, however, of the MS.

is the presence here and there of wilful and arbitrary alterations of the text-some of considerable extent, e.g. i. 1. 35; iii. 2. 27; iv. 8. 4; v. 1. 13; v. 3. 18.

H', British Museum, Addit. 5110, of the fourteenth century, contains several of Xenophon's treatises besides the Hellenica, which are, however, written in a different hand. The lacunae in it, peculiar to this family, are filled up from an inferior MS., except v. 1. 5, 6, for which the scribe omitted to leave a lacuna. Mr. Marchant, who has recently collated it, pronounces it to be closely akin to B, M, and P'.

I, Paris 317, is a MS. of the fourteenth century, written on paper, and containing a fragment of Thucydides and Xenophon's Hellenics as far as vii. 1.21. It abounds in lacunae, and is in other respects much inferior to the other MSS. of this family.

ii. Inferior Family.

C, Paris 2080, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, written on paper, contains Xenophon's Heilenics on pp. 41-202 among several other treatises of Plutarch, &c. This MS. is very carelessly written from dictation; it is full of mistakes of spelling, and wrong breathings and accents, which in many cases have been corrected either by the same scribe or by another hand. It is, however, of importance because it alone of all the MSS. hitherto collated here and there preserves the true reading, e. g. iv. 2. 4 $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$; 5. 1 $\tau \hat{\eta} s$; vi. 3. 13 and 4. 21 $\theta \hat{\omega} \lambda \alpha \tau \tau \alpha r$; vii. 1. 21 $\partial \epsilon \alpha \sigma \kappa \epsilon \delta \alpha \sigma \mu \hat{\epsilon} r \omega r$, and because it best enables us rightly to fill in the lacunae of the superior family occurring in v. 1. 5 ff.

A, Paris 1793, is a late MS. of the sixteenth century, written on paper, and has evidently been influenced by the Aldine edition, to which it is subsequent. It is of no critical value.

E, Paris 1739, is similarly a late MS. of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. It exhibits traces of the same influence and is equally valueless.

N, Laurentian lxix. 12, is a MS. of the fifteenth century. It is described by Riemann and declared by him to be of the inferior family, akin rather to C than to F, but to be of no critical importance.

R, Ravenna 131. 2. B, of the fifteenth century, was used by

Sauppe in his edition of 1866, and has since been tested by Riemann, who pronounces it to be of no great value.

 V^1 , Vatican 988, fifteenth century, is written on paper of the size 21×14 cm.; and V^2 , Vatican 1293, of the fifteenth century, is written on paper of the size 28×20 cm. These two MSS. I tested in 1892, and found them both to belong to the inferior family and to be closely akin to C. They seemed to be of no critical importance.

F, Perizonian 6, written on paper, is dated 1456. It contains several treatises besides the Hellenics. This MS. though it is closely allied to C, yet exhibits many readings found only in the superior family. Keller, therefore, conjectures that it was copied from an original, which had itself been corrected from a MS. of the better family. F exhibits many conjectures, sometimes good, but mostly bad, written in a later hand, which Keller would refer to a scholar of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

v and v', Marcian 365 and 364, are vellum MSS., the one dated 1453, the other 1469, and have never been completely collated. Riemann considers them both akin to F, and conjectures that v' was copied from v, as they both have nearly the same text. Dindorf collated them both at v. 1. 1-19, and Riemann at i. 1. 1-18, but neither scholar seems to have attributed any great value to their readings.

n, Laurentian lxix. 15, of the fifteenth century, was tested by Dindorf at iii. 3 and by Riemann at i. 1. 18; 7. 34, 35; iii. 3; v. 1. 1-17. Riemann assigns it to the inferior family and thinks it more akin to F than to C.

X, Oratorio Napolitano xxii. 1, of the fifteenth century, has been recently (1892) collated by Professor E. Jorio, who assigns it to the inferior family and regards it as more akin to F than to C. The most important peculiar readings are ii. 1. 9 olselar for λlar; iii. 3. 2 ἀλλ' είπου ἡ πολὺ κάλλιον κ.τ.λ. for ἀλλ' ἡ πολὺ κ.τ.λ.; iii. 5. 24 τῶν χωρίων τούτων for τῶν χωρίων του; iv. 3. 12 Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ for Κόνωνος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ; iv. 6. 1 αὐτῆ for αὐτῷ. Its title Χενοφῶντος τὰ παραλειπόμενα ἄπερ καὶ ἐλληνικὰ ἐκάλεσεν εἰς ὁκτὰ βιβλία διαιρούμενα is specially worthy of notice 1.

Besides these extant MSS., five others, H, I, K, O, Y, must be mentioned, the readings of which are noticed in the margins of the old editions. The readings of H are preserved in the margin of 'Cp. Introd. p. xiii.

a copy of the Aldine edition in the library at Munich described by P. Victorius. Riemann assigns it doubtfully to the F type of the inferior family.

The readings of I were transcribed by Valcknär into the margin of a copy of Stephen's edition from the margin of a copy of the Aldine edition in the library at Leyden (No. 923). Riemann would assign it doubtfully to the inferior group of the better family.

K is also an unknown MS., the readings of which Valcknär transcribed from the margin of a copy of the Basle edition in the Leyden Library (Perizon. t. 28) to the margin of another copy in the same library (Perizon. 85).

O is an unknown MS., which Valcknär now and again notices in the margin of his copy of Stephen's edition.

Y is a lost MS., the readings of which are noticed by Gail in his edition of Xenophon's works (Paris 1797-1814).

So few readings of K, O, Y, are preserved that Riemann refuses even to conjecture to what family they belonged.

Besides these MSS., some slight help in constructing the text of the Hellenica can be derived from Harpocration and the quotations of scholiasts and grammarians; and also from the MSS. of the Encomium Agesilai (Vatic. 1335, twelfth century; Vatic. 1950, fourteenth century; Urb. 93, fifteenth century); for where the text of it is identical with that of the Hellenica, in many places they agree with the peculiar readings of B.

Editions.

The principal editions of the Hellenica are as follows:—

Two Aldine, the first of 1502, the second of 1525.

Two Juntine, the one dated 1516, the other 1527.

Editio Halensis, printed at Halle, 1540.

Editio Brylingeriana or Basiliensis, printed at Basle, 1555.

Editio Castalionea, undated.

Two editions of H. Stephanus, the one dated 1561, the other 1581.

Editio Leonclavii, 1594.

Editio Wellsii, edited by C. A. Thieme, Leipsic, 1764.

Editio Mori, Leipsic, 1778.

Two editions of Schneider, Leipsic, 1791 and 1821.

Editio Weiskii, Leipsic, 1799.

Editio Gailii, by J. B. Gail, Paris, 1808-1815.

Editio Parisiana, published by Didot, Paris, 1847.

Two editions of L. Dindorf, the one dated Oxford, 1853, the other Leipsic, 1866.

Editio Breitenbachii, Leipsic, 1853-1863.

Editio Cobeti, Amsterdam, 1862.

Editio Sauppii, Leipsic, 1866.

Editio Kurzii, Munich, 1873.

Editio Büchsenschützii, Leipsic, 1860-1876.

Two editions of Otto Keller, Leipsic, 1890 and 1893.

Breitenbach has noticed that in the ancient editions of the sixteenth century the readings in many places are of special importance as representing MSS. now lost. By collation he found that before H. Stephanus' editions they agree mostly with A and F, but that Stephanus and Leonclavius based their text rather on the Paris MSS. of the better family.

§ 4. LIFE OF XENOPHON 1.

c. 430. Birth 2.

c. 410-401. Friendship with Socrates.

401, 400. Xenophon accompanied Cyrus on his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and after the battle of Cunaxa conducted the retreat of the Ten Thousand to Trapezus, and then to Chrysopolis.

400-399. Entered 5 with many of the Ten Thousand the service of Seuthes, King of Thrace.

399. Handed the Ten Thousand over to Thibron, the Lacedaemonian general in Asia.

1 For details, cp. Roquette, De Xenophontis vita; Dakyns, Works of

Xenophon, vol. i.

Aenophon, vol. 1.

3 Kenophon speaks of himself as a young man in 401 B. C. at the time when he was elected to the command of the Ten Thousand: cp. Anab. iii. 1. 14, 25; 2. 37; iv. 2. 16; vii. 3. 46. The story of Diogenes Laertius (ii. 5. 22; cp. Strab. ix. 405; Macrob. 21), that Socrates saved Xenophon's life at the battle of Delium 424 B. C., probably rests on a confusion between Xenophon and Alcibiades (Plat. Symp. 221). If it were true, he must have been born some time between 450 and 444 B.C. ere true, he must nave been been ser. ii. 6. 48.

Cp. Memorabilia; Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 48.

Cp. Anab. vii. 3.

4 Anab. vii. 7. 57; 8. 26, and Hell, iii. 1, 6,

Married 1 Philesia.

399-396. Accompanied 2 Thibron and his successor Dercylidas in their campaigns against the Persians.

Exiled 5 from Athens.

396-395. Became the intimate friend of King Agesilaus in Asia, and accompanied him on his campaigns.

394. Returned 5 with Agesilaus to Europe, and was present in all probability at the battle of Coronea.

394-387. Lived at Sparta and accompanied 7 Agesilaus on his various campaigns.

386-371. Lived at Scillus.

c. 384. Xenophon built a shrine to Artemis at Scillus.

371. Expelled 10 by the Eleans from Scillus.

371-354. Lived 11 at Corinth.

c. 369. Edict 12 of exile revoked.

362. Gryllus, Xenophon's son, was slain 18 in a cavalry skirmish at Mantinea.

354. Death 14 at Corinth.

¹ Cp. Diog. Laert, ii. 6. 5x. Xenophon states (Anab. vii. 6. 34) that in 399 he had no children. But about 392 he seems to have sent his sons Gryllus and Diodorus to Sparta to be educated Diog. Laert, ii. 6. 54; Plut. Ages. 20), and Spartan boys began their training at seven years old.

This is an inference from the vivid details of Xenophon's narrative in Hell. iii.

³ Cp. Anab. vii. 7. 57 (cp. v. 3. 6) οὐ γάρ τω ψῆφοι αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Αθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. These words seem to imply that Xenophon was exiled not very long after 399. So Dio Chrys. viii. p. 130 m. &d The μετά Κύρου στρατείαν; Paus. v. 6. 5 and Epigram ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 58. Roquette dates his exile after Coronea 394, citing Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 51 παρ' δν καιρόν (Xenophon's friendship with Agesilaus) έπλ Λακανισμώ φυγήν ὑτ' 'Αθηναίων κατεγνώσθη.

- Anab. v. 3. 6: vivid details in Hell. iii and iv.

Anab. v. 3. 6.

- Plut. Ages. 18. ⁷ This is an inference from the vivid details given of Agesilaus' campaigns in Hell, iv passim, Anab. v. 3. 7. • Ibid.
 - Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 53; Paus. v. 6. 7. Cp. Hell. vi. 5. 2, 30; vi'. 1. 26.
 Diog. Laert. iii. 6. 59.

15 Ephorus, ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6, 53.

14 Stesiclides, ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 56, puts his death in the archonship of Callidemides 360-359. But Kenophon was certainly writing (Hell. vi. 4. 34) as late as 358-357, and probably wrote the De Vectigalibus in 355 (cp. Roquette, p. 31).

INTRODUCTION

§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

YEAR. April toApril.	EVENTS, BOOK I.		
	BOOK I.		
411 c. Sept. Winter.	 i. 1. Agesandridas defeated the Athenian fleet. i. 2-9. ἀρχομένου χειμώνου battles at Rhoeteum and Abydos. Thrasyllus went to Athens: μετὰ ταῦτα Tissaphernes at the Hellespont arrested Alcibiades. 		
410-40 <u>9</u> .	 10-13. ημέροις τριάκοντα ύστερον Alcibiades escaped and sailed to Proconnesus. 14-19. Battle of Cyzicus. 10-22. Alcibiades recovered the Athenian dominion over the Bosporus, &c. 23-37. ἐν τῷ χρόνφ νούτφ sundry contemporary events. κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον revolt of Thasos to Athens. περί τούτους τοὺς χρόνφυς sally of Agis from Deceles. Clearchus was despatched to the Bosporus. Sicilian affairs. 		
409–408. Summer.	ii. 1-13. τῷ άλλψ έτει Thrasyllus ravaged the coast of Ionia, suffered a severe repulse at Ephesus, retired to Notium and sailed thence to the Hellespont.		
Winter.	 14-17. χειμών ἐπήει Thrasyllus joined Alcibiades at Lampsacus, where the two generals wintered and defeated Pharnabazus. 18, 19. τῷ αὐτῷ χρότῳ the Spartans recovered Coryphasium. 		
408-407. Summer.	iii. 1-13. τοῦ ἐπόντος έτονς the Athenians sailed from Lampsacus to Proconnesus, then invested Chalcedon, and compelled Pharnabazus to conclude an armistice with them and to promise a safe escort for some Athenian envoys to the Persian king. iii. 14-22. Siege and capture of Byzantium.		
Winter.	iv. 1. τον χειμώνε the Athenian and other envoys met Pharnabazus at Gordium.		
407-406. Summer.	 iv. 2-7. dρχομένου τοῦ ἐαρος the envoys heard of the appointment of Cyrus to be satrap. Cyrus arrived and persuaded Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys. iv. 8-12 Alcibiades sailed to Samos, while Thrasyllus sailed with the main fleet to Athens; and then hearing of his election to be general, entered Piraeus in June, ἡμέρς ἢ Πλυντήρια ἢγεν ἡ πόλις. iv. 13-20. Reception of Alcibiades in Piraeus and Athens. His escort of the Eleusinian featival. [v. 1. Lysander appointed to be Spartan admiral, πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνω.] 		
Winter.	iv. at-a3. τετάρτφ μηνί Alcibiades set sail with his		

§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY lxxxiii

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOKS I, II.
	newly equipped fleet first to Andros, and then to Samos, which he made his head quarters for winter operations against the Peloponnesians. v. I-10. Lysander collected a fleet of 90 vessels at Ephesus, negotiated with Cyrus, and made preparations for renewing the war by sea. v. II-19. Alcibiades joined Thrasybulus at Phocaea: in his absence Antiochus his lieutenant was defeated at Notium. Alcibiades returned to Samos, and soon afterwards withdrew in disgrace to the Chersonese. Conon succeeded him in the command of the fleet. v. 20. Conon ravaged the neighbouring territory of the enemy.
406–405. Summer.	vi. 1-12. The lenters letter Callicratidas succeeded Lysander, and failing to get money from Cyrus, obtained supplies from the Milesians. vi. 13-23. Callicratidas stormed Methymna, and blockaded Conon in the harbour of Mytlene. vi. 24-28. The Athenians sent out a fleet of 110 vessels
c.August, 406.	to the rescue, which Callicratidas attempted to intercept. vi. 29-36 Battle of Arginusae. vi. 37-38. Eteonicus despatched his ships to Chios and retired himself to Methymna. The Athenian fleet sailed first to Mytilene, and then to Samos.
Winter.	vii. 1-35. ἐγίγνετο 'Απατούρια trial of the generals, who had fought at Arginusae.
405-404. Summer.	BOOK II. i. 1-5. ἐνεὶ χειμῶν ἐγένετο Eteonicus suppressed a mutiny among his troops at Chios, and obtained money from the Chians. i. 6. γ. The Spartans appointed Lysander to command their fleet for a second time. i. 8, 9. Cyrus was summoned to the presence of his father Darius. i. 10-14. τῷ ἐνιόντι ἔτει Lysander arrived at Ephesus, where he fitted out his fleet with money supplied him by Cyrus, who soon afterwards set out to meet Darius, having first entrusted him with the revenues of his province. The Athenians made counter-preparations at Samos. i. 15-21. Lysander sailed to Caria and Rhodes, and thence past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians set out from Samos, ravaged the Persian territory, touched at Chios and Ephesus, and then at Elaeus on the Hellespont: whence, hearing that Lysander had

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YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK II.
c. August.	taken Lampsacus, they took up a position opposite to him near Sestos. i. 22-29. Battle of Aegospotami. i. 30-32. Lysander captured the whole Athenian fleet and executed all the prisoners. ii. 1-4. Lysander entered Byzantium and Chalcedon.
Winter.	Dismay at Athens. ii. 5.9. Lysander sailed to Lesbos, where he reorganized the government of the several states and despatched Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. General revolt of all the Athenian allies except Samos. Lysander restored the Aeginetan, Melian, and other exiles to their native cities, and afterwards blockaded Piraeus. ii. 10, 11. Siege of Athens: proclamation of an amnesty. ii. 12-15. Fruitless negotiations for peace first with Agis and then with the Ephors. ii. 16-20. Mission of Theramenes to Lysander τρείν μήρας καὶ πλείω. Afterwards Theramenes returned and headed an embassy to Sparts. Council of the Peloponnesian allies upon the fate of Athens. The Athenians accepted the offered terms. Lysander entered Piraeus, and began the demolition of the Long Walls.
c. June,	iii. 1-10. rê êmôru êu appointment of the Thirty.
404-403.	Lysander sailed to Samos, and Agis evacuated Decelea.
Summer.	Lycophron of Pherae (περί ήλιου ξελευμν) defeated the Larisaeans. Lysander reduced Samos and returned in triumph to Sparta.
Winter.	 iii. 11-56. The Thirty began a reign of terror, supported by the Spartan harmost and garrison. Accusation and execution of Theramenes. iv. 1-22. ἐπη/γνεται χιὰν παμπληθής the democratic exiles, headed by Thrasybulus, seized Phyle and marched upon Piraeus, where they defeated the Thirty
c. February, 403. 403–402.	in battle, Critias being among the slain (&ν δενώ μησίν). iv. 23-27. The Thirty were deposed and the Ten appointed in their place, with whom constant war was waged by Thrasybulus and the democratic exiles. iv. 28-38. At the invitation of the oligarchs the Spartans sent Lysander and Libys to their aid. But Pausanias intervened and after some slight military operations effected a reconciliation between the contending factions. iv. 39-42. Pausanius disbanded the Peloponnesian army. Thrasybulus marched up to Athens, and restored the democratical constitution.
401-400.	 iv. 43. ὑστέρφ χρότφ final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, and proclamation of an universal amnesty.

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS.	Book III.
	ВОО	ζ 111.
401-399. 399-398.		of the Ten Thousand. ia as harmost: joined by the nos and other cities in Asia.
Autumn.		i. 8-28. Thibron was super- seded by Dercylidas, who came to terms with Tissa- phernes and marched against Pharnabazus. ii. 1-5. ἐν ὁατὰ ἡμέραις Dercylidas took nine cities: made a truce with Pharnabazus, and διεχεί- μαζεν in Bithynia.
398-397.	ii. 27-30. Agis having penetrated as far as Cyllene, recrossed the Alpheus and left Lysippus with a garrison at Epitalium, who ravaged Elis (§ 30) τὸ λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα.	ii. 6-9. ἄμα τῷ ἦρι Dercy- lidas marched to Lamp- sacus, where he heard that his command had been prolonged for τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαντόν: renewed the truce with Pharna- bazus, and crossed to the Chersonese, where (६ξ το, II) ἀπὸ ἡρινοῦ χρόνον πρὸ ὁπώραs he rebuilt the wall across the isthmus. On his return to Asia Der- cylidas captured Atar- neus after a siege (ξ II) ἐν ὀκτὰ μησί (c. August 398-March 397).
397-396.	ii. 30, 31. 100 trains of poor the Spartans again threat- ened war, whereupon the Eleans submitted and en- tered the Lacedaemonian	ii. 12–20. μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χούτου peace had pre- vailed between Dercylidas and Tissaphernes: now Dercylidas advanced to-
c. June.	alliance. iii. 1-3. μετὰ τοῦτο death of Agis. Agesilaus suc- ceeded him through the influence of Lysander.	wards Caria and met the two satraps in the plain of Macander, when (§ 17) ἢν βαθὸτ ὁ σῖνοι. There a truce was concluded.

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YEAR. April to April	EVENTS.	Book III.
396-395.	the conspiracy of Cinado	ros ἐν τῆ βασιλεία ᾿Αγησιλάον on was discovered and sup-
Spring.	being fitted out in Phoconsent of the Spartans expedition into Asia. The laus from sacrificing at Ephesus. Truce with Lysander, who retired to Spithridates as an ally. the Persian king, broke to rowrow (§ 11) Agesilaus after an unsuccessful cavi	ws coming of a Persian fleet enicia Agesilaus gained the and their allies to lead an e Boeotians prevented Agesi- Aulis. The king crossed to lissaphernes. Quarrel with the Hellespont and won over Tissaphernes, reinforced by the truce and declared war. Is advanced into Phrygia, but alry skirmish returned to the where he reorganized his
395-394-	iv. 16-19. ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαιι at Ephesus. iv. 20-27. ἐν τούτφ τῷ χρι ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ ᾿Αγησίλασο διεί Sardis and defeated the Pe Tithraustes superseded Then he made a truce wi to march into Pharnabazus	The Agesilaus drilled his troops for all δ triaurds for do' of aphosos the king marched upon train cavalry on the Pactolus, and executed Tissaphernes. The Agesilaus, persuading him to territory. iv. 27-29. On his march Agesilaus collected a new fleet of 120 ships and appointed his brother Pissander admiral. [IV. i. 1-40 δμα μετονόρφ he reached Pharnabazus' Phrygia, ravaged the country, won over many cities and proceeded towards Paphlagonia. Story of Otya. Agesilaus (§ 16) δεχείμας in Dascyleum. Skirmish with Pharnabazus. Three days later (§ 20) Herippidas captured the satrap's camp. A quarrel over the spoils led Spithridates to desert to Sardis, much to Agesilaus' annoyance. Interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

YEAR. April to April.

EVENTS. BOOK IV.

BOOK IV.

394-393.

- ii. I. The Spartans resolved to recall Agesilaus, and prepared for war against the Thebans and their allies.
- iv. 9-23. & rovre Aristodemus led out the Spartan army: the enemy assembled in Corinth, and thence advanced to the Nemea, when they were met by the Lacedaemonians. Battle of the Nemea, the victory resting with the Lacedaemonians.
- iii. 10. On the Boeotian frontier Agesilaus heard of Pisander's defeat at Cnidus.
- iii. 13-23. Battle of Coronea:
 after the victory Agesilaus
 dedicated a tithe of his
 spoils at Delphi, while
 Gylis led the army
 through Phocis into
 Locris.
- iv. 1. µerd rouro Agesilaus disbanded his army and sailed home. & rourou the war was continued from Sicyon and Corinth as bases.

- i. 41. εὐθύς the king left the satrap's territory; σχεδὸν δὶ καὶ ἐαρ ἡδη ὑπόφαινεν. In the plain of Thebe Agesilaus collected large forces for another expedition against the Persians.
- ii. 2-8. Agesilaus obeyed the summons home; and leaving Euxenus with 4,000 men in Asia crossed the Hellespont with the rest of his army and marched along the coast.
- iii. 1-9. Dercylidas met Agesilaus at Amphipolis with the news of the battle of the Nemea.
- iii. 10-12. Conon defeated Pisander and the Peloponnesian fleet at Cnidus a few days before an eclipse of the sun (August 14, 394). viii. 1-6. Conon and Phar-
- riii. 1-6. Conon and Pharnabazus expelled the Spartan harmosts from the islands and coast towns. From Ephesus Pharnabazus went by land, Conon by sea to Abydos, which was held by Dercylidas. The satrap left Conon on the Hellespont with orders to collect a large fleet for the next campaign, καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις δυτες διῆγον.

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YEAR. April to April.	Events.	Book IV.
393-392.	iv. I. The Corinthians saw their own territory being wasted, whilst their allies enjoyed the blessings of peace: discontent of the oligarchs amongst them. iv. 2-6. On Education 7th televralar [February 3921] the Corinthian democrats massacred many of the oligarchs and united the city with Argos.	viii. 7-11. &µa τῷ lap: Conon and Pharnabazus crossed to Melos, ravaged the Spartan coasts, garrisoned Cythera, and supplied the allies at Corinth with money. Pharnabazus returned to Asia. but Conon sailed to Athens and helped to rebuild the Long Walls and the Wall of Piraeus. The Corinthians equipped a fleet, whereby they asserted their mastery over the Corinthian Gulf; (§ 11)
392-391.	iv. 7-13. [Summer 392] Some Corinthian oligarchs admitted Praxitas into the Long Walls of Corinth. Battle at Lechaeum. Praxitas pulled down parts of the Long Walls, captured Sidus, Crommyon and Epiicia, and then returned to Sparta.	pard rours summer 392 Teleutias dispossessed them. viii. 12-15. The Spartans sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus at Sardis, at the same time that the Athenians and their allies sent Conon and others envoys to counteract his influence. Failure of Antalcidas negotiations.
Autumn?	iv 14. & τούτου large armaments were given up on both sides, the war being carried on only by the mercenaries stationed respectively at Corinth and Sicyon.	viii. 16. Tiribazus gave money to Antalcidas, arrested Conon, and went up to Susa.
391-370.	iv. 15-18. Issa exploits of Iphicrates' peltasts at Phlius and in Arcadia. Rebuilding of the Long Walls of Corinth with the help of the Athenians iv. 19. Agesilaus ravaged Argolis, and retook the Long Walls of Corinth, while Teleutias captured the docks.	viii. 17-19. Struthas, a phil-Athenian, replaced Tiribazus at Sardis. The Spartans sent out Thibron to make war on him. προιδετοι τοῦ χρόνου (§ 18)

YEAR. April to April.	Events.	Book IV.
Late Autumn.		Thibron was defeated and slain. viii. 20-22. The Spartans sent out Diphridas to replace Thibron and Ecdicus to help the Rhodians against the Athenians. Ecdicus remained inactive at Cnidus. viii. 23, 24. Teleutias, leaving the Corinthian Gulf, superseded Ecdicus at Cnidus, and on his way to Rhodes captured an
390-389.	v. I-IO. ἐκ τούτον on an expedition into Piraeum Agesilaus surprised the Argives celebrating the Isthmian games [καὶ γὰρ ἔν ὁ μὴν ἐν ῷ Ἰσθμα γίγνεται (c. June 390), cp. § 4 οἶα θέρουν], and gained much booty in Piraeum. v. II-I7. Iphicrates destroyed a Lacedaemonian mora returning to Lechaeum at the time of τὰ Ὑσκίνδια c. July 490.	Athenian squadron sailing to Cyprus. viii. 25-27. The Athenians sent out Thrasybulus with 40 ships to .help the Rhodians: but for fear of Teleutias he sailed to the Hellespont, where he persuaded Medocus and Seuthes to become allies of Athens, set up a democracy at Byzantium, and at Chrysopolis a toll on vessels passing through the Bosporus, and won over Chalcedon.
Autumn ?	v. 18, 10. Thereupon Agesi- laus retired hastily to Sparta. Iphicrates cap- tured Sidus, Crommyon, and Oenoe.	viii. 28, 29. Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos, defeated and slew the Spartan harmost at Methymna, and gained other suc- cesses.
3 89-388.	vi. I-II. μετὰ τοῦτο expedition of Agesilaus against the Acarpanians to help the Achaeans in Calydon. vi. I2-I4. ἡτίαι δὲ ἡδη ἐπετήτρετο τὸ μετόπωρον, he left the country, promising to return the next summer.	viii. 30. la roorow on his way to Rhodes he made a descent on Aspendus to extort money, but was slain by the Aspendians. viii. 31-34. The Athenians sent out Agyrrhius to take over Thrasybulus' ships at Rhodes. The ephors sent out Anaxibius to supersede

YEAR. April to April	EVENTS. BOOK V.
	Dercylidas at Abydos, whereupon the Athenians despatched Iphicrates to the Hellespont. viii. 35-39. § 35. *potórros ros xosros Iphicrates surprised and slew Anaxibius.
	BOOK V.
388 –3 87.	i. 1-4. The Athenians to prevent piracy blockaded Aegina, but Teleutias raised the blockade. Hierax, his successor, sailed to Rhodes, leaving his secretary, Gorgopas, in Aegina. i. 5. δε τούτου the Aeginetans besieged the Athenians on the island, until πίμπτω μποί they were rescued. The piracy being then renewed, the Athenians sent Eunomus with 13 ships against Gorgopas. IV. vii. 1. παρελθύστος τοῦ χειμώνου τοῦ ἦρος Agesilaus prepared to renew the invasion; but the Acarnanians sent an embassy to Sparta, made peace with the Achaeans, and became the allies of the Lacedaemonians. IV. vii. 2-7. δε τούτου Agesilaus, having consulted the gods at Olympia and Delphi, invaded the Argolis, advancing to the very gates of the city.
c. March 387.	upon Piraeus. i. 25-31. Antalcidas came down with Tiribazus, bearing
387-386.	terms of peace from the Persian king. He relieved Nicolochus from his blockade at Abydos, surprised an Athenian squadron, and gained full command of the sea. The envoys from the various states eagerly obeyed the summons of Tiribazus and gladly listened to the
Winter.	terms of peace negotiated by Antalcidas. i. 32-36. All the Greek states agreed to the King's Peace, except the Thebans, who however under threat of invasion submitted. The Corinthians dismissed their

YEAR. April to April	EVENTS.	Book V.
		έκ τούτου all armed forces sower of Sparta as champion
386-385.	ii. 1-3. The Lacedaemonian states as had proved unfai	is determined to chastise such thful to them in the late wars, al τριακονταετείε with Mantinea.
385-384.	ii. 4-7. Siege and surrende the Spartans split up the	er of Mantinea: § 7. & rostrouse city into villages and set up
Winter.	an oligarchy over them. ii. 8-10. The Spartans rest Phlius.	ored the oligarchical exiles to
382 carly.	ii, 11-23. Envoys from Acc Sparta to seek help a Spartans and their allies	anthus and Apollonia came to gainst the Olynthians. The s voted to send an army of raxiora despatched a force of
382 -3 81.	2,000 men under Eudamie	ias. ii. 24. Eudamidas won over
	Sign of Tamenias.	ii. 37-43. The Spartans sent out Teleutias with the 10,000 men. Teleutias marched slowly forwards, collecting forces from every quarter as far as Potidaea. He ended the campaign (§ 43 rouro 70 0400) with an indecisive victory at the gates of
381 –380.		Olynthus. iii. 1-7. due to the troque- routing skirmishes at Olynthus. Teleutias being slain, the whole besieging force was obliged to di- sperse.
Autumn.	iii. 10-17. Dissensions at Phlius. The Lacedae- monians under Agesilaus laid siege to the city.	iii. 8, 9. Agesipolis sailed against Olynthus with a still larger armament.

YEAR. April to April.	Events.	Book V.
38o <u>-3</u> 79.		iii. 18-20. Shortly after the capture of Torone Agesipolis died of fever (§ 19 αυτά θέρουν dκρήν). His place was taken by Polybiades.
c. March 379-	iii. 21-25. After so months (§ 25 ir dave papel seal invario) the Philiasians came to terms. Agesilaus set up a provisional government and left a garrison in the city.	the Olynthians into a surrender: they entered the Spartan Confederacy.
379-378. Winter.	Melon and other conspire surrendered the Cadmea. Thebes (§ 14 μάλα χαμώ a few desultory operati	es (§ 4 de' déóle rifs dexis) by ators: the Spartan harmost Cleombrotus marched upon vos 62-70), but returned after ions, leaving Sphodrias at se put their two generals to to Melon's conspiracy.
37 8 –377.	iv. 20-33. Sphodrias attemptrial and acquittal through iv. 34. The Athenians equithe Thebans. iv. 35-41. Agesilaus invesuccess, left Phoebidas as I returned home. iv. 42-46. Ex rovrou after meslain and his troops route a Polemarch with a more	the influence of Agesilaus. pped their fleet and supported aded Boeotia with varying harmost at Thespiae, and then any skirmishes Phoebidas was d. The Lacedaemonians sent by sea to guard Thespiae.
377-376.	expedition into Boeotia, result. Revolt of Oreus fi	orn Agesilaus led a second again without any decisive rom Sparta.
37 6- 375.	iv. 58-61. ὑποφαίνοντος πάλ Cleombrotus marched out Cithaeron strongly guarde The Spartans manned a	is roo hos Agesilaus being ill, t against Thebes, but finding d at once disbanded his forces. fleet of 60 triremes under theck the growing power of
375-374	iv. 62-66. While the T Bocotian towns the Athe the Peloponnesus with 6	Thebans were subduing the mian Timotheus sailed round to ships, won over Corcyra, admiral Nicolochus at Alyzia.

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK VI.
	воок уі.
374-373-	 i. r. Cleombrotus was despatched to help the Phocians against the Thebans.
	i. 2-19. σχεδόν περί τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Polydamas the Pharsalian applied to Sparta for help against Jason
	of Pherae: the Spartans confessed that they were unable to give it. Jason became tagus of all Thessaly.
	 ii. 1-7. On the approach of Cleombrotus the Thebans retired within their own frontiers. The Athenians
	made peace with Sparta and recalled Timotheus from Corcyra. On his way home he reinstated some exiles
Autumn 1	in Zacynthus. The Spartans regarded this as a breach of the peace, and ebbis (§ 3) despatched their admiral
Winter!	Mnasippus with 60 ships to Corcyra. ii. 8-11. The Athenians despatched Stesicles with 600
	peltasts across the mainland to Corcyra, and resolved to send a fleet under Timotheus.
373-372.	ii. 12-26. Timotheus sailed from Athens, but lingered
	among the islands. The Athenians replaced him by Iphicrates. The Corcyreans defeated and slew
	Mnasippus. The Lacedaemonians abandoned the island.
	 a7-36. On the voyage Iphicrates heard of the death of Mnasippus at Sphagiae: he sailed on to Cephallenia,
	which he reduced, and then arrived at Corcyra, where he captured 10 triremes sailing from Dionysius to help
372-371.	the Spartans. ii. 37–39. Operations of Iphicrates round Corcyra.
371-370.	iii. 1-20. The Athenians, annoyed at the conduct of the Thebans, sent envoys to Sparta to negotiate a general
	peace. Congress at Sparta. The terms of peace were
	generally accepted, but when the Thebans claimed to sign it for all the Boeotians, Agesilaus disallowed the
	claim. iv. 1-3. The Athenians carried out the conditions of the
	peace: the Lacedaemonians, though they withdrew their harmosts and garrisons, ordered Cleombrotus,
July.	then in Phocis, to march against the Thebans. iv. 4-16. Battle of Leuctra: defeat and death of Cleom-
July.	brotus. The news reached Sparta (§ 16) γυμοσπαιδιών οδοης τής τολευταίας, c. July.
	iv. 17-27. The Lacedaemonians sent out a new army under
	Archidamus. The Thebans applied in vain to Athens for help, but were more successful with Jason of
	Pherae. Arrived at Leuctra Jason dissuaded the Thebans from attacking the Spartan camp. A truce was
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YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK VI.
	made: the Lacedaemonian army retired, and fell in with Archidamus in the Megarid. Jason returned to Thessaly. v. 1-3. Archidamus disbanded his forces. Congress at Athens, at which all the states present, with the exception of Elis, swore anew to the King's Peace. v. 4, 5. Restoration of Mantines.
<u> </u>	iv. 28-32. Death of Jason of Pherae (τον περὶ τὰ Πόθια χρόνον, c. August). v. 6-22. Dissensions at Tegea: the Mantineans supported the democrats, who were in favour of the Pan-Arcadian League: 800 of the oligarchs fled to Sparta. Agesilaus marched out against the Mantineans (§ 20
Winter.	v. 33-49. The Athenians, after a long debate, decided to help the Lacedaemonians, and sent Iphicrates with a large army to Corinth. v. 50-52. The Thebans and Arcadians returned from Laconia (§ 50 fr. καl χειμών ην), the former passing the Isthmus without serious opposition from Iphicrates.
	BOOK VII.
369-368.	i. 1-14. The bordest free negotiations at Athens to arrange the terms of the new alliance with Sparta. i. 15-22. Second Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: the Spartans and their allies guarded the Isthmus at Oneum. The Thebans forced a passage, attacked Sicyon and Pellene, and ravaged the Epidaurian territory. After some skirmishes round Corinth they turned homewards. Return of the Sicilian troops, which Dionysius had sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians. iv. 34. Polyphron of Pheron murdered and succeeded by Alexander.
368–367.	 23-26. Discontent of the Arcadians, fomented by Lycomedes of Mantinea, against the Thebans and Eleans. 27. Ariobarzanes' envoy, Philiscus, summoned the Greeka to Delphi to make a general peace: his attempt failed. 28-32. With the aid of a second reinforcement from Dionysius of Syracuse Archidamus took Caryae and
3 6 7-366.	ravaged Parrhasia. Archidamus defeated the Arcadians and Argives in the so-called 'Tearless Victory.' i. 33-40. Meeting of Greek envoys at the Persian Court:

YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK VII.
	on the proposal of Pelopidas the king dictated terms for a new peace. The Thebans summoned deputies to Thebes to hear the king's terms: the deputies, headed by the Arcadians, refused to swear to them. Then the Thebans sent round messengers to the various states to induce them to swear: the Corinthians refused, and the rest followed suit.
Winter.	i. 41-46. Third Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: Epaminondas persuaded the Achaeans to join the Theban Confederacy. The Thebans at home reversed his policy, sent out harmosts, and set up democracies in the Achaean states. The oligarchs quickly effected their return and supported Sparta. Euphron effects a democratical revolution at Sicyon, and then makes himself tyrant.
3 66 -365.	 ii. I. The Sicyonians and Argives annoyed the Phliasians from their strongholds at Thyamia and Tricaranon. Fidelity of the Phliasians to Sparta. ii. 2-10. Xenophon recounts the fortunes of the Phliasians from the battle of Leuctra (371) to this time. iii. 11-23. The Theban harmost at Sicyon, together with Euphron, made an unsuccessful inroad into Phliasia. Again the Phliasians, with the help of Chares, successfully attacked the Sicyonians at Thyamia. iii. 1-12. σχεδδν νερί τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Euphron was driven out of Sicyon, but soon again made himself master of the city. He repaired to Thebes to persuade the authorities to recognize his supremacy in Sicyon. To Thebes he was followed by his enemies and murdered. Trial and acquittal of Euphron's murderers. iv. 1-5. The Athenians lost Oropus: left by their allies in the lurch, they accepted the Arcadian offers of alliance. The Athenians planned a surprise upon Corinth: but the Corinthians dismissed their Athenian garrison and refused to admit Chares and his fleet. iv. 6-11. The Corinthians, Phliasians, Argives, and others, weary of the long wars, with the consent of Sparta, made peace with the Thebans. iv. 12. σχεδδν κερί τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον troops sent by the younger Dionysius of Syracuse helped the Spartans to recover Sellasia.
365-364.	12-18. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖ πολλῷ ὅστερον the Eleans seized Lasion: the Arcadians, supported by the Elean democrats, invaded Elis, captured many cities, garrisoned the Cronion, and penetrated as far as the market-place of Elis. The Achaeans prevented the Arcadians in another attempt to capture Elis. Struggle at Olurus.

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YEAR. April to April.	EVENTS. BOOK VII.
	iv. 19-27. Once more the Arcadians invaded Elis; whereupon the Lacedaemonians seized Cromnus. Struggle round Cromnus. The Eleans captured Pylos, putting all the democratical exiles there to death. Cromnus was retaken by the Arcadians.
364-363.	iv. 28-32. ἐπίστος 'Ολυμπακοῦ ἔτους the Arcadians pre- pared with the Pisatans to celebrate the Olympic games: the Eleans bravely attempted to expel them from Olympia, but in vain.
363-362.	iv. 33-40. The Mantineans refused to handle the Olympian treasures: their example spreading, the other Arcadians invited Theban interference. Then the Arcadians made peace with the Eleans, and restored to them the presidency over the temple of Zeus. While they were celebrating the peace at Tegea, the Theban commandant arrested all the oligarchs he could lay hands on, but next day at the demand of the Mantineans released them. An accusation was brought against the commandant at Thebea.
36a.	v. 1-3. Fearing Theban interference the Mantineans and their allies appealed for aid to Athens and Sparta. v. 4-17. Fourth Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: after waiting a while at Nemes Epaminondas went on to Tegea. Epaminondas made a rush on Sparta; but Agesilaus, warned just in time, was able to repulse the attack. Epaminondas returned to Tegea, where he rested his hoplites, but sent on his cavalry, hoping to surprise Mantinea (§ 14 oiroo oryxoyubii obroys). Mantinea was saved by the accidental arrival of the Athenian cavalry. v. 18-25. Epaminondas, feeling a general engagement to be necessary, led his army to the mountains west of Mantinea, surprised the enemy, and threw their whole army into confusion. But his own death in the moment of victory utterly paralyzed his troops, so that both sides claimed the victory. v. 26. After the battle the confusion and disorder in Greece were worse than before.

NOTES

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

§ 1. In a second sea-fight Agesandridas the Lacedaemonian defeated the Athenians. 54 2-8. Dorieus trying in vain to enter the Hellespont, Mindarus put out from Abydos to escort him, but was met by the Athenians. The two fleets engaged, and on the arrival of Alcibiades, the Athenians drove the Peloponnesians back to Abydos with a loss of 30 ships. The Athenians left only 40 ships at Sestos: the rest dispersed to collect money, while Thrasyllus sailed to Athens to ask for reinforcements. Alcibiades visited Tissaphernes, who had now reached the Hellespont, but was arrested by him and sent to Sardis. A month afterwards he escaped to Clasomenae, and thence to Cardia, whither the Athenians had retreated from Sestos. Meantime the Peloponnesian ships, 60 strong, had sailed to Cysicus. Alcibiades returned to Sestos, and led the combined Athenian fleet, §§ 14, 15. He took measures to conceal his 86 strong, to Proconnesus. arrival, and exhorted his troops to fight bravely; for they had no money, while their enemies had plenty from the Persian king. §§ 16-22. Alcibiades surprised the Peloponnesian fleet manauvring outside the harbour, and after a hard fight by sea and land captured the whole of it. Mindarus was slain. Cysicus surrendered to Alcibiades. He exacted money from its citisens, and from other neighbouring states, and established a toll-house on the Bosporus. \$\$ 23-26. The despatch of Mindarus' secretary was captured and carried to Athens. The satrap Pharnabasus armed the Peloponnesian fugitives to guard his coasts, and urged their commanders to build new ships at §§ 27-31. Story of the exile of the Syracusan commanders at Antandros, and of Hermocrates' accusation against Tissaphernes and expedition against Syracuse. § 32. The Spartan harmost Eteonicus was expelled from Thasos. The admiral Cratesippidas took command of the ships that Pasippidas had collected. §§ 33, 34. Agis made a sally from Decelea, but retreated hastily before Thrasyllus. In reward the Athenians voted Thrasyllus 50 triremes and considerable reinforcements.

Agis sent Clearchus with a small squadron to the Bosporus to cut off the Athenian corn supply. Clearchus lost three ships in the Hellespont, but with the rest safely reached Bysantium.

§ 37. Contemporary events in Sicily.

411-410 B.C.

§ 1. Merà δὲ ταῦτα. For the interval that must have elapsed between the points where Thucydides' narrative ends and Xenophon's begins, see Introd. pp. xvi, xvii.

ቭ $\lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$, i. e. to the Hellespont: cp. following notes.

Θυμοχάρης: a few months earlier this general had lost twentytwo out of thirty-six ships, when he was defeated by Agesandridas and the Peloponnesians off Eretria in Euboea: Thuc. viii. 95.

avous, in a second battle; the Athenian victory at Cynossema being apparently the first (Thuc. viii. 106). Xenophon does not specify the place, but it appears from the context that it must have been the Hellespont.

'Αγησανδρίδου. According to Diod. xiii. 41 after the battle of Cynossema Mindarus sent the Spartan Epicles to conduct Agesandridas' fleet from Euboea to reinforce him in the Hellespont. But on the voyage the whole fleet was destroyed by a storm off Mount Athos, only twelve men escaping. Agesandridas must have been one of the twelve, if Diodorus' story is true: cp. Thuc, viii. 107 fin.

§ 2. Μετ' ολίγον . . . τούτων: cp. υστερον τούτων.

Δωριεύς: Cp. i. 5. 19.

δκ 'Pόδου. For the positions of Dorieus, Mindarus, Tissaphernes, and Alcibiades at this time see Introd. pp. xvi, xvii. According to Diod. xiii. 38 Mindarus had sent Dorieus with thirteen ships, which had come from the Italian Greeks to aid the Peloponnesians, to Rhodes in order to suppress a threatened uprising in the island.

τοῖε στρατηγοῖε, i.e. Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus (Thuc. viii. 104). ἀνεβίβαζε. The imperfect tense expresses the attempt.

is fiverys. This, the reading of most MSS., to which the commentators, comparing i. 5. 13; 6. 21, give the meaning, 'as soon as he got clear,' i. e. of the narrow strait of the Hellespont, suits neither Dorieus' action in beaching his ship, nor the geographical position of Rhoeteum, which is well within the strait some five or six miles from the narrow entrance. Diodorus xiii. 45 even says els Δάρδανον, which is still higher up the strait.

It is better to read ωs ηνυε, 'as best he could'; cp. Critical Note and Append. p. 359.

- § 3. els Mádvrov, in the Thracian Chersonese not far from Sestos : cp. Her. vii. 33.
- § 4. Μίνδαρος, the Spartan admiral for 411-410: cp. Thuc. viii. 85. έπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, i.e. to Abydos; cp. Diod. xiii. 45 εὐθίως ἐξ ᾿Αβύδου μετὰ παντὸς ἀνήχθη τοῦ στόλου.
- § 5. ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ. Mindarus had moved his fleet from Elaeus to Abydos (cp. Diod. xiii. 45), so that, since Ilium is twenty miles from Abydos, and since he saw Dorieus entering aua ἡμέρα, in all probability the fight must have been renewed the day after Dorieus' arrival in the Hellespont. Moreover the Athenian ships seem (cp. §§ 2, 3) to have sailed from Madytus, fought against Dorieus and returned to Madytus again before the second battle-a process, which, considering the twenty or thirty miles thus traversed, must have occupied several hours. Further, since Madytus was nearly opposite to Abydos, the second battle must have been fought somewhere between the two cities, and consequently much higher up the Hellespont than the first. Diodorus (l. c.) speaks of one battle only, making Mindarus sail down from Abydos to the support of Dorieus at the Dardanian promontory. Accordingly Breitenbach and others, wishing to reconcile the two accounts, regard if indirov as an interpolation.
- § 6. Φαρνάβαζος was satrap of Phrygia Minor and Bithynia, and was now in league with the Peloponnesians (Thuc. viii. 80, 99).

μέχρι, temporal: 'as long as.'

§ 7. συμφράξαντες, 'having formed in close order.'

ås αίτοι ἀπώλεσαν: Xenophon's brevity is obscure; but cp. Plut. Alc. 27 τῶν μὶν πολεμίων τριάκωντα λαβάντες, ἀνασώσαντες δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν, τροπαίον ἔστησαν.

- § 8. ¿n' àpyupoloyiar: cp. § 14. Since the revolt of the allies after the Sicilian disaster the Athenians had been hard pressed for money.
- § 9. Τισσαφέρνης. Satrap of Lydia and Ionia: his policy had hitherto been to wear out both the Peloponnesians and Athenians by temporizing: cp. Thuc. viii. 109.

συλλοβών. Though after this Alcibiades could never again hope to delude the Athenians with promises of Persian aid (Thuc. viii, 82), his own naval successes round Samos and now in the

Hellespont seem to have been sufficient to secure for him their confidence. Tissaphernes evidently wanted to retrieve his position in the opinion of the Peloponnesians: cp. Plut. Alc. 27 κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ φοβούμενος αἰτίαν λαβείν ἐκ βασιλέως.

§ 10. μετὰ Marriθέου: Mantitheus is mentioned again i. 3. 13. εὐπορήσαντες . . . ἀπέδρασαν, plural κατὰ σύνεσιν.

410-409 B.C.

§ 11. ol δ' dν Σηττφ, κ.τ.λ. For the chronology cp. Introd. p. xl.

ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα, according to Diod. xiii. 49 Mindarus had received reinforcements from the Peloponnesians and the other allies.

els Kapblar. On the west coast of the Chersonese.

Kúlkov, this city had revolted from the Athenians, but had been recovered after their victory at Cynossema, Thuc. viii. 107. It was now besieged by Mindarus and Pharnabazus and taken by storm. Diod. xiii. 49.

περιπλείν, from Cardia to Sestos.

§ 12. Onpapiens: cp. Diod. xiii. 47, 49. After trying in vain to prevent the Euboeans and Boeotians from uniting Euboea with the mainland by a bridge across the Euripus, Theramenes had sailed to the Aegean islands in order to replace the democracies in the various states, had then lent aid to king Archelaus of Macedon in the siege of Pydna, and finally joined Thrasybulus (cp. i. 1. 2, 8) on the Thracian coast.

Θρασύβουλος, one of the generals elected by the Athenian fleet at Samos (Thuc. viii. 76): he had commanded the right wing at Cynossema (ibid. 105) and had afterwards sailed to Thrace (Diod. xiii. 49).

§ 13. ἐξελομίνοις τὰ μιγάλα Ιστία, i. e. the sails of the greater of the two masts. So too, vi. 2. 27, Iphicrates leaves his large sails behind to make his ships lighter and more manageable for fighting.

els $\Pi \acute{a} \rho \iota \sigma \nu$. On the Asiatic coast at the E. entrance to the Propontis.

Προκόννησον, an island in the W. part of the Propontis.

- § 14. αὐτοῖς, i. e. τοῖς στρατιώταις in the ἐκκλησία.
- § 15. ώρμίσαντο, i. e. at Proconnesus in the Propontis.
- § 16. Corros, gen. abs. without the noun Aids being expressed:

cp. Ar. Nub. 370 vorra; Hom. Il. xii. 25 be 8 apa Zeús; Goodwin, M. T. 848.

έπειδή δ' έγγύε, κ.τ.λ. See Appendix i. on the battle of Cyzicus, where the divergent accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch are given.

ύπ αὐτοῦ, i. e. by Alcibiades. Cobet and others conjecture ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, 'from the harbour'; an idea already sufficiently expressed by ἀπειλημμένας.

§ 18. raîs eleoor. The article is accounted for by the previous mention of the Athenian fleet (cp. i. 6. 26). There is no need to suppose that dolorais has dropped out of the text (cp. Plut. Alc. 28).

άπάσας. The Peloponnesians did not succeed in collecting a fleet again till Lysander was appointed admiral in 407 B.C.; cp. Plato, Menex. 243 μιξ μὲν ἡμέρς πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ελόντες ναῦς.

Συρακοσίων. Thucydides (viii. 26) relates that the Syracusans had sent a squadron of twenty-two ships under Hermocrates to aid the Lacedaemonians.

§ 19. ἐδέχοντο, cp. § 11 note: the city was unwalled: Thuc. viii, 107.

§ 20. Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν. Both on the European coast of the Propontis.

§ 22. Χροσόπολω, on the Asiatic coast of the Bosporus, opposite Byzantium.

δεκατευτήριον. The establishment of this custom-house was of the greatest importance to Athens now that her treasury was exhausted, and she had lost so many of her subject allies, more especially Euboea: cp. Thuc. viii. 95; cp. also the similar action of Thrasybulus in 390-389, iv. 8. 27, 31.

κατεσκεύασαν: cp. Appendix, p. 359.

καl φυλακήν: καl = also, i.e. besides the officials whose duty it was to collect the tithes, they also left as a garrison, &c.

έπιμελείσθαι, the infinitive expresses purpose: Goodwin, M.T. 770. § 23. 'Ιπποκράτουs, cp. Thuc. viii. 35, 99, 107. In 411 Mindarus had sent him with Epicles to bring up reinforcements from Euboea: cp. supr. § 1 note.

έπιστολέως: this officer held the second command in the Lacedaemonian fleet: cp. vi. 2. 25 and Appendix, p. 346.

κάλα. This is Bergk's conjecture for the MS. καλά. The

word is equivalent to $\xi i \lambda a$ and is used by Aristophanes, Lys. 1253, to denote ships. $\tau \dot{a} \kappa a \lambda \dot{a} = '$ our honour is gone' hardly seems to suit the passage.

ἀπεσσύα. Doric form of ἀπεσύη, aor. pass. of ἀποσεύω, is explained by Eustathius (ad Iliad. i. 117 p. 63) as ἀφώρμησε, ἀπῆλθε, τέθνηκε.

πεινώντι τώνδρες. ἀπορίομες. Doric for πεινώσιν ol ἄνδρες. ἀποροῦμεν. For the offers of peace apparently made by the Spartans at this time cp. Appendix, p. 314.

- § 24. Φαρτάβαζος. Diodorus (xiii. 51) says that the Peloponnesians fled to his camp.
- § 25. τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγούς, i.e. the generals from the several states in the Peloponnesian confederacy: cp. iii. 4. 20 and Resp. Laced. 13. 4.
- ἐν ᾿Αντάνδρφ, cp. Thuc. iv. 52 ναῦς τε γὰρ εὐπορία ἢν ποιεῖσθαι αὐτόθεν (from Antandros) ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς "Ιδης ἐπικειμένης.
- § 26. ναυπηγουμένων. Genitive absolute, sc. αὐτῶν: cp. § 29 δεομένων, and Goodwin, M. T. 848.

εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία, i.e. the Antandrians voted the Syracusans the privileges and honours of being εὐεργέται and πολίται: cp. vi. 1. 4 and Demos. xx. 60 ἐψηφίσασθ ἄπερ οἷμαι φεύγουσιν εὐεργέταις δι' ὑμᾶς προσῆκε, προξενίαν, εὐεργεσίαν, ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων.

Καλχηδόνα, on the Asiatic coast opposite Byzantium.

§ 27. Έν δὲ τῷ χρόνφ τούτφ. This and the similar formulae in §§ 31, 32, 33 seem to mean that all the events here mentioned occurred in the year 410-409, the next year 409-408 beginning at i. 2. I.

'Ερμοκράτους. The leader of the oligarchical party at Syracuse: after the defeat of the Athenians he had in 412 urged the Sicilians to assist in completing their overthrow, and accordingly had brought a fleet of twenty Syracusan and two Selinuntine ships to aid the Peloponnesians on the Asiatic coast: cp. Thuc. viii. 26, 29, 45, 85.

§ 28. μεμνημένους... ὑπάρχουσαν. With this the MSS. reading the phrase λόγον διδόναι has to bear the unusual sense 'to give an opportunity of speaking,' and the words μεμνημένους... ὑπάρχουσαν must then be an appeal made by the generals to their soldiers to give them a fair hearing, when they returned to Syracuse,—an appeal quite uncalled for after the loyalty which these soldiers had just shown them. If however the words be transposed, with Dindorf, to a position

before ελέσθαι, the passage at least becomes intelligible. 'When the soldiers,' it will then mean, 'refused to elect new generals, notwithstanding the news that the present generals had been exiled, and entreated the latter to continue in command, Hermocrates told them that for him and his colleagues to assent to their demand would be an act of rebellion against the home government; but that if any one had any charge to make against himself or his colleagues, both he and they were in duty bound to give an account of their commands. As however no one brought any accusation against them, they consented to continue in command till their successors arrived.' Even with Dindorf's transposition the sense is lame and unsatisfactory. This and the sudden transition to oratio recta together with the irregular use of connecting particles (παρήνεσάν τε ... ελέσθαι δὲ ... οἱ δ'... οἱ δ') point perhaps to a lacuna or lacunae of unknown dimensions: cp. Critical Note.

remajare. Parallels may be found for this abrupt change to the oratio recta: cp. i. 4. 14, vi. 5. 35, &c.

ήμετέραν . . . ὑμετέραν. There is no need to transpose these words: ἀρετή can very well mean courage and skill in commanding; προθυμία, sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν, 'zeal in obeying.'

§ 29. δεομένων. Genitive absolute, sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν: cp. § 26 note. τῶν ἀφίκοντο, indic. as referring to a definite past action; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 913.

Γνώσιος. Ionic genitive: cp. iii. 1. 10 Ζήνιος. κατάξειν, 'would bring them back from exile.'

§ 30. προσομιλοίντες. The pres. part. expresses frequency or use. δν for ούς, genitive by a kind of attraction from τριηράρχων . . . ἐπιβατῶν.

dreκοινοῦτο: Suidas (s. v.) quotes this passage with the Doric form dreξυνοῦτο.

§ 31. κατηγορήσας. Thucydides (viii. 85) narrates how in 411 B.C. Hermocrates had accused Tissaphernes at Sparta of playing a double game between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. He is mentioned (i. 3. 13) as accompanying some Spartan envoys, who, at the same time as some Athenian envoys, were to meet Pharnabazus at Cyzicus, 408 B.C. Since Diodorus (xiii. 63) puts his expedition against Syracuse in 409-8 B.C., it must have been shortly after this meeting that he obtained from Pharnabazus the

assistance described in this passage. Tissaphernes was the personal enemy of Pharnabazus.

'Αστυόχου, the Spartan admiral, who preceded Mindarus: cp. Thuc. L c.

έν τούτφ δὲ ἦκον, cp. § 29 ἔμειναν ἔως ἀφίκοντο . . . ἀπεπέμψαντο. The chronological sequence of events here seems to be hopelessly confused. How could the old generals have at the same time waited for the new ones to arrive and been sent on their way (§ 29 diffeπίμψωντο) with promises of future help? Why in § 31 does Xenophon tell the story already narrated by Thucydides (viii. 85) of what had already happened to Hermocrates early in 411, and couple with that his visit to Pharnabazus, which must certainly have been subsequent to his exile, mentioned in § 27 as apparently occurring in 410 B.C.? and why does he insert at this point his preparations for his attack upon Syracuse, which was not made till 409-8 B.C. according to Diodorus (xiii. 63)? How too could Hermocrates have been in Sicily in 409 (or at latest in 408, if Diodorus' date be, as so often, a year wrong), and again with Pharnabasus at Cyzicus in 408? (Cp. i. 3. 13; Freeman, Sicily, iii. p. 727.) Again, to what interval of time does in rours refer? for the new ships must have taken some considerable time to build. In any case it can have nothing to do with Hermocrates' visit to Pharnabazus and attack on Syracuse, which must be regarded as a parenthetical digression, anticipating the events of the next two years. Perhaps then ir roire may be interpreted to mean the time following the agreement made between the old generals and the army, inclusive of the time required for building the ships. Hear must therefore be translated as a pluperfect, 'had arrived.'

els Μίλητον. This agrees with the anticipatory remark of Thucydides (l. c.), who gives the same names.

§ 32. 'Εν Θάσφ. Thasos had revolted from Athens in 411 B.C., two months after Diotrephes, an Athenian oligarch, had put down the democracy, then existing, in favour of an oligarchy (cp. Thuc. viii. 64), and had since submitted to the government of a Spartan harmost. Now it appears that the popular party under Ecphantus had expelled Eteonicus the harmost and his supporters, and admitted Thrasybulus with an Athenian force just after the battle of Cyzicus: cp. this section with § 12 note, and with Demosthenes (xx. 59), who

adds that this affair further led to τον περί Θράκην τόπον entering the Athenian alliance.

άρμοστής. In 423 B.C. the Spartans appointed governors in Thrace (Thuc. iv. 131), and in 413 king Agis made Alcamenes harmost of Euboea (Thuc. viii. 5). But it was not till the admiralship of Lysander, 407 B.C., that it became a principle of the Lacedae-monian hegemony to appoint these officers backed up by oligarchies of ten in all the subject states; cp. Diod. xiv. 10 καταστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Λύσανδρον τούτφ προσέταξαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἐκάστη τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλυυμένους ἀρμοστὰς ἐγκαθιστάντα' ταῖς γὰρ δημοκρατίαις προσκόπτοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι. Other instances of harmosts in the Hellenica are (i. 2. 18) Labotas in Heraclea, (i. 3. 5) Hippocrates in Chalcedon, (i. 3. 15) Clearchus in Byzantium, (ii. 3. 14) Callibius at Athens, (iii. 1. 9) Dercylidas in Abydos, (iv. 8. 29) Therimachus in Methymna, &c.

Πασιππίδιιs. It is impossible to determine whether Pasippidas was actually ναυάρχος in succession to Mindarus, or whether he merely filled his place till the newly appointed successor Cratesippidas arrived: in either case, since Lysander did not succeed him till 407 (i. 5. 1), Cratesippidas must have held office for at least two years. This long tenure may perhaps be explained by the paucity of Peloponnesian ships after the destruction of the fleet at Cyzicus, which naturally made the admiralship of very little importance, until Lysander, backed by Persian gold, built a new fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 65) dates Cratesippidas' appointment in the year 409, and narrates that he sailed with twenty-five ships collected from the allies to the Ionic coast οὐδὶν ἄξιον λόγου πράξαs: that then he was supplied with money by some Chian exiles, reinstated them in the island and occupied the acropolis.

§ 33. Δεκελείας. Agis had commanded this ἐπιτειχισμός ever since its fortification in 413 B.C. (Thuc, vii. 19).

Θράσυλλος had returned to Athens immediately after the battle at Abydos (supr. § 8) to procure reinforcements.

τὸ Λίκειον, east of Athens in front of the gate of Diochares: cp. Strabo, ix. 397.

§ 34. τῶν ἐπὶ πῶσιν, 'of those in the rear.' ἐπί = ὅπισθεν; cp. ii. 4. II; Cyrop. viii. 3. 16-18.

§ 35. πλοΐα . . . σίτου, cp. Cyrop. ii. 4. 18 άμάξας σίτου. These corn-ships would come from the Hellespont: cp. Demos. xx. 31 ίστε γαρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι πλείστφ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτφ σίτφ χρώμεθα. πρὸς τοίνυν ὅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενου, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν.

σχήσοι καὶ δθεν, 'should also occupy the places from which, &c.'
καὶ Κλέαρχον. καὶ is to be retained: the passage means that,
just as Agis prevented provisions coming into Athens by land, so
also Clearchus was to do the same by sea. Clearchus had been
designated to command a squadron in the Hellespont in 412 B.C.,
and on his arrival there in 411 B.C. Byzantium had revolted to him
(Thuc. viii. 8, 39, 80). Diodorus (xiii. 51) says that he fought in
the battle of Cyzicus. Nothing is known of his subsequent movements.

§ 36. Μεγάρων, the Megarians had just recovered Nisaea from the Athenians: cp. Diod. xiii. 65.

αὐτοῦ, i. e. τοῦ Κλεάρχου.

els Σηστόν. Sestus was at this time occupied by the Athenians (cp. supr. § 11), so that it has been proposed to read els "Αβυδον.

§ 37. 'Arrißa. This Hannibal was the son of Gisco, and according to the narrative of Diodorus (xiii. 54-62) he captured Selinus and Himera in 409 B. C. For this reference to Sicilian affairs and the similar ones in i. 5. 21, ii. 2. 24, as well as the references to Persian history, i. 2. 19, ii. 1. 8-9, cp. Introd. p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-5. Thrasyllus sailed with his fleet to Samos: he made numerous descents upon the Ionian coast, till he was stopped by Stages the Persian. §§ 6-10. Thrasyllus attacked Ephesus, but was defeated with great loss by the citisens, Syracusans, and the troops of Tissaphernes. §§ 11-13. The Athenians retreated to Notium, and sailed thence to Lesbos, where they fell in with the Syracusans, and chased them back to Ephesus with the loss of four ships. Thrasyllus joined the Athenian squadron at Sestos, and the combined force then crossed to Lampsacus. §§ 14-17. The unconquered troops of Alcibrades refused to associate with the defeated troops of Thrasyllus, until in combination they won a brilliant victory over Pharnabasus at Abydos.

§§ 18, 19. The Lacedaemonians recaptured Coryphasium (s. e. Pylos). Massacre of the Spartan colonists at Heraclea. Revolt of the Medes.

409-408 B.C.

§ 1. 'Ολυμπιάς, κ.τ.λ. For the chronology see Introd. p. xli. Olympiad xciii. was really 408.

προστεθείσα ξυνωρίς: cp. Pausanias v. 8. 10.

Eὐβώτας: cp. Pausanias vi. 8. 3.

Θορικόν. On the S.E. coast of Attica.

Θράσυλλος (supr. i. 1. 8) was sent to obtain reinforcements for the Hellespont, but now, for some unexplained reason, he takes his new fleet to Ionia. Probably the Athenians were already completely masters of the Hellespont, and so could afford to use their forces elsewhere.

τὰ ψηφισθέντα: cp. i. 1. 34.

ώς δμα καί, κ.τ.λ.: the MSS. reading is unintelligible: probably the phrase is a gloss on τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστάς.

- § 2. Πύγελα. A small town five miles S.W. of Ephesus.
- § 4. els Νότιον. The harbour of Colophon, N.W. of Ephesus: cp. Thuc. iii. 34.

προσεχώρησαν, i.e. joined the Athenians voluntarily.

ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, 'when the corn was ripening,' i.e. about June.

- § 5. Στάγης. Thucydides (viii. 16) calls him υπαρχος Τισσσαφέρνους.
- § 6. τη 'Αρτέμιδι. The famous temple of Artemis at Ephesus.
- § 7. Κορησσόν, a hill four and a-half miles S.W. of Ephesus: cp. Diod. xiv. 99.

προς το έλος, on the north side of Ephesus: cp. Strab. xiv. 642.

§ 8. †σφίσω, † i. e. σφίσω αὐτοῖς = ipsi sibi : cp. Critical Note.

dπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἶκοσι νεῶν, i.e. the ships destroyed at Cyzicus: cp. i. 1. 18. 25.

Εὐκλέους— Ηρακλείδου, perhaps the same as the Syracusan generals of 414 mentioned by Thuc. vi. 103.

Σελινούσιαι δύο: cp. Critical Note. of dπό των Σελινουσίων δυοίν would be the natural construction: the anacoluthon is perhaps explicable by the preceding at ἔτυχον. For their presence on the Asiatic coast cp. Thuc. viii. 26: εἴκοσι νῆες Συρακοσίων ἦλθον καὶ Σελινούντιαι δύο.

§ 9. ώσεὶ έκατόν, 'about a hundred': cp. ii. 4. 25.

§ 10. καὶ κοινῆ καὶ ιδία, i. e. the Ephesian state as a whole and Ephesian citizens as individuals.

dréhetar: cp. Appendix, p. 359.

τῷ βουλομέτῳ del, 'to any one who at any time should desire it.'

ἀπωλώλει: cp. i. 1. 37 note. Diodorus puts its destruction in 409; this is perhaps a slight confirmation of the chronology: cp. Introd. p. xxxviii.

§ 11. εὐθύ: for this prepositional use cp. i. 4. 11, and Thuc. viii. 88 εὐθὺ τῆς Φασήλιδος.

τὰς Συροκοσίας καῦς, i.e. the ships newly built at Antandros, together with the five new arrivals, § 8.

§ 12. αὐτοῖε ἀνδράσι, 'crews and all.'

- § 13. κατέλευσεν; if this Alcibiades be Alcibiades the Phegusian, who, according to Andocides (i. 65), was a relative of the famous Alcibiades, and had fled from Athens, when it was discovered that he had persuaded the informer Dioclides to give false evidence against the Hermocopids, the base part that he then played may account for his summary execution by Thrasyllus, notwithstanding his relationship to Thrasyllus' friend Alcibiades: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.
 - § 14. καὶ χείμων . . . Μέγαρα: cp. Appendix, p. 359.
- § 15. δντες... ήκοιεν, instead of elev... ήκοιεν: the optative of oratio obliqua. Plutarch (Alc. 29) gives an elaborated version of the same story.
 - § 16. Ιπποις πολλοίς, i. e. Ιππείσι πολλοίς: cp. i. 3. 5.

'Aλωβιάδηs as the commander-in-chief alone is mentioned, though it appears from Plut. Alc. 29 that Thrasyllus also took part.

§ 18. Kopvopdorov. Xenophon here gives rather a one-sided version of the recapture of Coryphasium or Pylos on the Messenian coast by the Spartans, which the Athenians had held ever since it was seized by their general Demosthenes in 425 B.C. Diodorus (xiii. 64) says that the place was at this time garrisoned by some Messenians, and when they were attacked by the Spartans, the Athenians sent a fleet of thirty vessels under Anytus to raise the siege. Anytus, however, was unable to weather Cape Malea, and therefore returned to Athens; whereupon the Messenians shortly after surrendered. Xenophon omits altogether to notice the impor-

tant recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians about the same time (Diod. xiii. 65).

rovs ἐποίκους, to be construed with ἐν Ἡρακλεία. It appears from Thuc. iii. 92, viii. 3 that when the Spartans in 426 B.C. settled 6000 colonists at Heraclea, they refused to allow any Achaeans to join in the settlement; and that in 413 B.C. king Agis had extorted money and demanded hostages of the Achaeans of Phthiotis. The Achaeans now had their revenge.

§ 19. καὶ δ ἐνιαυτύς, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Introd. p. xxxviii, and Appendix, p. 359.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1-7. The Athenian fleet sailed from Lampsacus to Proconnesus and the Bosporus. Alcibiades invested Chalcedon, and successfully resisted a joint attack made on his lines by Hippocrates from within and Pharnabasus from without, Hippocrates was slain. §§ 8, 9. While Alcibiades was absent collecting money on the Hellespont, the Athenians came to terms with Pharnabasus, who agreed to send Athenian envoys to the Persian king, and to allow Chalcedon again to become tributary to Athens. The Athenians agreed to suspend all hostilities till their return. §§ 10-13. After some delay Alcibiades swore to the treaty at Chrysopolis and Pharnabasus at Chalcedon. Pharnabasus went to Cysicus, where he was met by the Athenian envoys, and also by some Spartan envoys. \$\$ 14-22. The Athenians besieged Byzantium, While Clearchus the Spartan harmost was away collecting forces to raise the siege, some Byzantines betrayed the city to Alcibiades. The garrison, unable to resist, surrendered. Story of Anaxilaus at Sparta.

408 407 B.C.

§ 1. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Introd. p. xxxix.

παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδφ, i.e. the united forces of Alcibiades and Thrasyllus, who had wintered at Lampsacus, supr. 2. 15.

§ 2. Καλχηδόνα και Βυζάντιον, now in possession of the Lacedae-monians (cp. i. 1. 35).

heiar, i. e. all that the enemy might seize as booty: cp. Thuc. viii. 3.

Bιθυνούς Θράκας: the Bithynians had migrated into Asia from Thrace.

§ 3. ἀπέδοσαν: cp. Plut. Alc. 29 οί δὲ (Βιθυνοί) τήν τε λείαν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ Φιλίαν ώμολόγησαν.

- § 4. πίστεις πεποιημένος, i. e. πρός τοὺς Βιθυνούς.
- § 5. Ίπποκράτης : CD, i, 1, 23.
- § 6. 'Αλειβιάδης. According to Plutarch's account (Alc. 30), Alcibiades had been previously engaged in repelling Pharnabazus' attack on the outside of the Athenian siege works.
- § 7. στενοπορίαν. The narrow passage in between the river and the Athenian lines.
- § 8. ol δὶ λοιποὶ στρατηγοί. Thrasyllus and Theramenes (cp. Diod. xiii, 66).
- § 9. τον φόρον... ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν. There is no evidence to show whether this φόρος was the εἰκοστή or five per cent. duty on all imports and exports, for which the Athenians in 413 B.C. commuted the tribute originally assessed by Aristides (Thuc. vii. 28); or whether in the interval they had returned to the old system; or whether this was a special arrangement made with the Chalcedonians. Cp. iv. 8. 27–30 notes, and CIA. ii. 14 b p. 423.
- § 10. Σηλυμβρίαν: cp. i. 1. 21: cp. Diod. xiii. 66 διά προδοσίας είλεν; Plut. Alc. 30.
- § 12. κοινὸν... lðiq, i. e. Alcibiades and Pharnabazus entered both into an official agreement as representatives of their respective states and into relations of private friendship. Pharnabazus afterwards procured the assassination of Alcibiades: cp. ii. 3. 42 note.
- § 13. Πασιππίδας was exiled (i. 1. 32) on suspicion of treachery at Thasos. In the interval therefore he must have been recalled. These Spartan envoys, who were evidently sent to counteract the influence of the Athenian envoys, are not to be confused with those who (i. 4. 2) met Pharnabazus at Gordium with the news of Cyrus' appointment to be satrap of Sardis. There is no need to bracket πρέσβεις.
- iβη φείγων (cp. i. 1. 27-32). Kenophon apparently inserts these words to denote that Hermocrates was not with the envoys as commissioned by the Syracusan government, but hoping to gain, as he actually did, some aid for the expedition which he was preparing against his country. The doings of Hermocrates, however, seem involved in hopeless obscurity: for Diodorus (xiii. 63) represents him as returning to Sicily in 409-8 with a large sum of money given by Pharnabazus, wherewith he raised troops to effect his return to Syracuse. Moreover he puts his death in the following

year about September (xiii. 75), though by that time according to Xenophon (i. 4. 1) the embassy had got no further than Gordium. Polybius (xii. 25) even states that he fought on the Lacedaemonian side at Aegospotami (405). Dindorf in despair brackets the whole passage: cp. Introd. p. xxxviii, and supr. i. 1. 31 note.

§ 15. Κλέαρχος: τp. i. 1. 35.

reοδαμώδωr. The name given to newly manumitted Helots: what their privileges were, cannot be ascertained (cp. Thuc. iv. 26, 80, vii. 58): cp. Appendix, p. 335.

§ 17. ἄλλαι. There seems no need to change the manuscript reading to ἄλλαι ἄλλη. The construction ἄλλαι—καί—καί δπως ἄλλαι is somewhat irregular, but the meaning is plain.

'Aγησανδρίδας: cp. i. 1. 1. ἐπιβάτης here, as in Thuc. viii. 61, and perhaps in i. 1. 28, seems to denote, not a marine, but a sub-ordinate officer in the Spartan navy.

§ 18. of προδιδόντες. An anacoluthon: the nominative has no verb. The interrupted sentence is taken up again at § 20 with ἐπεὶ δέ.

§ 19. θανάτου: cp. ii. 3. 12.

υστερον. Byzantium surrendered a second time to the Lacedaemonians in the autumn of 405 B.C. (cp. ii. 2. 1), when Anaxilaus probably was made prisoner.

elσέσθαι, from elσίημι.

§ 20. droifarres. Diodorus (xiii. 66) and Plutarch (Alc. 31) give a much fuller and somewhat different account of the capture of Byzantium, detailing an elaborate stratagem of Alcibiades, and speaking of a hard-fought battle within the town.

τὸ Θράκιον. This square is described in Anab. vii. I. 24 τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἶον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαί ἐστι Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν.

§ 22. ἀποβαινόντων, gen. abs. : cp. i. 1. 26, 29. els Δεκέλειαν : cp. i. 2. 14.

CHAPTER IV

\$\xi\$ 1-3. Pharnabasus and the envoys were met at Gordium by some Spartan envoys with the news that Cyrus had been appointed satrap at Sardis with orders to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war. \$\xi\$ 4-7. Cyrus on his arrival persuaded Pharnabasus to detain the Athenian envoys on various pretexts, so that they did not return till three years afterwards. §§ 8-10. Alcibiades designed to return to Athens. Thrasybulus reduced Thasos and the rebels in Thrace. Thrasyllus led the main fleet back to Athens. Meantime the Athenians elected Alcibiades general. §§ 11, 12. Alcibiades sailed from Samos and on hearing the news with some hesitation entered Piraeus on the day of the Plynteria. \$\$ 13-17. Various feelings of the Athenians towards him: some said that he was the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had contrived his exile to make room for their own amhitious schemes; others, that he was the cause of all the Athenian misfortunes. §§ 18-23. Alcibiades landed and was escorted to the city by his friends. His desence before the Senate and Assembly was favourably received. He was chosen commander-in-chief, and conducted the sacred procession to Eleusis safely by land. Then having equipped 100 triremes and large reinforcements, he sailed with them to Andros. He gained a slight success over the Andrians, and then sailed to Samos.

§ 1. ol πρέσβεις: cp. i. 3. 13.
Γορδείφ, on the river Sangarius in Phrygia Major.

407-403 B.C.

§ 2. οι τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρίσβεις. Although Xenophon introduces these envoys with the article ol, as if already mentioned, they evidently cannot be the same as those mentioned in ch. 3. 13 as journeying to Persia. Probably therefore they had been despatched previously by the Spartans to procure the dismissal of Tissaphernes from Sardis. Xenophon is equally reticent about ol δίλου σχικόου.

[οτομα]: probably a gloss to explain that Βοιώτιος is a proper name.

ων . . . πάντων by attraction for πάντα ων.

§ 3. καὶ Κῦρος: also a nominative to ἀπήντησαν: cp. i. 2. 8.

πάντων των έπὶ θαλάττη. In the Anabasis (i. 9. 7) Xenophon describes Cyrus more exactly as σατράπης Λυθίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγός δὲ καὶ πάντων ... οἶς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον άθροίζεσθαι.

σφράγισμα: cp. v. i. 30; vii. 1. 39; and Schol. on Thuc. i. 129: ή σφραγίε τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέωε εἶχε κατὰ μέν τινας τὴν βασιλέωε εἶκόνα, κατὰ δέ τινας τὴν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέωε αὐτῶν, κατὰ δέ τινας τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον, δι' δυ χρεμετίσαντα ἐβασίλευεν.

κάρηνον. Doric for κάρηνος, 'chief.' Segaar (Epist. ad Valckenar. p. 41) however considers it to be a Persian word, to account apparently for Xenophon's explanation of the term: he quotes a MS.

Lexicon κατά Πέρσας κάρανος, τουτέστι δεσπύτης, τή δε Σύρφ διαλέκτφ ανδρείος, πολεμιστής, δυνατώτατος. Cp. Appendix, p. 359.

Καστωλό: Kiepert identifies this town with Strabo's (xiii. p. 902) Cyropedion, situated in E. Lydia, on a plateau on the south border of the Catacecaumene. It was the ground for the yearly muster of δσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται, Anab. i. 1. 2; 9. 7.

§ 5. μη είδέναι. For the success of this measure cp. § 8 note.

§ 6. μέμψησθε. This is the reading of Π: for the sudden change to oratio recta cp. i. 1. 28 note. The other MSS. read μέμψηται εc. δ Κῦροε. Some commentators have conjectured μέμψοιντο εc. οἱ πρεσβεῖε. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 7. ἐνιαντοὶ ἦσαν τρεῖs, i. e. since the envoys started in the summer of 408 (i. 3. 13) they must have returned to the Athenian forces on the Hellespont in 405 B. C. just before the battle of Aegospotami.

οὐ παρὰ βασιλία. Some word like ἀναγάγοι must be supplied from ἀνάξειν immediately preceding.

'Αριοβαρζάνει. The same probably as the successor of Pharnabazus, v. 1. 28.

Kior: the site has not been identified.

- § 8. βουλόμετος, κ.τ.λ. Cyrus' measures to prevent the news of his own arrival, and of the intention of the Persian king to aid the Lacedaemonians from reaching the Athenians, must have proved successful. Otherwise it is hard to believe that Alcibiades would have chosen this moment to return to Athens; whereas, supposing him to have been in ignorance, no moment could have seemed more propitious. He had restored the Athenian dominion over the Bosporus, Propontis, and Hellespont (with the exception of Abydos: cp. Diod. xiii. 68), had concluded a favourable treaty with Pharnabazus, and had sent an embassy to the Persian king in the hope of bringing him over to the side of Athens.
- § 9. Θρασύβουλοs here reappears in Xenophon's narrative, nothing having been said of him since the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C.: cp. i. 1. 32 note. From this passage it would seem that the Lacedaemonian party had once more gained the upper hand in the island.
- § 10. στρατηγοὺς είλοντο. It is not to be supposed that only three generals were elected instead of the usual ten. Xenophon probably names the three who were to command the fleet.

φεύγοντα. Thucydides (viii. 97) says that the people ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ᾿Αλκιβιάδην . . . κατώναι in the year 411 B.C., but Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission, so that perhaps now the decree may have been renewed. The curse pronounced over him by the priestly family of the Eumolpidae was certainly not recalled till his return in 407 B.C.: cp. Plut. Alc. 33.

τῶν οἴκοθεν: Cp. ol ἔνδοθεν, iii. I. 18.

§ 11. Publiov. The Spartan arsenal on the southern Laconian coast: cp. vi. 5. 32.

τοῦ ... κατάπλου. The genitive may be made to depend on κατασκοπόν, or be regarded as a sort of partitive genitive dependent on δπως. The meaning is the same in either case: cp. ii. 1. 14 ώς είχε φιλίας.

§ 12. Πλυντήρια. The washing of the statue of the goddess took place on the 25th of Thargelion, i. e. about the end of May: cp. Mommsen, Heortologie.

ανεπιτήθειον. So Plutarch, Alc. 34 δρώσι δὲ τὰ δργια Πραξιεργίδαι ἀπόρρητα, τόν τε κόσμον καθελόντες, καὶ τὸ ἔδος κατακαλύψαντες. δθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμίραν ταύτην ἄπρακτον 'Αθηναίοι νομίζουσιν' οὐ φιλοφρόνως οὖν οὐδ' εὐμενῶς ἐδύκει προσδεχομένη τὸν 'Αλκιβιάδην ἡ θεὸς παρακαλύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἐσυτῆς.

§ 13. δχλος . . . θαυμάζοντες, a construction κατά σύνεσαν.

ήθροίσθη: cp. Plut. Alc. 34; Diod. xiii. 68, 69.

ol pér corresponds to ol de § 17.

 $\mu dros$, if retained in the text, must mean 'alone' of those who had been banished at the same time.

[ἀπελογήθη &s.] Brückner and Dindorf inclose the words in brackets as a gloss: ἀπελογήθη, to be translated at all, must be taken passively: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.

άπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ: 'from the resources of the state'; cp. i. 6. 7 κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατόν.

§ 14. ἐθέλοντος δὲ . . . ἐστέρησαν. This hopelessly corrupt and involved sentence now passes into oratio recta.

ίπερβαλλόμενοι: literally 'putting off that which seemed to be just to another time'; i.e. the demand for an immediate trial, which seemed to be just. For the facts cp. Thuc. vi. 29.

§ 15. δουλεύων is appropriate as expressing the relation between

Alcibiades as a subject, and the Persian king as a master: cp. iii. 1. 26; vi. 1. 12.

τοὺς ἐχθίστους, i. e. the Spartans and Persians: cp. Thuc. viii. 45. § 16. τῶν... εἶναι. A contracted expression for τῶν ὅντων τοιούτων οἶόσπερ αὐτὸς ἡν εἶναι, ' they denied that it was the part of men who were such as he was, to need, &c.' αὐτοῦ would be more usual than αὐτός in such a contraction: cp. ii. 3. 25 γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οῖοις ἡμῶν τε καὶ ὑμῶν χολεπὴν πολετείαν εἶναι; the nominative, however, is found in the MSS. in Arist. Achar. 601 νεανίας δ' οῖους σὺ διαδεδρακότας, and Demos. xxiv. 185 οὐδ' οῖοισπερ συχρώμενοι συμβούλοις, where some commentators have altered the text.

καινών πραγμάτων for νεωτέρων πραγμάτων (cp. v. 2. 9) otherwise occurs only in later authors: cp. Polyb. iv. 2; Dio Cass. xxxvii. 30.

† τοιούτοις ... πρότερον.† The words, as they stand in the fext, are a correction, almost universally adopted, of the unintelligible MSS. τοιούτος οἶος. But even so corrected it is very hard to extract any meaning out of them. τοῖς ... ἐχθροῖς is the dat depending on ὑπάρχειν, and οἴοισπερ is the dat. instead of the nom. by attraction after τοιοίτ μς: the sequence of cases δυνασθεῖσιν ... λειφθίντας is very irregular, and the clauses ὕστερον δὲ ... βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ ... ἀγαπῶσθαι ... εἶχον χρῆσθαι, which are manifestly a mere recitation of the acts of the Four Hundred in 411, have neither logical nor grammatical connexion with what precedes. Probably, therefore, there is a considerable lacuna after πρότερον. Cp. Critical Note.

- § 17. τῶν τε φοβερῶν, κ.τ.λ. γενέσθαι is the infinitive dependent on φοβερῶν. Translate: 'and that there was a danger that he alone would be the author of the evils that it was feared would befall the state': φοβερῶν ... γενέσθαι = φοβερῶν μὴ γένηται.
- § 19. Εθρυπτόλεμου, to be distinguished from Euryptolemus (i. 3. 13), one of the Athenian envoys to the Persian king. In 406 the former advocated the cause of the generals after Arginusae, i. 7. 12. παρεσκευασμένων to be construed with μλ ἐπιτρέπειν.
- § 20. αὐτοκράτωρ. For a parallel cp. Thuc. vi. 8, when Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were appointed στρατηγοί αὐτοκράτορες. Cp. also Diodorus' account (xiii. 69) αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες αὐτοκράτορα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ.

σῶσαι, i. e. to secure what remained and to recover what was lost of the Athenian power. ἀνασῶσαι would rather be expected.

wpórepow μέν. For the first time since the ἐκιτείχιστε was established at Decelea in 413, Alcibiades now conducted the procession to Eleusis, as of old, along the Sacred Way. He evidently meant it to be not only a military demonstration, but an act of atonement to the priestly party, whose hatred he had so deeply incurred (cp. Thuc. viii. 53). Plutarch (Alc. 34) indeed says that he roused such enthusiasm among the common people, that they hoped that he would make himself tyrant (cp. Thuc. vi. 15).

έποίησεν, SC. άγεσθαι.

§ 21. τρίτφ μητί. The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated on the 20th of Boedromion, i.e. about the end of September: the Plynteria on the 25th of Thargelion, i.e. about the end of May. Alcibiades therefore must have stayed at Athens within a week of four months. Accordingly Cobet reads τετάρτφ. Cp. Critical Note.

'Αδείμαντος, called δ Λευκολοφίδου to distinguish him from Adimantus, the son of Ariston, Plato's brother: cp. i. 7. I.

ÿρημίνοι κατὰ γῆν, i. e. Alcibiades selected them out of the college of generals to command the troops on board his fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 72) erroneously mentions Adimantus and Thrasybulus; for the latter was still absent from Athens (cp. Hell. i. 4. 9; 5. 11). It appears from i. 4. 22; 5. 18 that Conon must have accompanied Alcibiades as second commander of the fleet, as he was left by him to carry on the siege of Andros. This Aristocrates may be the same as the one mentioned by Thuc. viii. 89.

§ 22. τῆs 'Aνδρίας χώρας. This failure to capture Andros was made a matter of reproach against Alcibiades by his enemies at Athens (Plut. Alc. 35).

§ 23. ἐπολέμει. Diodorus (xiii. 69) and Plutarch (Alc. 35) state that Alcibiades made plundering expeditions to Caria, Cos, and Rhodes, apparently in the winter 407-406 B.C.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1, 2. Lysander was appointed Spartan admiral and collected a fleet of 70 ships at Ephesus, where he waited till Cyrus' arrival at Sardis. §§ 3-7. Lysander obtained from Cyrus promises of vigorous support and increased pay for the Peloponnesians. §§ 8-10. The Athenians in despair sent

envoys to Cyrus, but he refused to see them. Lysander had now 90 ships at Ephesus. §§ 11-14. Alcibiades crossed to Phocaes to visit Thrusybulus, leaving his fleet at Samos, in charge of Antiochus, with strict orders not to fight. But Antiochus disobeyed, and drew on a general engagement at Notium, in which he was defeated by Lysander with a loss of 15 ships. § 15. On his return to Samos Alcibiades tried in vain to renew the battle and avenge the defeat. §§ 16, 17. On hearing of this affair the Athenians at home chose ten other generals in place of Alcibiades, who, finding himself unpopular also with his fleet, sailed away to the Cheronese. §§ 18-20. Conon succeeded Alcibiades at Samos; he manned only 70 ships out of 100, and with them ravaged the neighbouring coast. § 21. Contemporary events in Sicily.

§ 1. πρότερον τούτων, i.e. a little before Alcibiades sailed for Andros and Samos, in the autumn of 407 B.C. Xenophon now proceeds to bring his account of the doings in the enemy's camp up to the same date.

της ναυαρχίας: cp. Appendix, p. 343.

έβδομήκοντα. This was the first fleet the Spartans had collected since the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C. (cp. i. 1. 18).

els Σάρδειs: from Gordium in Phrygia Minor (cp. i. 4. 3), where he had been in the spring of 407.

§ 2. τοῖς . . . πρέσβεσιν. Xenophon leaves it quite uncertain who these envoys were—whether the same as those mentioned in i. 4. 2, or a different body.

d πεποιηκώς είη: for Tissaphernes' policy cp. i. 1. 9 note.

- § 3. τον θρόνον κατακόψειν: cp. Tissaphernes' promises to the Athenians, Thuc. viii. 81 μ) ἀπορήσειν αὐτοὺς τροφής, οὐδ' ἢν δέχ τελευτώντα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ στρωμνὴν ἐξαργυρίσαι.
- § 4. δραχμὴν ᾿Αττικήν. The Attic drachma was worth six, the Aeginetan ten obols. The Athenians were accustomed to pay their men only half a drachma: Thuc. viii. 45.
- § 5. τὰς συνθήκας: for these treaties cp. Thuc. viii. 29, 45, 58, in which, however, no fixed rate of pay was stipulated. One mina—100 drachmae—600 obols, or three obols a day for every sailor in a crew of 200.
- § 6. δτι . . . προσθείης : for δτι introducing oratio recta cp. Sauppe, Lexil. s. v.; Goodwin, M. T. 711.
- § 8. ἀθύμως . . . είχου: according to Plut. Lys. 4 many of their sailors deserted.

§ 9. ὑπ' 'Αλκιβιάδου: cp. Thuc. viii. 46.
 μηδε οῖτινες = μηδένες οῖτινές εἰσι: 'none of the Greeks whatever.'
 Cp. Plat. Leg. 919 D μήτ' ἔμπορος μήτε διακονίαν μηδ' ἤντινα κεκτημένος.
 § 11. Cp. Introd. p. xlii for the date.

Sparoύβουλον. Xenophon does not relate how Thrasybulus sailed from Thrace and Thasos (cp. i. 4. 9), nor why he was now fortifying Phocaea. This town was occupied by the Spartan admiral Astyochus 412 B. C. (cp. Thuc. viii. 31), and after Arginusae, 406 B. C., the Peloponnesians fled to it for refuge. But, like Cyzicus, it may have been unwalled, and so liable to occupation by either side, so that there is no need to change τειχίζειν into ἀποτειχίζειν οτ περιτειχίζειν. Diodorus (xiii. 73) has a different story altogether, that Alcibiades sailed not to Phocaea, but to Clazomenae. Plutarch (Alc. 35) again makes him sail to Caria ἀργυρολογήσων.

'Aντίοχον. Plutarch (Alc. 35) says of him ἀγηθὸς μὲν ἦν κυβερνήτης, ἀνόητος δὲ τἆλλα καὶ φορτικός. In ch. 10 he relates a story of the manner in which, as a boy, he gained the friendship of Alcibiades.

- § 13. is ëkaoros froifer: better fruoer, 'as fast as each could': cp. i. 1. 2 note.
- § 15. Δελφίσιον καὶ 'Hιώνα: Delphinium was in Chios (cp. Thuc. viii. 38) and Eion on the Strymon in Thrace. Diodorus (xiii. 76) ascribes the capture of Delphinium and Teos to Callicratidas, so that Schneider here conjectures Τέων for 'Hιώνα.
- § 16. ἢγγίλθη. Plutarch (Alc. 36) makes a certain Thrasybulus, son of Thraso [to be distinguished from the famous Thrasybulus], return to Athens immediately after the battle, and there formally impeach Alcibiades for general misconduct. Diodorus (xiii. 73, 74) here again gives quite a different account: the general discontent at Athens was, according to him, increased by the accusations of some Cymaean envoys, who complained that, after the battle of Notium, Alcibiades had made a descent upon Cyme and ravaged its land, notwithstanding that it was an allied state. But something must be wrong in Diodorus' account, because Thucydides (viii. 31, 100) distinctly states that Cyme was on the Peloponnesian side. Nepos (Alc. 7) has yet another version, that Alcibiades was accused at Athens, not for the defeat at Notium, which he does not mention, but for his failure in an attempt upon Cyme.

άλλους δέκα. Since the battle of Notium must have taken place in the early months of 406, and elections were held at Athens about April, it would seem that Xenophon must mean, not an extraordinary election of generals to replace Alcibiades, but the ordinary elections for the year 406-405, at which Alcibiades failed to secure re-election: indeed Conon and Aristocrates, now re-elected, had been his colleagues (i. 4. 10, 21) in 407-406. Otherwise we should expect to hear not of ten, but only of two or three new generals appointed to supersede him in command of the fleet. Cp. Introd. p. xlii, and Lysias xxi. 7.

Λέοντα: cp. i. 6. 16 note.

Περικλέα: a bastard son of the great Pericles: Plut. Per. 24, 37.

§ 17. τὰ ἐαυτοῦ τείχη. Cor. Nep. Alc. 7 and Diod. xiii. 74 call this fort Pactye. But Plut. Alc. 36 puts the castle at the Thracian town of Bisanthe much further E. on the Propontis. It appears from Anab. vii 3. 19 that other Athenians also possessed τείχη in this district.

§ 18 τῆς "Ανδρου, where apparently he had been left by Alcibiades (i. 4. 23).

Φανοπθένην: since the name of Phanosthenes does not occur in the list of the new generals, it would seem that he was one of the generals of the preceding year, and that he was sent to replace Conon at Andros in the interval which elapsed between the election of the new generals in April, and their entering on office in July. According to Plato (Ion 541 d) he was himself an Andrian.

§ 19. Oovplass: for Thurian ships in the Peloponnesian fleet, cp. Thuc. viii. 35, 61, 84.

Δωριέα: cp. i. 1. 2, Thuc. viii. 35, 84. Pausanias (vi. 7. 4) relates with considerable detail how the Athenian Assembly, though greatly incensed against him, set him free out of pity at seeing so famous an athlete, who had won victories at Olympia and the other contests, in the guise of a suppliant before them: cp. Thuc. iii. 8.

dξ 'Αθηνῶν. Rhodes was one of the subject allies of Athens, and therefore under her jurisdiction.

παρ' αὐτοῖς, i. e. at Thurii.

§ 20. ἐβδομήκοντα. Plutarch (Lys. 4) speaks of the impoverishment of Athens at this juncture: cp. Diod. xiii. 77 Κόνων . . εἰχε

μεν έβδομήκαιτα ναθε οδτως εξηρτυμένας τὰ πρός ναυμαχίαν, ώς οδδείς έτερος των πρότερον στρατηγών ην κατεσκευακώς.

§ 21. els Zinehlav: cp. Diod. xiii. 80-90, and Introd. p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER VI

\$\$ 1, 2. Callicratidas succeeded Lysander at Epheeus, His answer to Lysander's empty boast. \$\$ 3-5. He increased his fleet to 140 vessels, and prepared for battle; but finding himself traduced by Lysander's friends, he assembled the Lacedaemonians and told them that he had come only in obedience to the Spartan government, and was ready to return if they so §§ 6-11. The malcontents thus quieted, he tried to get supplies from Cyrus, but failing, appealed to the Milesians for help, till money should \$\$ 12-15. With the supplies so obtained, he sailed to come from Sparta. Chios and Lesbos, where he took Methymna by storm, and captured many prisoners; all the Greeks he set free except the Athenians. §§ 16-18. He chased Conon, returning towards Samos, into the harbour of Mytilene, where he captured 30 of the Athenian ships, and blockaded the rest. Cyrus thereupon sent him money. §§ 19-24. Conon by a stratagem contrived to send a ship to Athens with the news. In 30 days the Athenians equipped a fleet of 110 vessels, manned by both slaves and free. \$\$ 25-28. The Athenian fleet sailed to Samos, and anchored at the Arginusae islands, mustering more than 150 strong. Callicratidas left 50 ships under Eteonicus at Mytilene, and sailed to Cape Malea with 120 ships to meet the \$\$ 29-34. Callicratidas refused to flee before the superior Athenians. numbers of the Athenians. The fight began; and when Callicratidas fell into the sea and was drowned, the Peloponnesians fled to Chios and Phocaea with a loss of 69 ships. The Athenians retired to Arginusae with a loss § 35. The Athenian generals commissioned Theramenes and other officers to rescue the crews of their sunken vessels with 47 vessels, while they themselves sailed against Eteonicus at Mytilene. But both projects \$\$ 36, 37. Eteonicus, by spreading false news were prevented by a storm. of a victory, succeeded in despatching his fleet to Chios, and in marching himself to Methymna. § 38. Conon met the Athenian fleet with the news about Eteonicus. The fleet sailed to Mytilene, made an attempt on Chios, and finally returned to Samos.

§ 1. ἡ σελίρη, κ.τ.λ. On the chronological data see Introd. p. xxxvi. This eclipse occurred on April 15, 406 B.C.

406-405 B.C.

δ παλαιός, κ.τ.λ. Probably the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, called 'old' in opposition to the newer Parthenon.

παρεληλυθότος: cp. Appendix, p. 344.

§ 3. φαμένου: the middle form is rare in Attic prose, and occurs nowhere else in Xenophon, unless it be in Cyrop. vi. 1. 21, where some MSS. read ἔφατο.

§ 4. καταμαθών... καταστασιαζόμενος: for the participial construction cp. Anab. v. 8. 14 κατέμαθον άναστὰς μόλις: Goodwin, M. T. 884.

τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων. Diodorus (xiii. 70) states that Lysander during his period of office organized the various oligarchical clubs in the Ionian states in his own favour, promising them the government of their cities (cp. ii. 2. 2).

διαλλάττει: for the law against holding the office twice cp. ii.

1. 7 and Appendix, p. 345.

derπιτηδείων. Translate: 'since often unsuitable men were appointed, who had only just studied naval matters, and did not know how to employ men.' The text (cp. Critical Note) is manifestly corrupt: the clauses ἀπείρους... τοῖς ἐκεῖ merely repeat πολλάκις... γιγνωσκόντων, and in the MSS. the verbs παραπίστοιεν and κινδινείοιεν are not combined by any conjunction.

§ 5. πρὸς ἀ έγώ τε, κ.τ.λ., 'in relation to those matters for which I am myself ambitious (i. e. my appointment as admiral) and our country is accused,' i. e. for changing its officers, &c.

§ 7. ἀν σωθη: the subjunctive of *oratio directa* is retained and not changed to the optative, as it might be: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 689.

§ 8. πέμψας τριήρεις. Xenophon nowhere relates the result of their mission.

§ 11. deiva: the money from Lacedaemon.

θαυμάζειν: a stronger word than θεραπεύειν.

§ 12. of alreaζόμενοι έναντιοῦσθαι, 'those who were accused of opposing him.'

elσηγούντο, i. e. proposed a grant of public money.

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, sc. δοῦνω, ' promising themselves to give money from their private means.'

όφοδιασάμενος, κ.τ.λ., 'having had his seamen paid five drachmae apiece.'

§ 13. έμφρούρων: this word nowhere else occurs in this sense: cp. Resp. Lac. 5. 7 and Critical Note.

τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχύντων, 'those who were in power.'

§ 15. τοὺς δὲ τῶν 'Αθηναίων φρουρούς. Grote (vii. 406) overlooks the fact that Callicratidas allowed the Athenians to be sold.

deayόμενον: Diod. xiii.77, says that Conon with his seventy ships had sailed to the support of the Methymnaeans, but finding the town already captured he had anchored for the night at one of the islands known as the Hecatonnesi.

§ 16. els δλίγας: cp. i. 5. 20.

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Afor Kal Epaginions. The brevity, if not the carelessness, of Xenophon makes the passage, if genuine, almost unintelligible, when compared with § 29. From Lysias xxi. 8 it appears that Archestratus was also with Conon at Mytilene and died there, and that Erasinides, who fought at Arginusae (infr. § 29), escaped in one of the two fast-sailing vessels mentioned in § 19. Again, Leon is mentioned only here and i. 5. 16, while at the battle of Arginusae (i. 6. 30 and 7. 1, 2) Lysias appears in his place. Diodorus too (xiii. 74, 99, 101) speaks of Lysias. The name Leon, however, in this passage of Xenophon is attested by the Scholiast on Aristid. Pan. 162. 19, so that we can only conjecture with Riemann that Leon was on board the ship captured by the Lacedaemonians (§ 21), and that afterwards Lysias was chosen general in his place.

els ròv luiva: the old town of Mytilene lay on a little island separated by a narrow channel from the shore, which formed the connexion between the northern and southern harbours. The southern harbour was deep enough only for small boats, so that here the northern harbour must be meant, the entrance to which was protected by a mole: cp. Diod. xiii. 77, 79; Strab. xiii. p. 617.

έκατὸν καὶ έβδομήκοντα: the thirty Athenian ships captured § 17 seem to be reckoned by anticipation: for according to § 3 and Diod. xiii. 76 the number was now 140.

- § 17. κατακωλυθείε, i. e. prevented from beaching his ships under the city walls.
- § 18. τον έκπλουν, i.e. of the northern harbour: the channel (εδριπος) between the two harbours was too shallow to admit of Conon's escape in that direction.
- § 19. είς κοίλην ναῦν, 'into the ship's hold,' instead of on deck, their usual place.

τὰ παραρύματα: cp. Suidas, δέρρεις, σκεπάσματα and ii. 1. 22. What particular kind of coverings these were, is unknown. Apparently the crews remained below during the day-time to escape the notice of the enemy, and to fit out the ships. They had to wait five days before they caught the Peloponnesians off their guard.

§ 20. &s... eba: &s is here used with the infinitive, like &sre: cp. iii. 4. 27, v. 2. 38; Goodwin, M. T. App. 4.

πέμπτη . . . ἡμέρα: for the omission of the article cp. ii. 2. 17.

§ 21. ως εκαστοι ήνοιγον. Better ήννον: cp. i. 1. 2 note and Appendix, p. 359. The logical order of ideas appears to be somewhat confused in the phrases dyκύρας dποκόπτοντες . . . εγειρόμενοι . . . εἰσβάντες.

The detail with which Xenophon narrates this incident of personal skill and courage is noticeable.

τυχόντες . . . ἀμιστοποιούμενοι: for the supplementary participle cp. Goodwin, M. T. 887.

§ 22. Δωμάδων. Xenophon does not say from whence he was coming—perhaps it was from Samos: from the context it would appear that it was not from Athens.

τον εθριπον: cp. §§ 16, 18 notes. It is difficult to understand how Diomedon effected an entrance.

§ 24. δούλους. To enrol slaves, even as rowers in the fleet, was a very exceptional measure. These slaves who fought at Arginusae were rewarded with their freedom, and were given allotments of land together with the same political privileges as the Plataeans enjoyed at Athens (cp. Arist. Frogs 190, 693; Hellanicus Fr. 80 (Müller)).

τῶν ἰππίων: the Knights formed the second of Solon's five classes and were usually exempt from naval service (cp. Thuc. iii. 16).

§ 26. 'Eτεόνικον: cp. i. 1. 32.

[derior της Μυτιλήνης]: it is impossible to reconcile these words with the geographical features of the country.

§ 27. ἐν ταῖς ᾿Αργινούσαις: three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

[drτίον τῆς . . . ἄκρο]: cp. Critical Note: ἐπὶ τῆ Μαλές ἄκρος seems to be a copyist's careless repetition of § 26, and ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου a gloss on ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλή, νης.

§ 28. ἀνέσχεν, sc. ὁ χειμών, ' when the storm ceased.' Cp. Bekk. Anec. 400 ὡς λέγομεν, ὁπότε ὁ ὑετὸς παύεται.

§ 29. παρατεταγμένοι δδε: Diod. xiii. 98 agrees with Xenophon on the whole in his description of the arrangement of the Athenian fleet, and also explains why it was left weak in the centre and strengthened on the wings: the reason was that the Arginusae islands were taken into the line, so that the ten Samian ships and the ten ships of the taxiarchs ἐπὶ μιῶς posted in front of the islands were sufficient to secure the centre. Their line, drawn up ἐπὶ φάλαγγος (cp. vi. 2. 30), must have faced NW.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, i.e. next in line with these: cp. infr. waph δὲ Διομέδοντα.

έπετέτακτο, 'was posted behind.'

"Ερασινίδης. Xenophon nowhere relates how he escaped from Mytilene, in which, according to § 16, he was blockaded together with Conon and Leon: he may have been on one of the two ships that Conon despatched to Athens (i. 6. 1), especially as Lysias (xxi. 8) states that on the death of the general Archestratus at Mytilene he went on board his ship as the fastest-sailing vessel in the fleet: cp. § 16 note.

ονόματι: cp. Appendix, p. 359.

raξιάρχων: the taxiarchs, like the strategi, to whom they were subordinate, were ten in number, and each of them commanded one of the ten tribal divisions of the hoplites.

¿πὶ μιᾶς, 'in single line.'

inl δε ταύταις, i.e. 'behind,' so as to form a double line on the two wings, the line in the centre being left single (cp. supr. ἐπετέτακτο).

randρχων: the position of these officers in the Athenian navy is not known: cp. i. 7. 30. The title is applied in v. 1. 5 to the commander of a squadron of thirteen Athenian vessels.

§ 30. Avoias is not mentioned in the list of the ten generals, whose election is related in i. 5. 16. He may have been appointed in the place of Archestratus, who had already been killed at Mytilene (cp. Lysias xxi. 8), or, still more probably, in place of Leon: i. 6. 16 note,

§ 31. διέκπλουν, i. e. the Athenian line was doubled on the two wings to avoid the manœuvre of the διέκπλους. In this manœuvre the object was first to row rapidly past the enemy's ship, breaking his oars in the passage, and then to turn rapidly round and bear

down upon his disabled side. The περίπλουs was the same manœuvre executed round the enemy's flank.

§ 32. eq. . . . exor. eq is here used as an auxiliary verb with a participle; for the periphrasis cp. iv. 8. 4.

οδδέν μή: the double negative is emphatic: cp. Critical Note. οἰπεῖται: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.

§ 34. πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. The number is said to be twelve in i. 7. 30, but thirteen may have sunk in the interval.

§ 35. Θηραμένην: according to Diod. xiii. 98, though now only an lδιώτης, he had been given a command on the right wing. This is not inconsistent with Xenophon: for a trierarch (cp. Dict. of Antiq.) only commanded the ship which he had fitted out. Thrasybulus (i. 5. 11), one of the generals of the previous year, was in the same position.

ταῖε δὲ ἄλλαιε, sc. πλεῖν: the subject which must be the generals themselves, is not repeated, because it is the same as that of the principal sentence $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta o \xi \epsilon$, κ.τ.λ.

διεκώλυσεν. From this passage it would appear that the storm stopped both projects; but i. 7. 5, 31, and ii. 3. 35, would seem to imply that the rest of the fleet at least made a start for Mytilene, though perhaps the imperfect tenses there used might be interpreted to mean no more than the wish, here expressed by βουλομένους.

§ 37. εθυε τὰ εὐαγγελια: cp. the similar action of Agesilaus on the receipt of the news of the Lacedaemonian defeat at Cnidus, iv. 3. 13.

τοῖς ἐμπόροις cp. vi. 2. 23; 4. 9. There was no proper commissariat attached to a Greek armament: the custom was for merchants to follow in its train, who sold the necessary provisions and bought the spoils, which were captured.

οδριον. Though the wind was favourable for sailing SW. towards Chios, Conon thought it better to wait till it was more moderate (§ 38), before he sailed E. to meet the Athenian fleet.

Arist. ' $A\theta\eta\nu$. $\pi o\lambda$. 34. 1, quoted by the Scholiast on Arist. Ran. 1532, represents the Lacedaemonians after this defeat to have again offered terms of peace to the Athenians, which were again rejected through the influence of Cleophon. Grote (viii. 1) thinks that Aristotle has confused together the two battles of Cyzicus and Arginusae. Cp. Appendix, p. 321.

τὴν ταχίστην, SC. όδὸν ἀποπλεῦν.

CHAPTER VII

§§ 1, 2. The Athenian generals were replaced by ten others, Conon alone being re-elected. Of the six who returned to Athens, Erasinides was accused by Archedemus of corrupt practices, and sentenced by the court to imprison-§ 3. The other generals also, after informing the Council about the § 4. Before the Assembly battle and the storm, were arrested by its order. Theramenes and others attached the generals for not having rescued the shipwrecked crews, alleging as evidence the official despatch. defence the generals recounted the facts, bringing forward some of the sailors § 7. The defence was favourably received, but, it being dark, as witnesses. the Assembly adjourned without a vote being taken, after commissioning the Council to bring forward a proposal as to the procedure of the trial. Theramenes availed himself of the Apaturia to excite the Athenians against the accused. 55 9-11. At the second meeting of the Assembly Callixenus introduced the proposal of the Council, that the people should decide, without further hearing, upon all the accused at once by a single vote. **55** 12, 13. Euryptolemus and others threatened to indict Callixenus' proposal as unconstitutional, but were compelled to withdraw their threat. \$\$ 14, 15. The Prytanes refused to put the question to the vote, but were all frightened into submission except Socrates. §§ 16-33. Speech of Euryptolemus. §§ 16-18. 'Pericles and Diomedon were chiefly to blame, because they had persuaded their colleagues not to mention in their despatch the orders they had given to Theramenes and others to rescue the crews. §§ 19-22. Two courses were open to the Athenians: the generals might be tried, either before the Assembly according to the decree of Cannonus, or before a court according to the law against sacrilege and treason. \$\$ 23-29. But in either case they ought to be tried fairly and separately. Undue haste ought to be avoided, especially in the case of generals who had deserved so § 29. To return to the facts: Diomedon had proposed well of their country. to rescue the crews, Erasinides to sail against the enemy, Thrasyllus to do both by dividing the fleet. §§ 30-32. According to Thrasyllus' proposal 47 vessels were told off to rescue the crews, and the rest were to sail against the enemy, but the storm prevented both projects. Many survivors would § 33. On all grounds therefore the generals witness to the truth of this. \$\$ 34, 35. At first the people accepted Euryptoought to be acquitted.' lemus' proposal to try the generals separately, according to the decree of Cannonus; but at a second vote the Council's proposal was preferred, and the eight generals were condemned and six of them executed. Not long afterwards the people repented of the injustice.

§ 1. ¿παυσαν. According to Diod. (xiii. 100) the generals from Samos ravaged the territory of the enemy: then Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus returned to Athens and spread defamatory reports about the conduct of the generals at Arginusae. On hearing this the generals drew up a letter to the Assembly in reply. For a time the people were satisfied with their defence, but shortly afterwards, persuaded by the representations of Theramenes and Thrasybulus, they summoned the generals home. All this must have taken some time, so that since the Apaturia (§ 8) occurred early in November, the battle of Arginusae must have been fought some time in August: cp. Appendix, p. 321.

'Αδείμαντον: cp. i. 4. 21.

οὐκ ἀπῆλθον: cp. Diod. xiii. 101 φοβηθέντες τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἔφυγον. Leon, the general not here accounted for, may have been with Conon at Mytilene: i. 6. 16 note and Critical Note.

§ 2. προεστηκώς. It is extremely doubtful whether the designation προστάτης τοῦ δήμου was ever used as an official title in any state, and it was certainly not so used at Athens. The term προστάτης in its legal signification means a patron chosen from among the citizens by an alien (μέτοικος) to represent him before the law courts or elsewhere, where he had no legal right to appear himself. But though this legal signification is sometimes implied in the phrase προστάτης του δήμου, it seems to be more often used in its simple etymological sense of 'leader' or 'champion,' and as such is used indifferently side by side with different parts of the verb *poiotym. Thus Herodotus (i. 59, 69) speaks of Megacles the Alcmaeonid προεστώς των παράλων, of Sparta προεστάναι της Ελλάδος, and of a man gaining a tyranny through προστάς τοῦ δίμου. Thucydides (ii. 65) says that Pericles προδστη της πόλεως, and in the same passage traces the ruin of Athens after his death to the quarrels of inferior men περί της του δήμου προστασίας. Pericles (Schol. on Arist. Pax 681) was in fact the last Athenian to unite successfully in his own person the two positions of στρατηγός and δημαγωγός (in the better sense). Cp. Plut. Phoc. 7. Henceforward, though members of the aristocratical families were as a general rule elected to be στρατηγοί, they were distrusted by the people on account of their Lacedaemonian proclivities.

Men of lower stamp and humbler origin, sprung directly from

the masses, were therefore preferred before them and contrasted (Lysias, xiii. 10) with them. This new class of demagogues rose to eminence by winning the ear of the Public Assembly: and though they were seldom elected to fill any of the higher offices. yet they exercised an enormous political power chiefly by proposing and carrying ψηφίσματα in the Assembly. Sometimes, however, when they chanced to be members of the Council (Arist. Eq. 774). they had a still more direct control over the executive officers and the financial administration, besides bringing forward προβουλεύματα, which, if passed, were afterwards submitted to the Assembly. But perhaps their most favourite method of showing zeal in the popular cause was their institution of prosecutions against generals and other magistrates (Thuc. vii. 48, viii. 65; Plut. Cimon 15) who failed to pass a satisfactory evolute or who were otherwise unsuccessful, or against persons who were suspected of being involved in oligarchical (Arist. Eq. 861) conspiracies.

Usually one such demagogue, like Cleon (Thuc. iii. 36; iv. 21) or Hyperbolus, was pre-eminent over the rest, but it is not to be supposed that the designation προστάτης τοῦ δήμου was confined to one person only: for Thucydides (viii. 65, 89; iii. 75) speaks of Androcles as τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προστώτα, of different persons aspiring to be πρώτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, and of οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται at Corcyra. And at the very time when Xenophon in this passage tells us that Archedemus was ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προσστηκὸς ἐν ᾿Αθήναις, we learn from Lysias (xix. 48) that the demagogue Cleophon πολλὰ ἔτη διεχείρισε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πάντα.

διωβελίας. The most probable explanation seems to be that this was a public dole of two obols first given to poor citizens on the proposal of the demagogue Cleophon (Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 28), to relieve the distress caused by the war and the occupation of Decelea (cp. Busolt. Griech. Gesch. iii. 1. p. 264). Other commentators have identified it with the θεωρικά, the institution of which is ascribed by Plutarch (Per. 9) to Pericles: cp. Philoch. fr. 85. In 410-409 numerous payments were made ἐς τὲν διοβελίαν, cp. CIA. i. 188. Beloch, however (Gr. Gesch. ii. 77 note), refers it to the μωθὸς δικαστικός, on the ground that the amounts recorded in the inscriptions (16 to 17 talents) were quite insufficient to meet such a public dole, and that Aristophanes in the Frogs 1466 (date

406 B.C.) complains of the μισθὸς δικαστικός as the crying evil of Athenian finance.

ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβολέν: all Athenian magistrates seem to have had the right of summary jurisdiction within their own spheres of office—in most cases to the extent only of a small fine: if the person so condemned refused to pay, it was the magistrate's duty to bring him before a δικαστήριον for trial: cp. Lys. ix. 11, xxx. 3; Dict. Antiq. i. 745.

φάσκων . . . δήμου: cp. Schol. on Arist. Frogs, 1196 Δημήτριος δέ φησι περιττότερόν τι γενίσθαι τῷ 'Ερασινίδη, τὸ καὶ κλοπῆε κατηγορηθῆναι τῶν περὶ 'Ελλήσποντον.

δησαι, the story of Erasinides seems to be told by Xenophon as the exciting cause of the accusation against all the generals at Arginusae; cp. κατηγόρει καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας.

§ 3. βουλη, the Council of Five Hundred: cp. Appendix, p. 328.

Τιμοκράτους. Timocrates, Callixenus (§ 8), Lyciscus (§ 13), and Menecles (§ 34), who take a prominent part in the proceedings of the trial, are otherwise unknown men.

ίδησε, the Council was competent to imprison persons accused of προδοσία (§ 22) or other serious crimes: cp. Dem. xxiv. 144.

§ 4. καυαγούε, living as well as dead: cp. Appendix, p. 326. ἐπιστολήε, cp. Appendix, p. 327.

§ 5. σφίσι for αὐτοῖε, cp. vi. 5. 35.

κατὰ τὸν νόμον, which appointed a definite time, in which every accused person could make his defence: cp. Aesch. c. Ctes. 197 ff.

πλέοιεν, the pres. opt. represents the imperf. ind. of oratio recta Goodwin, M. T. 673.

Θρασυβούλφ. Thrasybulus, for some reason or other, does not seem to have taken an active part against the generals.

§ 6. Béoi, sc. altiágagbai.

ἔχειν αὐτούs: αὐτούs is the subject of ἔχειν: notwithstanding the accusative it seems best to refer it, with Breitenbach, Büchsenschütz, &c., to οἱ στρατηγοί. Blake in his note ad loc. regards it as equivalent to ὑμεῖs of oratio recta.

τὸ μέγεθος: an affirmative verb must be supplied from ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες.

ξπειθον, 'tried to persuade': cp. iii. 5. 18.

§ 7. ἀναβαλέσθαι must refer to the voting as to whether there was

any prima fucie case against the generals or not. The reference of the procedure back to the Council seems to have been a ruse of the accusers to prejudice the case, and was, we may perhaps infer, in the darkness carried unanimously.

οὐκ ἀν καθεώρων, the protasis is unexpressed; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 245.

προβουλεύσασαν: cp. Plut. Solon, 19, μηθέν έᾶν ἀπροβούλευτον els έκκλησίαν εἰσφέρεσθαι.

- § 8. 'Απατούρια, celebrated in the month of Pyanepsion (Oct.-Nov.), was peculiarly a family festival, because the young men were enrolled in the φρατρίαι at it.
- ώς δη συγγενεῖς ὅντες: 'pretending that they were kinsmen.' For ὡς δή cp. v. 4. 3 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ῆλθον, ὡς δη ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, and similar passages in Cyrop. v. 4. 4; vii. 4. 3; Symp. 8. 4. Diodorus (xiii. 101) represents these men, who attended the assembly in great numbers in the garb of mourners, to have been the real kinsmen of the deceased: accordingly Breitenbach (note ad loc.) proposes to translate ὡς δη—ὅντες, 'quippe qui essent,' 'since they were'; with which might be compared Cyrop. vi. 2. 4 ὁ Κῦρος . . . ὡς δη οὐδὰν σμικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν. But if that were Xenophon's meaning, he would probably have written παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν ἀπολωλότων instead of παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους. Cp. Grote, vii. 434.
- § 9. δύο ὐδρίας. Probably this was the ordinary method of voting in judicial cases, which however is not accurately known until the fourth century B.C. Where the interests of individuals were concerned, the voting was by secret ballot; and although it is difficult to understand how with two urns as described secrecy could be maintained, yet it appears from Lycurgus (Leocr. 146, 149) that even so the votes could still be kept secret. Cp. ii. 4. 9, and Dict. Antiq. ii. 517.
- § 10. τοῖς ἔνδεκα. The eleven magistrates whose duty it was to superintend the safe custody and execution of condemned prisoners. τῆς θεοῦ, Athena.
- § 11. τους ἀπολλυμένους. Diodorus (l. c.) speaks as if the generals had neglected only to bury the dead, not to rescue the living.
- § 12. προσεκαλέσαντο, i. e. summoned on a γραφή παραιόμων: cp. vii. 4. 36.

жара́гоµа: ср. Appendix, р. 331.

συγγεγραφέναι, a term usually applied only to proposed legislation: cp. ii. 3. 2, and Critical Note.

δεινόν κ.τ.λ. : cp. [Demos.] lix. 88 ό γὰρ δῆμος ό 'Αθηναίων κυριώτατος διν τῶν ἐν τῷ πύλει ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἄν βούληται.

§ 14. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων. The πρυτάνεις of the ψυλή πρυτανεύουσα had special seats assigned them, and the whole assembly was presided over by the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, who was chosen by lot for one day only. On this occasion Socrates was ἐπιστάτης: cp. Mem. i. 1. 18.

τὴν διαψήφισω. This can only refer to putting the Council's proposal to the vote: cp. Appendix, p. 331.

avror, i. e. Euryptolemus and his friends.

ol δέ, sc. ὁ ὅχλος.

καλείν, SC. els δίκην.

- § 15. Σωκράτους: cp. Plat. Apol. 32 b, Xen. Mem. i. 1. 18; Appendix, pp. 331, 333. Socrates' opposition gave Euryptolemus an opportunity of bringing in an amendment to the προβούλευμα.
- § 16. κατηγορήσων: Euryptolemus does not adhere to this proposed order: his accusations are in §§ 17–19, his advice in §§ 19–29, his defence in § 29 ff.
- § 17. Energas, i. e. perénergas, 'persuaded them to give up their intention': cp. Thuc. iii. 32.
- § 18. deciror...deciror; the context seems to require the first deciror to be interpreted of Pericles and Diomedon, whose fault it was that all the generals were accused; and the second deciror of Theramenes and Thrasybulus. The transition is so very harsh, that perhaps it is better (with Büchsenschütz, &c.) to understand deciror in both cases of Theramenes and Thrasybulus. This gives an intelligible though not so pointed a meaning.
 - § 19. οδκ, i. e. οὐ κινδυνεύουσι, κ.τ.λ.

καὶ δθεν, i. e. καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἐξ ὧν, κ.τ.λ., 'doing those things by means of which.'

σφας αὐτούς = ὑμας αὐτούς.

ἐν οἶs, the antecedent is the object to be supplied as accusative to συμβουλεύω: ἐν οἶs must be supplied again before τοῦς ἀδικοῦντας . . . κολάσεσθε.

§ 20. Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα: cp. Appendix, p. 332.

βάραθρον, a precipitous ravine outside the West gate of Athens in the deme of Ceiriadae.

της θεοῦ, i. e. Athena.

§ 22. τόνδε τὸν νόμον. Antiphon and Archeptolemus were tried under this law: cp. ps.-Plut. v. Antip. § 24.

§ 23. όποτέρφ . . . τῷ νόμφ, for the article cp. Plat. Men. 87 b διαφερέτω δὲ μηδὲν ἡμῖν όποτέρφ ἄν τῷ ὀνόματι χρώμεθα.

κατὰ ἔνα ἔκαστον: i.e. separate trial ought to be given to the accused, whether they were tried κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα before the Assembly, οτ κατὰ τὸν νόμον against sacrilege and treachery before a δικαστήριον.

διηρημένων . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι, probably an interpolation. Leonclavius corrected the MSS. διηρημένης, comparing Resp. Lac. 2. 4 μόρας διείλε ἐξ καὶ ἐππέων καὶ ὁπλιτῶν and Cyrop. i. 2. 4 διήρηται αὖτη ἡ ἀγορὰ τέτταρα μέρη. ἐἀν τε . . ἐάν τε cannot in Attic Greek introduce an indirect question: cp. Goodwin, M. T. §§ 493, 689. Moreover there seems to be no trace in other authorities of this threefold division of the day, and the division of the day itself is logically absurd: cp. Critical Notes, and Appendix, p. 359.

§ 24. doiroveres: cp. Critical Note.

§ 25. εδορκοῦντες: a reference to the dicasts' oath: for its formul cp. Gilbert, Gk. Const. Antiq. (E. T.), p. 392.

έβδομήκοντα: cp. i. 6. 34.

§ 26. η μη ουχ ύμεις, κ.τ.λ.: supply δέδιτε from δεδιότες.

οὐκ ἄν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, κ.τ.λ. denies the preceding clause: 'Are you afraid, that you will not, &c., but not afraid [sc. that you will not put to death whomsoever you like], if you condemn him contrary to the law, &c.,' i.e. οὐ δέδιτε, ἄν παρὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε.

§ 27. † ἀποκτείναιτε† . . . ἡμαρτηκότες: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359. The simplest way out of the difficulty seems to be to read with Dindorf ἀποκτείναιτε, and to adopt Peter's conjecture μεταμελῆσαι. The latter alteration overcomes the difficulty of beginning a new sentence at ἀναμνήσθητε without a connecting particle, and makes the infinitive μεταμελῆσαι the subject of ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀναφελές.

§ 28. 'Αριστάρχφ. For his conduct cp. Thuc. viii. 90, 92, 98. Lycurgus (Leocr. 115) says that he was condemned and executed, but for a different reason.

dπολογήσασθαι, infin. to express a purpose: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

§ 29. μη ύμεις γε, SC. ποιείτε ταθτα.

éauτῶν = ὑμῶν αἰτῶν, 'the laws which are your own': cp. § 19. ἐπὶ κέρως, 'in column.'

πρὸς Μυτιλήνην, the accusative instead of the dative on account of the near neighbourhood of the verb of motion πλεῦν.

γενέσθαι, for the aorist cp. v. 1. 32.

§ 30. δοξάντων τούτων, i.e. ἐὰν ταῦτα δόξη.

τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας: this can only refer to the division of the fleet commanded by each strategus, since the well-known system of Symmoriae at Athens for providing money for war expenses was not introduced till 377 B. C.

οκτώ: cp. i. 6. 29, 30.

δώδεκα: cp. i. 6. 34, where 25 ships, with their crews, are stated to have been lost. The two passages may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that 13 ships went down during the battle and that thus only 12 wrecks were left affoat.

§ 31. τριηράρχων. Probably the word is interpolated from i. 6. 35, as taxiarchs were left behind as well: cp. Critical Note.

čπλεον. The imperfect must mean that the attempt failed: cp. i. 6. 35 and ii. 3. 35.

τὰ μὲν . . . πραχθέντα is dependent on ὑπέχειν λόγον, and ought therefore to be in the genitive, the construction being κατὰ σύνεσιν, not grammatical: cp. vii. 5. 12.

§ 32. els, probably Lysias: cp. Diod. xiii. 99. ήπερ, sc. ψήφφ κελεύουσι κρίσεσθαι.

τα προστυχθέντα; these words seem inexplicable, because Thrasybulus and Theramenes, who had received the orders, were not accused, while the accused generals had themselves given the orders. There is the same difficulty in § 33 with τὰ προσταχθέντα: cp. Critical Notes.

§ 33. dyremoreir...oùx karrois. Two constructions are possible: (1) sc. aŭrois. 'Do not think that they were wanting in right feeling (or judgment), who were unable,' &c., i.e. do not attribute to a want of feeling on the part of men, what was really due to a necessity imposed by the gods. The passage would be much easier if we had rous oùx karrois. (2) 'Do not show yourselves to

be unreasonable by convicting of treachery,' &c. Breitenbach, while adopting the first construction, takes αγνωμονεῖν as meaning 'to act unfairly,' i.e. treacherously, on the analogy of Demosthenes, xviii. 94; cp. Critical Notes: most probably οὐχ ἰκανοὺς . . . προσταχθέντα is a gloss on ἀδυναμίας.

πειθομένους, agreeing with υμας, the subject of ζημιουν.

§ 34. ὑπομοσαμένου: cp. Appendix, p. 332. ol παρόντες εξ: cp. § 2.

§ 35. μετέμελε. Cp. Plato, Apol. 32 b τους δέκα στρατηγούς, τους ουκ ἀνελομένους τους έκ τῆς ναυμαχίας, ἐβουλεύσασθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῦν ἔδοξεν.

προβολάs. A προβολή was a complaint laid before the Assembly against any individual before a formal indictment was brought. If the people decided that it was made with just grounds, then the complainant had greater hopes of success, if he followed it up with a legal accusation; cp. Dict. Antiq. ii. 492.

Kλεοφῶν: cp. i. 1. 23, note. According to Lysias (xiii. 12) the oligarchical party contrived his execution on a charge of λιποστρατία during the siege of Athens, because he had vehemently opposed the proposal to demolish part of the Long Walls, which formed one of the conditions offered by the Lacedaemonians. Theramenes at the time was absent in Lysander's camp. Nothing is known of the particular στάσις here referred to.

δτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ΒC. κατῆλθον, in the autumn 403 B.C.; cp. ii. 4. 39.

λιμφ ἀπέθανεν, cp. Suidas s.v. ἐναύειν. Καλλίξενος ὁ ᾿Αθηναίος διὰ συκοφαντίαν ἄθλα ἀπηνέγκατο τῆς ἀναισχυντίας καὶ ἀσεβείας ἐν ἄστει μισούμενος καὶ πενόμενος καὶ ἀπέλειόμενος λιμφ ἀποθανείν, ἐπεὶ μήτε ὅδατος ἐκοινώνουν αὐτῷ μήτε πυρὸς ἐναύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὡσπεροῦν κοινωνείν τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ δεομένοις; and Schol. ad Aristid. Panath. iii. 245 (Dindorf).

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

\$\$ 1-5. The Peloponnesian soldiers at Chios, hard pressed by want, formed a plan to sack the city. Eteonicus discovered the plot, and by prompt measures put it down. He asked and obtained from the Chians a contribution of §§ 6, 7. On the appeal of her Asiatic allies, supported by envoys from Cyrus, Sparta appointed Lysander to be secretary and Aracus to be \$\$ 8, 9. Cyrus, having put Autoboesaces and admiral of the fleet. Mitraeus to death, was summoned before Darius to answer for his conduct. §§ 10-12. Lysander, on his arrival at Ephesus, collected all the ships he could from Chios, Antandros, and elsewhere, got a fresh supply of money from Cyrus, and refitted his fleet. The Athenians made similar preparations \$\$ 13, 14. Cyrus, before going up to his father in Media, left Lysander in charge of all the tribute of his satrapy, and warned him against §§ 15, 16. Lysander took Cedreae in Caria fighting with the Athenians. by storm, and then set out for Rhodes. The Athenians sailed to Chios and Ephesus, and chose three additional generals. § 17. Lysander sailed past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians put out to sea from Chios. §§ 18-21. Lysander took Lampsacus by storm. The Athenians, 180 strong, sailed in pursuit, first to Elaeus, then to Sestos, where they anchored off Aegospotami, opposite Lampsacus, and offered battle. \$\$ 22-26. For four days they tried in vain to draw Lysander out of his harbour. Alcibiades pointed out to them the disadvantages of their position, but their generals scorned his advice and refused to move. \$\$ 27, 20. Un the fifth day, at a given signal from his scouts, Lysander suddenly rowed across the strait with his whole fleet, and surprised the Athenians while they were scattered along the shore obtaining provisions. He captured without a blow the entire Athenian fleet, except Conon's squadron and the Paralus, and most of the §§ 29, 30. Conon escaped to Cyprus. The Paralus carried the news to Athens. Lysander brought his prisoners to Lampsacus, and sent Theopompus to Sparta to announce his victory, §§ 31, 32. Lysander summoned a meeting of his allies at Lampsacus at which they made many complaints of Athenian cruelty, In revenge he executed all the Athenians among his captives, except the general Adimantus.

§ 1. ol δ' ἐντῆ Χίφ, κ.τ.λ. After the battle of Arginusae, Eteonicus, left in chief command by the death of Callicratidas, had led the Peloponnesian fleet from Mytilene to Methymna, and then on to Chios; cp. i. 6. 38. For the Lacedaemonian offers of peace cp. Appendix, p. 321.

orres, for the position of the words cp. i. 4. 10.

της δρας, i.e. των ώραίων καρπών.

τη Χίφ ἐπιθησόμενοι. Chios had been the first of the Athenian allies to revolt after the Sicilian disaster, 412 B.C. (cp. Thuc. viii. 14), and ever since had adhered to the Peloponnesian side.

§ 2. ἀπόρως μέν. The correlative sentence with δέ begins § 3 ἀναλαβών δέ.

τί χρώτο, 'how he should behave in the matter.' Cp. iii. 5. I.

τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς. The correlative sentence would naturally be expected to begin with τό τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῖς: but Xenophon in τό τ' αδ ἀπολλύναι (equivalent to ἀν κρατήσας δ' Ετεόνικος ἀπολέση) rather carries on the thought suggested in the previous subordinate sentence ἀν κρατήσωσι.

συμμάχους, i.e. the soldiers of the allies in the Spartan army, who had joined the conspiracy.

els τοὺς ἄλλους: for els after διαβολήν instead of πρός cp. iii. 5. 2, Cyrop. vi. 1. 3; Thuc. iii. 109. Translate: 'lest the Spartans should incur the slanders of the other Greeks.'

σχοῖεν... &σιν. Notice the change of mood; the optative is in accordance with the rules of *oratio obliqua*: the subjunctive expresses more vividly Eteonicus' own state of mind: cp. Goodwin. M. T. 365.

\$ - deribarer, the indic is retained here in oratio obliqua; cp. Goodwin, No. T. 569.

del ό ἀκούων, a partitive singular in the nominative, in apposition to πάντες: cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 42 ταῖτα γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἦττον ἄν παντὶ σθένει ἀθροίζοντο, ἔκαστός τις φοβούμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν οἶκοι.

§ 6. συλλεγέντες: cp. i. 6. 4. This assembly is probably to be traced to the influence of the oligarchical clubs organized by Lysander two years before: cp. Diod. xiii. 70 and Plut. Lys. 5.

alτήσοντας, fut. part. expressing purpose.

εδ φερόμενον: for the opposite cp. i. 5. 17 πονηρώς φερόμενος. τὴν . . . ναυμαχίαν, cp. i. 5. 14.

§ 7. ἐπιστολέα: who was second in command; cp. i. 1. 23, Appendix, p. 346.

δίε . . . ναυαρχείν, cp. Appendix, p. 345.

§§ 8, 9. Cp. Introd. p. xxxix and Appendix, p. 359.

Mipfou. Darius' father, it should be noticed, was Artaxerxes, not Xerxes.

διά τῆς κόρης: for the custom cp. Cyrop. viii. 3. 10 οἱ ἱππεῖε πάντες παρῆσαν... διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὧσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διείρουσιν, ὅταν ὁρῷ βασιλεύς.

ξων, without τις as in iii. 1. 19.

§ 9. 'Ispapings: probably the husband of Xerxes' sister and father of Autoboesaces and Mitraeus; cp. Thuc, viii. 58.

ώς ἀρρωστῶν, in the Anab. i. 1. I Xenophon says nothing of the execution of Autoboesaces and Mitraeus: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὰ παΐδε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος (Artaxerxes) παρὰν ἐτύγχανε, Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

§ 10. ἐκ Χίου, cp. §§ 1, 2. ᾿Αντάνδρφ, cp. i. 1. 25.

405-404 B.C.

§ 11. $\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\omega$, i.e. 'had received already,' represents $\epsilon\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon$ in oratio recta: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.

§ 12. ol τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων στρατηγοί, i.e. Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles; cp. i. 7. 1.

†προς τὸ ναυτικόν: the force of the preposition after παρισκινάζοντο is obscure. Breitenbach believes that some words must have fallen out, describing the reinforcement of 30 ships, which the Athenians received between the battles of Arginusae and Aegospotami; cp. i. 6. 25 with ii. 1. 20; cp. Critical Note.

§ 13. Kadovoiw, dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian Sea.

§ 14. τούτου ένεκεν, i. e. as far as money was concerned.

παρέδειξε: 'enumerated, and at the same time handed over'; cp. ii. 3. 8.

τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα: 'the money in reserve,' i.e. the readymoney stored in the treasury, opposed to the ϕ όροι,

ώs . . . φιλίωs: partitive genitive. 'How friendly he was towards,' &c.: cp. i. 4. 11.

§ 15. Κεράμειον κόλπον: on the south coast of Caria.

Keopeiaus, placed by Kiepert on the south coast of the gulf.

§ 16. την βασιλέως, SC. χώραν.

παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, κ.τ.λ. The Athenians must therefore have intended to fight Lysander on his return voyage somewhere between Ephesus and Rhodes, but he contrived to elude them, apparently by coasting along the shore, while they sailed across the open sea; cp. § 17 πελάγιοι.

προσείλοντο. Apparently three generals only seemed insufficient to command a fleet of 180 vessels in a general engagement, so that the crews took upon themselves to elect three more, following their own precedent at Samos in 411 B. C. (Thuc. viii. 76).

§ 17. πρός τε τῶν πλοίων, κ.τ.λ., i. e. in order to prevent the corn ships sailing from the Hellespont to Athens.

สบ้าอัง: the Lacedaemonians.

- § 18. σύμμαχον: cp. i. 2. 15.
- § 19. σώματα = 'persons': for this use of σώματα cp. Cyrop. vii. 5. 73 τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῷ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.
- § 20. κατὰ πόδας: adverbially, 'in their wake,' 'quickly': cp. Thuc. v. 65 lérai κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐς Τεγέαν.
- in the Chersonese at the entrance of the Hellespont. Here the Athenians anchored to prevent the passage of Lysander, whose previous arrival they had not yet heard of.
- § 21. διείχε, for this imperfect of permanent distance, cp. Thuc. i. 63 dπείχε δὲ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίουε.

σταδίους ώς πεντεκαίδεκα. Just under two English miles.

- § 22. παραβλήματα: probably much the same kind of coverings to screen the men from missiles as those called παραφύματα in i. 6. 10.
- ώς ... κινήσοιτο ... drάξοιτο; future optative in *oratio obliqua*: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 130, 351, App. iv., for this violation of Attic usage.
 - § 23. εν μετώπφ, 'in line,' opposite to επὶ κέρως.
- § 24. εξεβίβασεν, i.e. Lysander would not allow his men to disembark, until his reconnoitring vessels had returned.

ἐπανήγοντο: imperfect, to express that the Athenians also did so for four days.

§ 25. 'Aλκιβιάδηs: last mentioned as sailing to these forts, i. 5. 17. According to Diodorus (xiii. 105) he now demanded a share in the command of the fleet. Plutarch (Alc. 36, 37, Lys. 10) reproduces Xenophon's account with one or two additions. Lysias (xiv. 38) actually accuses Alcibiades of having, in conjunction with Adimantus, betrayed the Athenians at Aegospotami in revenge for this repulse. But, if Xenophon's account of the circumstances be correct, any treachery on his part seems to have been quite impossible, and in the following year it was Adimantus and his party who contrived the assassination of Alcibiades.

§ 26. abrol . . . dκείνον: for this the regular construction of nominative and accusative in *oratio obliqua* cp. ii. 2. 17, Thuc. iv. 28, οὐκ ἔψη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνον στρατηγείν.

§ 27. ἐπεὶ . . . τοῖε ᾿Αθηναίοιε, for the dative cp. Thuc. iii. 29 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῆ Μυτιλήνη ἐαλωκυία ἐπτά, and i. 4. 7.

τοῖε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοιε, i.e. those who had been ordered by him to follow the Athenian movements, cp. § 24.

doniδa: cp. Plut. Lys. 11 doniδa χαλκην επάρασθαι πρώραθεν.

§ 28. Θώραξ, § 18: according to Diod. (l. c.) Eteonicus was in command of the land forces.

rdv ininhour. Diodorus (xiii. 106) gives a totally different account of the battle; it being his day of command the general Philocles, according to him, put to sea with 30 triremes in search of provisions, bidding the other generals follow him. This they failed to do; whereupon Lysander, learning the fact from some deserters, sallied out with his whole fleet, easily drove in Philocles and surprised the rest of the Athenian fleet, which was thus compelled to surrender without striking a blow.

δίκροτοι, i.e. with only two out of the three tiers of oars manned. ἐπτά: so Plutarch (Lys. 10); Diodorus (l. c.) says ten.

Πάραλος: this and the Σαλαμινία were sacred vessels used by the Athenians for religious missions, for conveying ambassadors, and for carrying the commands of the home government to the generals: cp. vi. 2. 14; Thuc. vi. 53; viii. 86.

συνέλεξεν: cp. supr. διεσκεδασμένων των ανθρώπων.

els τὰ τειχύδρια, i.e. of Sestos. Xenophon omits to relate its capture. Diodorus (l.c.) puts the event immediately after the battle.

§ 29. τὰ μεγάλα... ἱοτία. Lysander must have left them behind to lighten his ships for rowing: cp. i. I. 13. Xenophon says nothing more about Conon till just before his great victory over the Lacedaemonians at Cnidus in 394 B.C.: cp. iii. 4. I.

Εὐαγόρα», cp. iv. 8. 24; Isocr.ix. 52 and Diod. xiii. 106 Κόνων ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν μὲν els 'Αθήνας ἐπάνοδον ἀπέγνω, φοβηθεὶς τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ δήμου, πρὸς Εὐαγύραν δὲ τὸν ἀφηγούμενον τῆς Κύπρου κατέφυγεν ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν φελίαν. Evagoras was prince of Salamis and tributary to Persia.

§ 30. τοὺε αλχμαλώτουε: according to Plutarch (Lys. 11) 3,000 in number.

§ 31. την δεξιάν χείρα. According to Plutarch (Lys. 9), Philocles ἔπεισε ψηφίσασθαι τον δημον ἀποκόπτειν τον δεξιόν ἀντίχειρα τῶν ἀλισκομένων ὅπως δόρυ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνωνται, κώπην δ' ἐλαύνωσι. Cp. Cicero (De Offic. 3. 11) Athenienses sciverunt ut Aeginetis, qui classe valebant, pollices praeciderentur.

§ 32. ἢτιάθη μέντοι, i.e. in contradiction to the pretended reason for sparing his life. The evidence against Adimantus is very doubtful. Lysias (xiv. 38) speaks of Alcibiades ras vais Augάνδρφ μετά 'Αδειμάντου προδοῦναι, where he is certainly misrepresenting much of Alcibiades' conduct. Indeed, in another speech (ii. 58), he regards the cause of the disaster as doubtful, effe ήγεμόνος κακία είτε θεών διανοία. Pausanias (iv. 17, x. 9) preserves the Athenian tradition, that Adimantus and Tydeus were the traitors, the latter being the bitterest opponent of Alcibiades. Isocrates (v. 62) expresses no decided opinion. The accusation of treachery brought by Conon against Adimantus (mentioned by Demosthenes xix. 191) belongs to a much later date, c. 393, after the amnesty of 403. In the midst of such uncertain evidence it is impossible to form a definite opinion either way, especially as accusations of treachery to account for so irretrievable a disaster would lie so ready to hand.

άρξόμενος, for the middle cp. ii. 3. 38, iii. 5. 4: ἄρχειν is to 'do something before others,' ἄρχεινθαι 'to take the lead in independent action:' vid. Liddell and Scott, s. v.

παρανομείν. The MS. D has interpolated in it after παρανομείν —νικήσας εφη ποίει α παθείν εμελλες ήττηθείς, εὐθὺς τοῦτον ἀπέσφαξε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, which exactly agrees with the story of his answer given by Plutarch (Lys. 13): ὁ δὲ οὐδέν τι πρὸς τὴν

συμφοράν ένδους έκελευσε μή κατηγορείν ων ούδεις έστι δικαστής, άλλα νικώντα πράττειν άπερ αν νικηθεις έπασχεν.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1, 2. Byzantium and Chakedon submitted to Lysander, who sent the Athenian garrisons in them and elsewhere back to Athens, hoping thereby the sooner to reduce the city to starvation. §§ 3, 4. The Athenians, on hearing of their disaster, reflecting that the vengeance they had taken on many subject states was about to return upon their own heads, resolved to prepare the city §§ 5, 6. Lysander sailed to Lesbos, where he reorganised the governments of the several states, and despatched Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. All the Athenian allies revolted, except the Samians. Simultaneously the Spartans and their allies under King Pausanias invaded Attica and encamped in the Academy, and Lysander, having restored Aegina and Melos to their exiled citisens, blockaded Piraeus. §§ 10-14. The Athenians maintained an obstinate resistance till all their corn failed; then they sent envoys to Agis with offers of an alliance, but he referred them to the Ephors at Sparta; by whom, however, they were refused permission § 15. Still they would not hear of demolishing their to enter the country. Long Walls, and even arrested Archestratus for making such a proposal. §§ 16-18. Theramenes procured his own despatch to negotiate with Lysander, but after waiting more than three months returned with the information, that the Ephors alone had power to make peace. He and nine others were chosen as plenipotentiaries and sent to Sparta. §§ 19, 20. An audience was given to them at Sparta, where many accusations were brought against the Athenians, especially by the Corinthians and Thebans; but the Spartans refused to destroy Athens utterly, and offered terms of peace. \$ 21, 22. The Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few, readily accepted the terms offered. § 23. Lysander and the exiles entered Piracus and began the destruction of the Long Walls, celebrating the first day of Greek Freedom. § 24. Contemporary events in Sicily.

§ 1. $Ka\lambda\chi\eta\delta\delta\sigma a$. This city was, by the treaty with Pharnabazus in 408 B.C., left in the hands of the Lacedaemonians, and must therefore at some time since have been taken by the Athenians: cp. i. 3. 8 ff.

oi δὲ προδόντες: cp. i. 3. 18.

τότε: before the surrender of Athens.

υστερον: after the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C.

§ 2. είδὸς δτι . . . ἔσεσθαι. The construction is altered owing to the intermediate clause δσφ . . . Πειραιά: cp. iii. 4. 27; v. 4. 35.

δοφ πλείους: the correlative τοσούτφ is wanting before θάττον: cp. iv. 2. II.

Bυζαντίου, κ.τ.λ. As masters of the Bosporus, the Lacedaemonians could now prevent the passage of all corn ships on their way to Athens: cp. i. 1. 35; ii. 1. 17.

άρμοστή». It appears from Diodorus (xiv. 13) and Plutarch (Lys. 13) that Lysander now established, in connexion with the oligarchical clubs that he had previously organized in Asia Minor and the Aegean, a system of decarchies or councils of ten men in every subject state, to replace the democracies, and to support the Spartan harmost or governor, and his garrison: cp. i. 5. 8 note.

§ 3. τῆς Παράλου: cp. ii. 1. 28.

δ ἔτερος τῷ ἐτέρφ: in partitive apposition to the nominative, as if ψμωζον had preceded: the genitive absolute would have been more regular: cp. ii. 3. 54; iv. 1. 24.

πενθούντες, πάντες must be supplied from οὐδείς.

Mηλίουs: cp. Thuc. v. 116. In 416 the Athenians had put all the men to death and sold the women and children into slavery.

'Ioriaiéas: cp. Thuc. i. 114.

Exteralors kal Toperalors: cp. Thuc. v. 3, 32.

Alγυήτας: cp. Thuc. i. 108; ii. 27.

- § 4. τοὺς λιμέτας: on the southern side of the peninsula of Munychia were the two harbours of Zea and Munychia, and on the northern Piraeus itself, divided into the merchant harbour (ἀπόριον) and the war harbour (κάνθαρος). Angelopoulos, however, puts Zea in the innermost part of Piraeus; cp. Classical Review, xiii. 88.
- § 5. els Λέσβον. The Athenians had held this island, with the exception of Methymna, since they had recovered it after its revolt in 412 B. C. (Thuc. viii. 23).

τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, the ordinary formula to denote the Greek colonies on the Thracian coast: cp. iv. 8. 26; v. 2. 24; 2. 12.

κατεσκευάσατο. For the system introduced cp. § 2 note. The same is meant infr. by πρός Λακεδαιμορίους μετέστησεν.

§ 6. τῶν γνωρίμων, i.e. the oligarchs, who often called themselves καλοὶ κὰγαθοί, χρηστοί, &c.: cp. Resp. Ath. 1.2 ff. For the conduct of the Samian democrats in 412, here apparently referred to, cp. Thuc. viii. 21.

§ 7. ⁹Αγω, cp. i. 1. 33.

πλην 'Αργείων, who had concluded an alliance with Athens in 420 B.C. (Thuc. v. 47), to which they seem now to have been faithful: cp. ii. 4. 1 note.

§ 8. 'Azadaµeiq, nearly a mile N.W. of the city walls.

§ 9. πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας: most of them had settled at Thyrea, on the south border of the Argolis; cp. Thuc. ii. 27.

της αύτων, sc. πατρίδος: cp. Thuc. viii. 6 φυγάδες της έαυτων.

τὰ πλοία: the corn ships: cp. i. 1. 35.

§ 10. $i\nu\delta\mu$ for δi , $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$. This is one of the chief passages on which the theory of Xenophon's philo-Laconism in Hellenics, I, II has been based. But when compared with the impartiality of the rest of the books, it may very well be that Xenophon is merely chronicling what were actually the feelings of the Athenians at the time: cp. Introd. p. xxv.

†el μὴ παθεῖν: in place of this unparalleled construction, it seems best to adopt Hartman's conjecture μὴ οὐ: he compares Plat. Phaed. 72 d τίς μηχανὴ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα καταναλωθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεθνάναι; cp. Critical Note.

οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιῷ, cp. v. 4. I οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνός.

excisors: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 11. rovs dripous. The proposal was made by Patroclides (Andoc. i. 73). It did not apply to the exiles (cp. § 20), but only to those who had been in any measure disfranchised for the part they had played in the oligarchical revolution of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.; cp. Appendix, p. 323.

παρ' "Αγιν. Lysander had already crossed with part of his fleet to Asia in order to lay siege to Samos; cp. § 16.

- § 12. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος: for the almost supreme power of Agis, when he was at Decelea, cp. Thuc. viii. 4, 71.
 - § 13. Σελλασία: the frontier town of Lacedaemon.

aὐτόθεν: temporal, 'at once,' 'on the spot:' cp. iii. 4. 20; vii. 5. 3.

§ 15. της καθαιρέσεως. This shows that the Athenian envoys were not simply dismissed by the Spartans, but had definite terms proposed to them, on which a peace could be concluded: cp. Appendix, p. 324.

'Αρχέστρατος, Plutarch (Alc. 16) quotes his mot on Alcibiades, ή Έλλὰς οὐκ ἄν ἥνεγκε δύο 'Αλκιβιάδας.

Λακεδαιμονίοιs, to be constructed with εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι: in other passages (cp. iv. 8. 12) Xenophon uses not the dative but πρὸς with the accusative after εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι: cp. Critical Note.

τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν . . . ἐκατέρου, a partitive genitive dependent on ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους. There were two long walls joining Athens and Piraeus, and one joining Athens and Phalerum; ἐκατέρου must therefore mean each of the two outer walls.

λγίτετο δὶ ψήφισμα. This was the work of the demagogue Cleophon; cp. Lysias xiii. 11.

§ 16. τοιούτων δὲ ὅντων. τοιούτων is the predicate, the participle having no subject: cp. i. 1. 26.

παρὰ Λύσανδρον: now engaged in the siege of Samos; cp. § 11, and Plut. Lys. 14 έπεὶ δὲ ἀντείχον οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, λαβὰν τὰς ναῦς πάλιν εἰς ᾿Ασίαν διεπέρασε, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ὁμαλῶς ἀπασῶν κατέλυε τὰς πολιτείας καὶ καθίστη δεκαδαρχίας, κ.τ.λ.

eldes ... Λαπεδαιμονίους πότερον ... ἀντέχουσι. The Greek idiom often puts the subject of the dependent sentence as the direct object of the principal verb.

πίστεως ένεκα, i.e. as a pledge that the conditions would be observed.

τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω: from December 405 to the end of March 404 B.C.

έπιτηρών όπότε = τον καιρον φυλάττων, έν δ.

διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον: it seems to be impossible to reconcile this with the statement in § 11 that the corn supply had already failed three months ago, before Theramenes' mission to Lysander.

άπαντα δ τι: for the irregularity cp. Cyrop. i. 6. 11 δ τι... ταῦτα, and Cyrop. vii. 4. 14 πάντα πειρωμένους ποιεῖν δ τι φοντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι.

§ 17. τετάρτφ μητί, for the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20. εἶτα without δέ strengthens the opposition between the sentences. οὐ γὰρ εἶται κύριος: cp. the answer of Agis § 12.

gρίθη . . . els Λακεδαίμονα: els expresses motion ; 'to go to Lace-daemon.' δέκατος αὐτός : 'with nine others.'

§ 18. 'Αριστοτίλην: cp. ii. 3. 2, 13. Afterwards he was one of the Thirty, and was sent by them to Sparta to obtain a Lacedaemonian garrison for Athens.

§ 19. Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαΐοι, cp. iii. 5. 8; vi. 5. 35; and Isocr. xiv. 31 [οἱ Θηβαΐοι] μόνοι τῶν συμμάχων ἔθεντο τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς χρὴ τήν τε πόλιν ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον ὧσπερ τὸ Κρισαΐον πεδίον.

έξαιρεῖν, sc. τὰs ᾿Αθήνας, to be supplied from ᾿Αθηναίοις.

§ 20. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ: cp. vi. 5. 35; Andoc. iii. 41; and Justin v. 7 'Negarunt Spartani se ex duobus Graeciae oculis alterum eruturos.' In ii. 3. 41, however, Theramenes attributes to them mere motives of political expediency.

τοὺς φυγάδας, Cp. § II.

καθέντας = κατελθεῖν ἐφέντας, 'having allowed to return.' Plutarch (Lys. 14) and Diodorus (xiii. 107) add as one of the conditions, that the Athenians were for the future to confine themselves to their own territory (τῶν γε πόλεων πασῶν ἐκχωρῆσαι). Plutarch professes to give the actual words of the treaty: καββαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τὰν αὐτῶν γῶν ἔχοντες ταῦτά κα δρῶντες τὰν εἰράναν ἔχοιτε, αὶ χρήδοιτε, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἀνέντες. περὶ τῶν ναῶν τῶ πλήθεος ὁκοῖόν τί κα τηνεὶ δοκέη, ταῦτα ποιέετε: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. 3 τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἦτε πολιτεύσονται τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν: cp. Lysias, xiii. 14, 15; xiv. 3.

Though this Aristotelian statement is confirmed by Diodorus (xiv. 3), it is probably mistaken: for not only does it not appear in Plutarch's version of the original document, but it is plain from Lysias (xii. 70) that the constitutional question first arose after Lysander's return after the capture of Samos.

τον αὐτον έχθρον, κ.τ.λ., for this formula cp. v. 3. 26; Thuc. i. 44. § 22. Θηραμένης, for his conduct cp. Lysias xiii. 13-33, and Appendix, p. 324.

§ 23. Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει, i. e. from Samos, which he was still besieging: he entered the city, according to Plutarch (Lys. 15), on the 16th of Munychion, i. e. the beginning of April, 404 B. C.

κατίσκαπτον, 'began to demolish.' The work was not completed till the autumn of this year; cp. ii. 3. 11.

ύπ' αὐλητρίδων, cp. Plut. Lys. 15 ὁ δ' οδυ Λύσαυδρος ἐνδόντων τῶν 'Λθηναίων πρὸς ἄπαυτα πολλὰς μὲν ἐξ ἄστεος μεταπεμψάμενος αὐλητρίδας, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συναγαγών, τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτε καὶ τὰς τριήρεις κατέφλεγε πρὸς τὰν αὐλόν, ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ παιζόντων ἄμα τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρχουσαν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

populorers: on the question of Xenophon's impartiality, cp. Introd. p. xxiv, and § 10 note.

§ 24. ελόστων 'Ακράγωντα. Xenophon has already, in i. 5. 21, narrated this same defeat of the Carthaginians and capture of Acragas as events of the year 407-406. But it appears from Diodorus (xiii. 87, 92) that the capture did not occur till eight months after the defeat, i. e. December 406, and that Dionysius made himself tyrant of Syracuse about June 405. In this passage (ἐν ψ μεσοῦντι, i. e. autumn) it is put a few months later: cp. Introd. p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-3. The Athenians appointed Thirty men to draw up a new constitution, whereupon Lysander sailed to Samos, and Agis withdrew from Decelea. §§ 4, 5. Contemporary events in Thessaly and Sicily. §§ 6-8. Samos surrendered at discretion. Lysander, after reorganising the government, dismissed the allied fleet, and at the head of the Lacedaemonian ships returned to Sparta in triumph with all the spoils of war. §§ 9, 10. A list of the Ephors to show the duration of the war. §§ II-I4. The Thirty delayed to publish the new constitution, and put their own creatures into the Council and other offices. They proceeded to purge the city of all extreme democrats, and to support their violent measures they procured from Lysander a Spartan garrison with Callibius as harmost. §§ 15-17. A disagreement arose between Critias and Theramenes, the former urging a policy of indiscriminate §§ 18, 19. To satisfy Theramenes the Thirty nominated three thousand to participate in the government; a measure which Theramenes §§ 20, 21. By a stratagem criticised as at once dangerous and absurd. the Thirty stripped all the Athenians, except the Three Thousand, of their arms: they now began a reign of terror, putting to death their own personal enemies and rich citizens for the sake of their money. \$\$ 22, 23. When Theramenes opposed these measures, the rest of the Thirty conspired against him, and Critias openly accused him before the Council. §§ 24-26. Speech of Critias-' The numerous executions were necessitated by the long duration of democracy at Athens, and had the full approval of the Lacedaemonians. §§ 27-29. Theramenes had shown himself not an enemy only, but a traitor; though he had been foremost in making peace with Sparta and in putting down the democracy, he now wished to make his peace with the people and to secure §§ 30, 31. In the past he had been highly honoured by a safe retreat. the people; then he had been foremost in promoting the revolution of the Four Hundred, and foremost again in bringing about their fall. Well therefore

had he deserved the nickname of Buskin. § 32. By such shifts he had caused the death of many; he had procured the condemnation of the generals after Arginusae to save his own life. \$\$ 33, 34. Death was the only punishment meet for such a man. If they should condemn him they would but follow the example of Sparta; while if they acquitted him, he was sure to §§ 35, 36. Defence of Theramenes—' Really prove the ruin of them all.' the generals at Arginusae had been the first to accuse him. In alleging the violence of the storm he had offered a reasonable defence, so that in accusing him they had pronounced their own condemnation. Critias knew nothing of the matter, being at that time in Thessaly. \$\$ 37-40. But it was not men like himself who endangered the existence of the government, but those who had wished to put to death the foremost men in the state. §§ 41, 42. He had consistently resisted such measures as the arrest of the metoeci, the seisure of arms, the hiring of the Spartan garrison, the §§ 43, 44. Did such conduct show him banishment of leading citizens. to be a friend or a traitor? Surely those rather were traitors who by such §§ 45, 46. He had indeed evil counsel had made so many enemies. turned against the Four Hundred, but only when he had perceived that they had deluded the people with the vain hope of a Spartan alliance. 48. He was nicknamed the Bushin for suiting both sides; but what of Critias who suited neither side? He had consistently advocated a moderate constitution, opposed alike to extreme democracy and extreme oligarchy. § 49. If Critias could convict him of treachery to such a policy, he was indeed worthy of death.' §§ 50, 51. Critias, seeing that Theramenes would be acquitted by the Council, arbitrarily erased his name from the roll of the Three Thousand and condemned him to death in the name of the Thirty. 54. Theramenes took refuge at the altar, appealing against this illegal procedure; but Critias, relying on the guard he had posted round the Council §§ 55, 56. The Council, panic Chamber, handed him over to the Eleven. stricken, passively allowed Theramenes to be dragged away from the altar and hurried to execution. His last sayings.

404-408 B.C.

§ 1. ἀναρχίαν, i. e. this year was not named, like the other years, after the ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος. For the election of Pythodorus cp. Introd. p. xliii.

§ 2. τδοξε τῷ δήμφ. This decree was passed on the proposal of Dracontides. Xenophon here apparently puts the appointment of the Thirty before the capture of Samos, but Aristotle dates it in the archonship of Pythodorus (404 July—403 July), and Diodorus (xiv. 3) puts it after the capture of Samos (cp. § 9

τελευτώντος τοῦ θέρους). It is, however, more probable that Lysander made a special visit to Athens, when he was already occupied with the siege of Samos, and that the appointment took place in June: cp. Grote, viii. 26 note, and Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 109 note. Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 34. 3; Lys. xii. 73. Xenophon passes over all the intervening events, viz. the nomination of five ephors, among whom were Critias and Eratosthenes afterwards members of the Thirty, through the agency of the oligarchical clubs (Lys. xii. 44), the embitterment of internal dissensions, the arrest of the democratical leaders (Lys. xiii. 28), and the invitation sent by the oligarchs to Lysander, who was still besieging Samos, to interfere in the domestic politics of Athens (Lys. xii. 72). When he arrived in Athens, his oligarchical partisans easily procured the passing of the decree mentioned in the text through the Assembly with all the usual legal forms, backed as they were by the threats of Lysander (Plut. Lys. 15), on the ground that the Athenians had not completed the demolition of the walls within the time prescribed in the treaty, Of the Thirty ten were nominated by Theramenes, ten by the five ephors, and ten by the Assembly itself. (Lys. xii. 77.)

τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, cp. τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. 3; 35. 2; Diod. xiv. 3. Similarly the Four Hundred had been charged to revise τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, 'Αθ. πολ. 29. 3.

οίδε. Most had been members of the Four Hundred in

§ 3. ἀπέπλει: this, as already stated in the note on § 2, must mean Lysander's return to resume the siege of Samos after his second visit to Athens at the invitation of Theramenes and the oligarchs: cp. Lysias xii. 71; xiii. 34. The interval between Lysander's departure and this second visit must have been a short one, because not only Lysias but Plutarch and Diodorus also represent him as complaining that the Athenians had not pulled down their walls τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἶς ἔδει καθηρῆσθαι, παρφχημένων.

έκ τῆς Δεκελείας, which Agis had first occupied in the summer of 413 B.C.; cp. i. 1. 33; ii. 2. 7.

§ 4. mepl jalou enterfer: September 3.

Λυκόφρων, nothing more is known of the affair.

§ 5. drinker. It appears from Diodorus (xiii. 109-113) that Dionysius was never really master of these two towns, but was

defeated by the Carthaginians in marching to the relief of Gela, and then led the inhabitants of Gela and Camarina back with him to Syracuse, and that all this happened in the year 405 B.C.

ύπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπιστάλησαν. Diodorus relates that the Syracusan knights or aristocrats rebelled against Dionysius, and fled to Catana. Unger therefore conjectures ἀπὸ Διονυσίου . . . ἀπίστησαν.

§ 6. οἱ δὰ Ζάμιοι, cp. ii. 2. 6.

dation. Some of the democratic exiles found refuge in Ephesus and Notium, CIA. ii. 16.

§ 7. τοίς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις. Thucydides (viii. 21) relates that the Samian δημος had in the year 412 B. C. expelled 400 of the aristocrats.

δέκα ἄρχοντας . . . φρουρεῖν, i. e. Lysander organized the government of Samos in the same way as he had previously done in the other subject states; cp. ii. 2. 2 note. Thorax was left as harmost, Diod. xiv. 3. φρουρεῖν is epexegetical, δοτε φρουρεῖν, unless indeed it be a gloss.

 $d\phi \hat{\eta}_{KE}$, because with the surrender of Samos the reduction of the Athenian empire was complete; cp. ii. 2. 6.

§ 8. els Λακεδαίμονα. Diodorus (xiii. 106) and Plutarch (Lys. 16) give a much more detailed account of the triumphal entry of Lysander, with considerable exaggeration of the treasures that he brought back with him.

ταs εκ Πειραιώς τριήρεις: acc. to Plut. Lys. 15 he had already burnt them.

πλην δώδεκα, cp. ii. 2. 20.

å περιεγένοντο. Contrast the conduct of Lysander, when Callicratidas succeeded him in 406, i. 6. 10. παράδειξεν: cp. ii. 1. 14.

§ 9. εξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτώ: with εξάμηνος supply χρόνος; cf. Introd. p. xxxvii, note.

τῶν . . . σπονδῶν, concluded 446-445 : cp. Thuc. i. 114.

§ 11. ol δὲ τριάκοντα. Xenophon takes up the narrative where he left it in § 2.

καθηρέθη: the agrist expresses the completion of the process, the beginning of which some time before was expressed by the imperfect κατέσκαπτον, cp. ii. 2. 23.

ἐφ' ἦτε συγγράψα: for a similar use of ἐφ' ἦτε with an infinitive
 cp. iii. 5. 24. Goodwin, M. T. 610.

πολιτεύσουντο, for the fut. opt. cp. § 2 and Goodwin, M.T.

κατέστησαν ως έδώκει αὐτοῖς: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 1 πεντακοσίους δὲ βουλευτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστήσαντες ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων (the Knights?), καὶ προσελόμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πειραιίως ἄρχοντας δέκα καὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου φύλακας ἔνδεκα καὶ μαστιγοφόρους τριακοσίους ὑπηρέτας κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν δι' ἐαυτῶν. So too Diodorus (xiv. 4) βουλήν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων κατέστησαν ὅστε τούτους καλεῖσθαι μὲν ἄρχοντας, εἶναι δ' ὑπηρέτας τῶν τρίακοντα. Μοτεονετ, as appears from §§ 12, 23, 28, they transferred all judicial powers to the βουλή: cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 2 τὸ κῦρος δ ἢν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν.

§ 12. πρῶτον μέν. Xenophon, as already mentioned, passes over entirely the arrest of the democratical leaders in the months before the nomination of the Thirty; cp. § 2 note,

 $\delta r \tau \hat{\eta} \delta \eta \mu \rho \kappa \rho \alpha \tau i q$, i.e. in the time when the government was still a democracy.

ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας: cp. Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 35. 2 κατ' ἀρχὰς μὰν οδν . . . τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ τοὺς τῷ δήμφ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦντας παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ κακοπράγμονας δντας καὶ πονηροὺς ἀνήρουν, ἐφ' οδς ἔχαιρεν ἡ πόλις γιγνομένοις, ἡγούμενοι τοῦ βελτίστου χάριν ποιεῖν αὐτούς, cp. Diod. xiv. 4. The sycophants made a practice of informing against rich citizens: they gained money either by sharing in the fine imposed after a successful accusation, or by blackmailing under threats of accusation: cp. Mem. ii. 9. 1; Symp. 4. 30.

τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς, cp. § 22 βελτίστους, and ii. 2. 6 τῶν γνωρίμων. συνήθεσαν ἐαυτοῖς μὴ ὅντες τοιοῦτοι: for a similar construction cp. ii. 4. 17. μή, not οὐ, is used, because of the relative clause implying a condition, Goodwin, M. T. 841.

oὐδὶν ἥχθοντο. Even Lysias (xii. 5) admits that at first the conduct of the Thirty had at least a show of justice about it: cp. Sall. Cat. 51.

§ 13. $\delta \pi \omega s \ \delta r$: this use of $\delta \pi \omega s$ with δr in indirect questions is almost peculiar to Xenophon, representing the direct question with δr and the optative: cp. iii. 2. 1; vii. 1. 27; Cyrop. ii. 1. 4; &c. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Alσχίνην τε καὶ 'Αριστοτέλην: two members of the Thirty; cp. § 2, and ii. 2. 18.

Encour, so Diod. xiv. 4. Arist. 'A0. #0. 37. I (evidently erroneously) puts the sending for and arrival of the Spartan garrison after the limitation of the citizenship to 3,000, the capture of Phyle by Thrasybulus, the murder of Theramenes, and the stratagem whereby all the Athenians except the 3,000 were deprived of their arms. It is obvious that without the support of the Spartan garrison the Thirty would not have ventured on any such extreme measures: cp. Busolt (Hermes, xxxiii. p. 71) for a defence of Aristotle.

σφίσι συμπράξαι, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'that Lysander would join them in effecting that guards should come'; cp. § 14 συνέπραξεν, and for the infin. ελθείν without &στε cp. ii. 4. 28 δανεισθήναι.

§ 14. τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν. Partitive genitive with οῦς: cp. iv. 4. 13. ἢκιστα μὰν παρωθουμένους, κ.τ.λ., 'would be least likely to allow themselves to be set aside,' i. e. from a share in the government.

dr: notice the unusual omission of dr with driχεισθαι, the first of the two opposed sentences: it is perhaps inserted in the second only, because πλείστους dr...λαμβάνειν is so obviously the apodosis of the condition applied in ἐπιχειροῦντας.

§ 15. δ Kptrias, it is curious that Critias' name is never so much as once mentioned by Arist. 'A θ . $\pi \circ \lambda$.

έπει δέ: the apodosis is wanting. It is virtually taken up at § 18 with the words έκ τούτου.

πολλούς ἀποκτείνειν: cp. Isoc. vii. 67 πεντακοσίους μεν καὶ χιλίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, and Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 4 έπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔσχον, οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν προέχοντας, ὑπεξαιρούμενοι ττ τὸν Φόβον καὶ βουλόμενοι τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάζειν' καὶ χρόνου διαπεσόντος βραχέος οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀνηρήκεσαν ἢ χιλίους πεντακοσίους.

Are Kal Φυγών. The date and cause of his banishment are unknown. He was in Athens at the time of the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411 B. C., had proposed the recall of Alcibiades C. 407 B. C. (cp. Plut. Alc. 33), and was an exile in Thessaly during the Trial of The Ten Generals in 406 B. C. (cf. § 36). Accordingly some have supposed that he was banished, perhaps on the accusation of Cleophon (Ar. Rhet. i. 1. 13), in 407, as being mixed up with the affairs of Alcibiades. He came back with the other exiles after the capture of Athens, and was nominated one of the five ephors: cp. Lysias xii. 78.

§ 16. οδα έγχωροίη, κ.τ.λ., 'that it was impossible for those who aimed at extraordinary power not to put out of the way those who were most capable of hindering them': cp. Goodwin, M. T. 815.

Esser τυρανίδος, 'you think that we ought with any the less care to look after this government just as if it were a tyranny': the comparison is expressed in δτε...οὐχ εἶς. Εσπερ οὖτως Εσπερ. Hermann proposes to read ħ Εσπερ τυρανίδος, which gives an obvious, but a slightly different sense: cp. Critical Note.

§ 17. καὶ ἀδίκως: καί emphasizes the adverb.

θαυμάζοντες . . . ή πολιτεία: cp. Anab. iii. 5. 13 θαυμάζειν δποι ποτέ τρέψονται οἱ Ελληνες καὶ τί ἐν κῷ ἔχοιεν.

§ 18. ol δλλοι τριάκοντα, although Critias and Theramenes were of their number. ol τριάκοντα is similarly used as a proper name in ii. 4. 21, 23, 38, after several of them had been killed.

ούχ ήκιστα, i. e. μάλιστα.

καταλέγουσι. So Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 36. 4 Θηραμένης άγανακτών έπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῆς μὲν ἀσελγείας αὐτοῖς παρήνει παύσασθαι, μεταδοῦναι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς βελτίστοις. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ἐναντιωθέντες, ἐπεὶ διεσπάρησαν οἱ λόγοι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θηραμένην οἰκείως εἶχον οἱ πολλοί, φοβηθέντες μὴ προστάτης γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου καταλύση τὴν δυναστείαν καταλέγουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν τρισχιλίους ὡς μεταδώσοντες τῆς πολιτείας.

rovs µθέξοντας = of µεθέξονσι. Similarly the Four Hundred, in 411 B.C., had pretended to enroll 5,000 citizens from those capable of supplying themselves with heavy armour at their own expense: cp. § 48. It appears from § 51 that no member of the 3,000 could be condemned without the warrant of the Council, while any other Athenian could be put to death simply at the orders of the Thirty.

§ 19. ό δ' αδ Θηραμένης: Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 36. 4 is in almost verbal agreement: Θηραμένης δὲ πάλιν ἐπιτιμᾶ καὶ τούτους, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι βουλόμενοι μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι τρισχιλίοις μόνοις μεταδιδόασι, ὡς ἐν τούτφ τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡρισμένης, ἔπειθ ὅτι δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ποιοῦσιν, βίαιόν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἤττω κατασκευάζοντες.

βουλομένους, κ.τ.λ. κοινωνούς ποιήσασθαι must be repeated with τρισχιλίους: cp. Anab. iii. 4. 13: iv. 5. 15. The meaning is, 'though wishing to take the best of the citizens into partnership, they had taken only three thousand': cp. Critical Note.

τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντα is in the accusative absolute: cp. § 51; iii. 2. 19.

οίδε τε είη, as if δοπερ εὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὐτος $\tilde{\epsilon}_{\chi}$ οι had preceded : cp. iii. 2. 23.

ήμαs, i.e. the Thirty.

ήττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων, 'weaker than the governed.'

§ 20. ἐξέτασιν: Arist. ᾿Αθ. πολ. 37. 2 puts this disarmament after the death of Theramenes (cp. § 13 note), merely stating ἔγνωσαν τῶν μἐν ἄλλαν τὰ ὅπλα παρελέσθαι.

κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα: this phrase, as the passage stands, can only mean κελεύσαντες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, 'having ordered them to take up their arms,' 'to fall in': cp. Anab. i. 5. 13. But to whom, we ask, was the command given, and who are the ἐκεῖνοι? The passage, as Cobet points out (Mnemosyne, vi. 47), ought to indicate some stratagem by which all ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου were induced to leave their arms behind them, but no such meaning can be extracted from the words as they stand. Probably there is a lacuna which both Cobet and Dindorf suggest might be filled by some such words as κελεύσαντες ἀπείναι ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα. J. B. Kan would read θέσθαι instead of ἐπί, comparing Thuc. vi. 58.

τοὺς φρουρούς: the Spartan garrison.

έν τῷ ναῷ, i. e. of Athena.

§ 21. és éfév, accusative absolute : cp. § 19.

ἔκαστον, i. e. των τριάκοντα, 'that each of the Thirty should seize one of the Metoeci': cp. § 40, and Lysias, xii. 6 Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων, ὡς εἶέν τινες τῷ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι' καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι μὶν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργφ χρηματίζεσθαι πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν πένεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν δείσθαι χρημάτων . . . ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλαβείν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων ἔνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῷ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται, ὡσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως πεποιηκότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον. καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξέτους ἐστιῶντα κατέλαβον, οδς ἐξελάσαντες Πείσωνί με παραδιδόσοι. Lysias himself was one of the richest resident aliens or metics.

§ 22. λαμβάνοιεν: the optative expresses repetition.

τῷ παντί, adverbial, 'in every point,' 'altogether': cp. iii. 5. 14; vi. 1. 7.

§ 23. πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς: to whom the judicial power had been transferred: cp. § 11 note.

παραγενέσθαι: just outside the Council Chamber: cp. § 50.

συνέλεξαν. The Thirty summoned the Council, and directed the course of procedure: cp. Lysias xiii. 37 οι μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οδ νῦν οι πρυτάνεις καθίζονται: for the different account in Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 37 cp. § 50 note.

- § 24. πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ, 'more than is expedient': cp. v. 3. 5.

 μαθιστᾶσι: from the preceding words τὴν πολιτείαν can be easily supplied.
- § 25. τοῖε οἴοιε ἡμίν τε καὶ ὑμίν, i. c. τοιούτοις οἶοι ἡμεῖε τε καὶ ὑμεῖε ἐσμέν: cp. i. 4. 16.
- § 26. λυμαίνεται with the dative has the same meaning as with the accusative, 'to injure,' 'do mischief to': cp. vii. 5. 18; for the accus. cp. §§ 23, 51; iii. 2. 27; 3. 8.
 - § 27. ols dirarai, 'by what means he can.'

ώς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ. After this one would expect μηρτύριον to follow, which however is really implied in ἢν κατανοῆτε, εὐρήσετε: cp. § 34; vi. 1. 11.

πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, without ἄν, to express the certainty of the supposed case: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 432.

§ 28. αὐτῷ... ἀρέσκει, an anacoluthon, just as if, not ἄρξας and ἐξορμήσας, but ἐπεὶ... ἦρξε... ἐξώρμησε had preceded: cp. iii. 2.21. αὐ: cp. § 30 πρῶτος αὖ ήγεμών.

§ 29. δσφ πολεμίοις. Here there is no correlative comparative with δσφ, although one is implied in the meaning, 'men are more ready to trust enemies than traitors.' Here δσφ may be translated 'inasmuch as': cp. Isocr. i. 33 ἡγοῦ τὴν παιδείαν τοσούτφ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, δσφ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοχθηρὰ πάντες κερδαίνοντες πράττουσιν κ.τ.λ.

inference without reference to any definite moment of time: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 155.

§ 30. κατά τὸν πατέρα "Αγνωνα, 'just as his father Hagnon had been': cp. Plat. Symp. 203 d ("Ερως) κατά τὸν πατέρα ἐπίβουλός ἐστι τοῖς καλοῖς. Hagnon was one of the πρόβουλοι appointed immediately after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. viii. 1), who, according to Lysias (xii. 65), prepared the way for the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.

προπετέστατος. For the facts alluded to cp. Thuc. viii. 68, 92; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 29.

κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. For the nickname cp. § 47 and Plut. Nic. 2 διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζον ἀεὶ τῷ προαιρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη κόθορνος.

§ 31. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος, κ.τ.λ. Morus ingeniously explains this obvious interpolation as a double gloss; the first clause explains the point of the nickname, the second ἀποβλέπει ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων applies to Theramenes, 'he looks away from both parties,' 'faces both ways.' Then a stupid copyist, Morus supposes, united the two glosses with μέν and δέ. The phrase ἀποβλέπει κ.τ.λ. cannot possibly mean 'fits neither foot,' which is the sense required if ὁ κόθορνος be taken as its subject: cp. Critical Note.

δεί...οὐ...δεινόν εἶναι must be translated together, 'ought not to be clever at bringing his associates into difficulties.'

els πράγματα, i.e. 'to dangerous undertakings': cp. πράγματα παρίχειν.

el δè μή, 'otherwise,' more fully explained by el . . . πλέοιεν.

§ 32. θανατηφόροι: cp. § 24.

πλείστοις . . . εξ όλιγαμχίας = πλείστοις τών βελτιόνων, and πλείστοις εκ δημοκρατίας = πλείστοις τοῦ δήμου.

μεταίτιος, with the infinitive of the thing caused (ἀπολωλέναι) like αἴτιος, vii. 4. 19.

ĩνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη: cp. Appendix, p. 328, and for the facts alluded to, i. 6. 37; 7. 4 sqq.

§ 33. πως δε ού, sc. χρή.

ώς μη . . . δυνασθη : cp. Cyrop. viii. 7. 27; the ordinary Attic construction would be ὅπως μή with the future indicative: Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ώς . . . ποιοῦμεν . . . ἐννοήσατε: supply ἵνα εἰδῆτε: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 312 and § 27 note.

§ 34. ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων: Critias was himself the author of a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution: cp. Athen. xi. 463 e; Pollux vii. 59. τοῖε πλείοσι, sc. τῶν ἐφόρων.

The democrats in exile.

§ 35. Θηραμένης δέ: Lysias (xii. 77) gives an outline of Theramenes' speech: πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένα ἐν τῆ βουλῆ ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν, ὀνειδίζων μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσιν (the oligarchs), ὅτι δι' αὐτὰν

κατέλθοιεν, οὐδέν φροντιζόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, όνειδίζων δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν ὅτι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτὸς αἴτιος γεγενημένος τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔμγφ δεδωκώς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅρκους εἰληφώς.

έγὰ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον. This assertion of Theramenes is a direct contradiction to Xenophon's own narrative in i. 7. 4 (cp. Appendix, p. 328).

προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν, accus. absolute, 'that although orders had been given me by themselves, I did not rescue,' &c.: cp. § 19 and Goodwin, M. T. 851.

μ) ότι, elliptic phrase μ) (είπω) ότι, 'much less to': cp. Symp. 2. 26 and Goodwin, M. T. 708.

φάσκοντες γάρ, κ.τ.λ. This is a direct contradiction to the generals' own statement in i. 7.6. Probably Theramenes means, that if the generals said that a rescue was possible, and yet in their despatch made no mention of any orders given to himself and other subordinate officers, they would themselves appear responsible for the death of the shipwrecked sailors. But the generals never said anything of the kind.

§ 36. †παρανενομηκέναι.† A word is required meaning that Critias had misunderstood the matter: cp. Critical Note.

de Θετταλία: cp. § 15. In Mem. i. 2. 24 Xenophon adds Κριτίας . . . φυγών els Θετταλίαν δκεί συνῆν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομία μᾶλλον ἡ δικαιοσύνη χρωμένοις: cp. ii. 2. 15 note. Theramenes ridicules Critias for taking exactly the opposite side in Athens to what he had taken in Thessaly: for the Penestae, like the Helots in Lacedaemon, were 'adscripti glebae.'

§ 38. μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., 'up to your being put into the Council and to magistrates being appointed, and to the notorious sycophants being tried, so far we were all of the same opinion.'

τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας: cp. § 12 οδς πάντες ήδεσαν ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζώντας. For the adverb with a substantive cp. Demos. xxix. 14 τὸν ὁμολογουμένως δοῦλον: vi. 2. 39; vii. 3. 7.

§ 39. Aéorros: for the previous history and democratical proclivities of Leon cp. Thuc. viii. 23, 55, 73; i. 5. 16; 6. 16. Plato (Apol. 32) gives a fuller account of this incident, in which Socrates was involved, and showed his courage: cp. Andoc. i. 94.

Νικηράτου: cp. Lysias xviii. 6 Νικήρατος, ανεψιός ών έμος και υίδς

Nikiou (the Athenian general), εύνους ών τῷ ὑμετέρω πλήθει, συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέθανεν, οῦτε γένει οὕτε οὐσία οῦθ ἡλικία δοκῶν ἀνάξιος εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας μετασχεῖν. For his wealth cp. Lys. xix. 47.

§ 40. 'Arriparros. Not to be confused with Antiphon the rhetorician, who was executed for the part he played in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred. Nothing more is known of this Antiphon, unless he is to be identified with the Antiphon mentioned in Mem. i. 6. 1.

ύπόπτως . . . ἔξοιεν, in an active sense as in Demos. xix. 132 δυσκόλως τ' ἔχειν καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον.

§ 41. є́να є́καστον: cp. § 21 note.

ότε τὰ ὅπλα, κ.τ.λ., cp. § 20.

τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομίνους: cp. Diod. xv. 63; Polyaenus i. 45. 5, whence it appears that the Spartan reasons for sparing Athens were based as much on policy as on generosity: cp. ii. 2. 20.

δίοιντο. If the reading be right, the present tense must show that Theramenes alludes to the feeling that the Lacedaemonians entertained towards the Athenians at the moment he was speaking. Cobet (Mnem. vi. 46) corrects it to γ' ἐδέοντο.

§ 42. τὸ Φρουρούς μισθοῦσθαι, Cp. § 13.

čωs ρ΄qθίως ἐμίλλομεν, κ.τ.λ., 'until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of the ruled.'

Θρασύβουλον... "Ανυτον... 'Αλκιβιάδην. In §§ 13, 14, 21 Xenophon alludes only in general terms to the banishment and execution of the leading democrats. More extraordinary still, he never even mentions the assassination of Alcibiades at this time by Pharnabazus, at the wish of Lysander, who had been instigated by Critias to accomplish it: cp. Plut. Alc. 38; Diod. xiv. 11. For Thrasybulus cp. infr. ii. 4. 2 sqq. Anytus was one of the leading democrats, and after his return from exile was the foremost accuser of Socrates: cp. Lys. xiii. 78; Plat. Apol. 18 b.

§ 44. ἀ ἐγὰ λέγω, sc. δεῶ γἰγνεσθαι.
αὐτούε, Thrasybulus and the exiles.

τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως, 'the best elements in the state.'

ήγεισθαι, sc. αὐτούς, accus. and infin. depending on οἰμαι.

τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν, subject to χαλεπόν.

ποι της χώρας, partitive genitive.

§ 45. å δ' αδ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ., 'again as for his saying that I am of a character always to change,' &c.

οίος . . . μεταβάλλεσθαι: for the infin. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 759. έψηφίσατο: cp. Thuc. viii. 69; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 29. I.

§ 46. ἐκεῖνοι μέν, κ.τ.λ.: 'the Lacedaemonians were as vigorous as ever': cp. Thuc. viii. 70.

έπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα, i. e. the fort Ectionea; cp. Thuc. viii. 90.

voîs évalpois, the members of the oligarchical clubs through whose influence the Revolution of the Four Hundred had been effected: cf. Thuc. viii. 54.

ταῦτ' alσθόμετος. So Thucydides (viii. 92) attributes the discovery and exposure of the plan to Theramenes.

§ 47. κόθορνον, cp. § 30.

§ 48. $\pi \rho \ln [d\nu]$, for $d\nu$ with the optative cp. Goodwin, M. T. 702.

†δραχμῆς† μετέχοιεν, i.e. should be made Councillors, a drachma being the daily pay for sitting in the Council. Cobet thinks the expression, δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν, too artificial, and conjectures αὐτῆς, i.e. τῆς πόλεως: cp. Critical Note.

τὸ μέντοι . . . διὰ τούτων: if Dindorf's reading διατάττειν for διὰ τούτων be adopted, τὸ . . . διατάττειν is the subject to ἄριστον . . . είναι and ωφελείν depends on δυναμένοις. If, however, the MSS, reading be retained, the sentence is an anacoluthon. Xenophon begins with τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις (SC. ἀφελείν τὴν πολιτείαν) καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ώφελείν, as if he were going on to say την πολιτείαν αρίστην πορέχειν ήγούμην. Instead of doing so however he breaks off with διά τούτων (i.e. δια τών δυναμένων ώφελείν και μεθ ίππων, κ.τ.λ.) in the same sense as Demosthenes uses the phrase τὰς διὰ τῶν ὁλίγων moderelas, and entirely alters the construction. In this case we may translate: 'but to support the constitution with the help (σύν) of those who are able to do so both with horses and with shields. . . . I say, I used formerly to think that a constitution formed by (διά) such men is the best,' &c.; cp. § 18 note. For the part that Theramenes played in the Four Hundred cp. Thuc. viii. 68; and for the excellence of the constitution limited to of ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων cp. Thuc. viii. 97; Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 33. 2.

§ 50. εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα: cp. Diod. xiv. 4 παραλαβῶν τὸν λόγον δ Θηραμένης, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπολογησάμενος ἄπασαν ἔσχε τὴν βουλὴν εῦνουν.

draφεύξοιτο, for the more usual dποφεύξοιτο: so too vi. 5. 40. οὐ βιωτόν, 'unendurable.'

τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας: cp. § 22, and Diod. xiv. 4 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κριτίαν φοβούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα μήποτε καταλύση τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν περιέστησαν στρατιώτας ἔχοντας ἐσπασμένα τὰ ξίφη.

in τοις δρυφάκτοις, 'at the bar,' a railing made of lattice work, with which the Councillors were surrounded.

§ 51. προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἴου δεῖ, 'that it is the duty of such a president as a man ought to be.' οἴου is attracted into the case of προστάτου. Two constructions are here confounded: (1) νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οῖου δεῖ . . . ὁρῶντα . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, and (2) νομίζω προστάτην εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, δε δν δρῶν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπη.

οί έφεστηκότες, i.e. οί τὰ έγχειρίδια έχοντες: cp. § 50.

έν τοις καινοίς νόμοις: Cp. § 11 αίρεθέντες έφ' ώτε συγγράψαι νόμους: and in Mem. i. 2. 31 Xenophon speaks more specifically of ό Κριτίας . . . των τριάκοντα ων νομοθέτης μετά Χαρικλέους. Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 37. I speaks of two laws used against Theramenes, the one arming the Thirty with full powers to put any citizen to death item τοῦ καταλόγου, and the second forbidding any one to be put on the κατάλογος, who had taken part in destroying the fort at Eetionea or who had in any way opposed the government of the Four Hundred. Mr. Kenyon in his note ad loc. says: 'as to the first of these two laws Aristotle agrees with Xenophon, but as to the second the two accounts differ fundamentally. . . . At best it can only be supposed that Critias instead of striking out the name of Theramenes from the list of the 3,000, proposed the second law as described by Aristotle and forced it down the throat of the council by threat of armed force.' Really however the two accounts are quite reconcileable, and a parallel passage in Lysias as to the proceedings of the oligarchs against Cleophon (404) strongly confirms Mr. Kenyon's hypothesis as the proper solution of the difficulty: cp. Lys. xxx. 11 οἱ δὲ (the oligarchs) βουλόμενοι αὐτὸν (Cleophon) απολέσαι, δεδιότες μή οὐκ αποκτείνωσιν έν τῷ δικαστηρίφ, πείθουσι Νικομαχίδην νόμον αποδείξαι ώς χρή και την βουλήν συνδικάζειν. καὶ ὁ πάντων οὖτος πονηρότατος (Satyrus) οὖτω φονερῶς συνεστασίασεν, ώστε τη ήμερα ή ή κρίσις εγένετο αποδείξαι τον νόμον. Similarly we have only to suppose that on this occasion Critias invented a kairos róμος to meet the case: we need not therefore be surprised that Xenophon has made no mention of this second rópos aropos: cp. 'A θ . π o λ . L. c. $\delta \nu$ (the destruction of the fort and the overthrow of

the Four Hundred) ετύγχανεν αμφοτέρων κεκοινωνηκώς δ Θηραμένης, ώστε συνέβαινεν επικυρωθέντων των νόμων εξω τε γίγνεσθαι της πολιτείας αὐτὸν και τοὺς τριάκοντα κυρίους εἶναι θανατοῦν.

τῶν ἔξω, genitive dependent on κυρίους: θανατοῦν is added epexegetically.

συνδοκοῦν, used absolutely: cp. § 35 προσταχθέν.

- § 52. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, where stood the altar at which the Councillors took their oath. So Diod. xiv. 4.
- § 53. ασεβέστατοι, cp. Diod. xiv. 4: δ δε φθάσας βνεπήδησε μεν πρός την βουλαίαν Έστιαν, εφησε δε πρός τους θεούς καταφεύγειν, ου σωθήσεσθαι νομίζων, άλλα σπεύθων τοις ανελούσιν αυτόν περιποιήσασθαι την είς τους θεούς ασέβειαν.

καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες, i. e. 'especially when you perceive.'

§ 54. ἐκέλευσε, for the ellipse of lέναι cp. § 20.

τοὺε ἔνδεκα: cp. i. 7. 10 note. The Thirty seem to have retained this old democratical magistracy, filling it however with the most violent of their partisans.

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες, a nominativus pendens without an accompanying finite verb: cp. ii. 2. 3.

Σατύρου. Lysias (xxx. 10, 12, 14) speaks of him as a violent member of the oligarchical Council in 404, who was foremost in accusing Cleophon, and afterwards as one of the Thirty. His name does not however occur in Xenophon's list: cp. § 2.

τὰ ἐκ τούτων = τὰ λοιπά, lit. 'what comes next': cp. Plut. Poplic. 6 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον, ὑμέτερον ήδη, εἶπε, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον.

§ 55. elare . . . elaror: for the anaphora cp. v. 1. 35.

nouxiar eixer: Diodorus (xiv. 5) relates that Socrates and two of his friends rushed forward to interfere; and ps.-Plutarch (v. Orat. p. 836) ascribes the same to Isocrates. Probably both are quite mistaken: cp. Grote viii. 45 note.

§ 56. ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, i.e. 'having jerked out the last drop.' The κότταβος was a convivial practice, consisting in jerking out the last drop from a cup, which was supposed to furnish an omen by its sound in falling. Then the guest, who had just drunk, handed on the cup to the guest whose turn came next: cp. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 40. 96 quum venenum ut sitiens obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo eiecit, ut id resonaret, quo sonitu reddito arridens, 'Propino,'

inquit, 'hoc pulcro Critiae,' qui in eum fuerat teterrimus. Graeci enim in conviviis solent nominare, cui poculum tradituri sint. lusit vir egregius extremo spiritu, quum iam praecordiis conceptam mortem contineret: vereque ei, cui venenum praebiberat, mortem eam est auguratus, quae brevi consecuta est.

ekeipo de koipu. Here for the only time in the first two books, the noble death of Theramenes draws from Xenophon a remark in the first person. His portrait of him agrees well with that in Thucydides (viii. 68, 89, 92): cp. Aristoph. Frogs 968. Theramenes in the Trial of the Generals does not scruple to sacrifice the lives of others to secure his own. In bringing about the second oligarchical revolution he is as skilful and successful in his intrigues as he was in the first. So soon as he perceives that the policy of the Thirty is leading them to certain destruction, he opposes them with the same skill as he had used in setting them up; and when at last his opposition brings him into personal danger, the nobler side of his character shines out, till he drinks the cup of hemlock with the courage and cheerfulness of Socrates. But after all that can be said in his favour, it is hard to understand Aristotle's judgement on Theramenes ('A θ . $\pi \circ \lambda$. 28. 5, also quoted by Plutarch, Nicias 2), where he mentions him in the same category with the statesmen Nicias and Thucydides, δοκούσι δέ βέλτιστοι γεγονέναι τῶν 'Αθήνησι πολιτευσαμένων μετά τους άρχαίους, though at the same time admitting the justice of his nickname of Kólopros. Beloch indeed (Die Politik Athens seit Perikles 101 and Griech. Gesch. ii. 117), relying on Theramenes' own words in § 48, tries to show that he consistently aimed to establish a moderate democracy at Athens, based on the middle classes who had some stake in the state, both when he joined the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411, and when he became one of the Thirty in 404 B.C., and that he turned against his colleagues on both occasions, not from a mere wish to save his own life, but because he really disapproved of the extreme form of oligarchy which they had introduced, based as it was upon robbery and murder. From the epithet δ κομψός, which is given to him by Aristophanes, we may conclude that he was in the habit of drawing delicate distinctions; and very delicate distinctions indeed are required to free him from the charge of treachery in his conduct at the Trial of the Generals and the capitulation of Athens.

XEN. HELL.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. The Thirty expelled all not on the roll of the Three Thousand from Attica. The refugees assembled in Megara and Thebes. \$\$ 2-7. Thrasybulus, starting from Thebes with a few refugees, seized Phyle, repulsed the attack of the Thirty, and made a successful sally upon their camp, his forces being now increased to 700. §§ 8-10. The Thirty sexed Eleusis as a place of retreat for themselves, capturing by a stratagem all the able-bodied Eleusinians. Next day they compelled the Athenian Knights and the Three Thousand to condemn all these prisoners to death. \$\$ 10-12. Thrasybulus marched upon Piraeus, but unable to hold so large a town against the forces of the Thirty, occupied a strong position on Munychia. §§ 13-16. Thrasybulus addressed his troops. 'On the right they had against them the men they had already defeated, on the left the hated Thirty. The gods were evidently now on their side: for victory was certain over an enemy placed in § 17. Every one of them must fight, reso unfavourable a position. membering the high stakes at issue, and the vengeance due to all of them.' §§ 18, 19. Warned by the seer, who was himself the first to fall, Thrasybulus waited for the enemy to attack, whereupon he gained a complete victory, Critias himself being among the slain. §§ 20-22. When after the battle the troops of the two factions met together, Cleocritus, the sacred herald, proclaimed on behalf of the refugees with Thrasybulus, that they had no quarrel with their fellow-citizens, but only with the Thirty, who in eight months had caused the death of more Athemans than the Lacedaemonians in ten years. The Thirty withdrew their forces to Athens. § 23. At a meeting of the Council open dissension broke out among the Three Thousand, until they voted to depose the Thirty and appoint Ten in their place. \$\$ 24, 25. The Thirty retired to Eleusis. The Ten supported by the Knights kept guard over the city. Their opponents at Piraeus made new weapons and organised their ever increasing forces. §§ 26, 27. Meanwhile they made constant sallies, in revenge for which the Knights ruthlessly butchered some Axionians. In return they killed the Knight Callistratus, and soon ventured to march dose up to the walls of Athens. §§ 28, 29. In response to an appeal from the Three Thousand at Athens and the Thirty at Piraeus, the Spartans sent out Lysander as harmost and his brother as admiral to blockade Piraeus, so that the tables were once more turned. \$\$ 29, 30. But Pausanias, out of jealousy against Lysander, persuaded three of the Ephors to let him head a second expedition to Athens. All the allies followed him, except the Corinthians and Bosotians, who refused to join, and with them he §§ 31-34. Pausanias summoned the refugees encamped near Piracus.

at Piracus to disperse, and on their refusal made a half-hearted attack upon them. Failing in this and in a similar attack he advanced the next day with all his forces and gained a complete victory over Thrasybulus and his §§ 35-37. Pausanias urged the two factions at Piraeus and Athens to send envoys to him and the Ephors present in his camp; and when they arrived in obedience to his summons, he sent them on to Sparta, where they both tendered a complete submission to the Lacedaemonian supremacy. §§ 38, 39. The Spartan government despatched fifteen commissioners to arrange the terms of reconciliation. These settled, Pausanias disbanded his army, and Thrasybulus marched up to Athens. \$\$ 40-42. Speech of Thrasybulus-'On what grounds did their opponents claim to rule over them? Facts had shown them to be no juster, braver, or wiser than themselves. Even the Lacedaemonians had forsaken them. Once more he wished his followers to show themselves the better men by keeping their oath of reconciliation.' § 43. The Athenians then reorganized their constitution; but shortly afterwards, hearing that the Thirty were forming a conspiracy, they seized and slew their generals, but came to terms with the rest, to which ever since they had faithfully adhered.

§ 1. εξόν, acc. abs.: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 851.

προείπου μέν... ἡγον δέ. It appears that here Xenophon is summarizing in a few words numerous acts of violence on the part of the Thirty. He omits altogether the edict of the Lacedaemonians forbidding any state to harbour the Athenian refugees: cp. Plut. Lys. 27; Isocr. vii. 67; Diod. xiv. 6, 32. ἡγον, 'evicted.'

φευγώντων, for the genitive absolute cp. i. I. 26, vi. 4. 8. αγοντες, sc. οἱ τριάκοντα.

Μέγαρα . . . Θήβας: according to Diod. xiv. 6 the Argives were the first to disobey the Lacedaemonian edict and ὑπεδέχοντο φιλαν-θρώπως τοὺς φυγάδας. καὶ Θηβαῖοι δὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὑπάρχειν πρόστιμον τῷ θεασαμένω μὰν ἀγόμενον φυγάδα, μὴ βοηθήσαντι δὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

§ 2. Θρασύβουλος: cp. ii. 3. 42: for the date cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. I ήδη δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστῶτος καταλαβόντος Θρασυβούλου μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων Φυλήν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἡν ἐξήγαγον οἱ τριάκοντα κακῶς ἀποχωρήσαντες, κ.τ.λ. So too Diod. xiv. 32 with different details.

Φυλήν, between Mounts Cithaeron and Parnes, high up on the road from Athens to Thebes, about twelve miles NW. from Athens.

μάλ' εὐημερίας ούσης: for the adverb with a substantive cp. v. 4. 14.

^{§ 3.} χιών: cp. 'Aθ. πολ. 37. I already quoted.

§ 4. φυλάs: the Athenian army was organized on the basis of Cleisthenes' ten tribes. Cp. Hdt. vi. 111; § 23 note and iv. 2, 19.

§ 5. ¶ôŋ shows that some considerable interval had elapsed since § 3.

συνειλεγμένων . . . περὶ ἐπτακοσίους: Cp. iv. 6. 12 καὶ ἀπέθανον . . . περὶ τριακοσίους.

§ 6. dolorarro, κ.τ.λ., 'had already risen and were going,' the notion of motion implied being shown by δποι. 'The nom. is οί πολέμιοι understood.

δποι έδειτο ἔκαστος: cp. vii. I. 16.

άπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, 'from the camp': cp. Critical Note.

§ 7. στησάμετοι. Xenophon, though he uses both active and middle, seems to prefer the latter in such passages; the older historians use only the active: for the active cp. i. 2. 3, 10; 4. 23; 5. 14: for the middle § 35.

dειχώρησα. Diodorus (xiv. 32) tells a story (cp. Justin v. 9) that at this point the Thirty tried by promises to induce Thrasybulus to come back to Athens and take the place of Theramenes.

§ 8. οδαίτε νομίζοντες, κ.τ.λ. Lysias (xxv. 22) represents dissensions as having already broken out among the Three Thousand themselves. καταφυγήν, Eleusis being a fortified town.

παραγγείλαντες, SC. έλθείν.

els Eλευσίνα. It appears that many of the Salaminians suffered at the same time as the Eleusinians: cp. Lysias xii. 52 ελθών (i. e. Eratosthenes) μετά τῶν συναρχόντων els Σαλαμίνα καὶ Ἑλευσίνάδε τριακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγαγεν els τὸ δεσμωτήριον, καὶ μιὰ ψήφφ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων θανάτου κατεψηφίσατο: cp. ib. xiii. 44; Diod. xiv. 32.

de τοῦς Ιππεῦσιε has probably crept into the text from τοῦς ἐππεῦσιε immediately above. For if the Athenian Knights are meant in the sense of 'under the protection of the Knights,' we should rather expect σὺν τοῦς ἱππεῦσιε: and it can hardly mean the Eleusinian Knights, because it appears, from what immediately follows, that the review was of the whole forces, horse and foot alike. Moreover ἐξέτασιε ἐν τοῦς ἱππεῦσιε can scarcely be equivalent to ἐξέτασιε τῶν ἱππέων: cp. Critical Note.

πόσης . . . προσδεήσουντο, i.e. how large an additional garrison the Eleusinians would need to make the place secure.

αναγώντα, i. e. from the coast to Athens.

тоїє ёндека : ср. іі. 3. 54.

§ 9. rò 'Quòcior. At this time there were two Odea, the one built by Pericles (Plut. Per. 13) on the south-east side of the Acropolis, the other, an older one, outside the city to the south-east on the river Ilissus. It is doubtful which of the two is here meant.

τούς άλλους. For this use of άλλους cp. i. 1. 6; ii. 2. 18, &c.

φανεράν... τὴν ψήφον: cp. the decree of the Council as to the trial of the generals, i. 7. 9; Lysias xiii. 37 οι μὰν γὰρ τρίσκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οδ νῦν οι πρυτάνεις καθέζονται. δύο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκείσθην. τὴν δὲ ψήφον οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους ἀλλὰ φανερὰν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας ταύτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι, τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν...

§ 10. τῶν πολιτῶν, the Three Thousand.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου, four days later than the events in § 7 (cp. § 13), so that in the interval 300 more refugees must have joined Thrasybulus at Phyle.

draφέρουσαν. The participle is here transposed as πεμφθέντα, i. 1. 23.

§ 11. ἔτι μέν, ' for a while,' here opposed to a second action, which has not yet begun—ἐπεὶ δέ.

μη ανώναι, i. e. 'to prevent their approach': so vii. 2. 12.

δ κύκλος, 'the wall surrounding Piraeus.' Thucydides (ii. 13) calls it sixty stadia, or more than seven miles round.

Mourigiar, the hill on the east side of the Piraeus peninsula.

'Ιπποδάμειον. Hippodamus, the Milesian architect, had laid out the town of Piraeus in the time of Pericles: cp. Ar. Pol. ii. 5. I.

Berdidelor, the temple of Bendis, the Thracian Moon-goddess.

ent πεντήκοντα. This unusual depth was on account of their great number and the confined space. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was eight.

§ 12. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 'behind them': cp. i. 1. 34.

airober, 'from the place itself,' i. e. from Munychia and Piraeus.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα, i. e. spear and sword.

§ 13. obs . . . édiáfare : cp. § 4.

ήμέραν πέμπτην, 'four days ago': cp. Anab. iv. 5. 24 ένάτην ήμέραν.

τοὺς φιλτάτους... ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀποσημαίνεσθαι is properly applied to the confiscation of goods and chattels only. Here, in his indignation, the speaker applies it to citizens: cp. Critical Note, and Appendix, p. 359.

παραγεγέτησται. The subject is 'the exiled citizens'; with οδ ... φορτο supply παραγενίσθαι αν.

§ 14. συνιλαμβανόμιθα, 'were arrested.'

ol dè sal without a preceding of µév, as i. 2. 14.

oùχ δπως...ἀλλ' οὐδὰ, 'non modo non...sed ne quidem': cp. v. 4. 34; vi. 4. 3.

eν εὐδία χειμώνα: cp. §§ 2, 3, 7.

§ 15. ὑπέρ, 'above the heads of': cp. Cyrop. vi. 3. 24 τοξεύοντες ὑπὶρ τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων.

δρθιον: cp. Strab. ix. 395 λόφος δ' έστλν ή Μουνυχία χερρονησιάζων
... στομίφ δε μικρφ την είσοδον έχων.

§ 16. τοῖε γε πρωτοστάταις. The dative may be either after δεήσειν or after μάχεσθαι.

άμαρτήσεται . . . Εν . . . μεστή, i. c. τούτων δν.

φυλαττόμενοι δέ, κ.τ.λ., 'but to protect themselves they will always be skulking behind their shields.'

ἐναλλομένους makes better sense if taken of the enemy, 'to drive them back, when they leap upon our ranks.' Most commentators construe it with the subject ἡμῶς understood.

§ 17. οὖτω πλούσιος ὧν καλοῦ: here οὖτω belongs to καλοῦ. Its force is strengthened by the interposition of πλούσιος ὧν, 'however rich he may be': cp. iii. 5. 24; iv. 4. 12.

παιᾶνα, the Greek war song, invoking the aid of the deity, usually Apollo: cp. iv. 7. 4 and Anab. v. 2. 14 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο, ἄμα τε τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἡλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, κ.τ.λ.

τον Ένυαλιον, 'the war-god Ares': cp. Anab. i. 8. 18 τφ 'Ενυαλίφ ελελίζειν.

§ 18. δ μάντις: the article because such seers were regularly attached to Greek armies: cp. Her. vii. 228; Thuc. vi. 69, &c.

μη πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι . . . τρωθείη, i.e. in order that the guilt of being the first to shed a fellow-citizen's blood might be upon the enemy.

πρὶν [ἄν]. For ἄν cp. ii. 3. 48 note.

§ 19. Κηφισοῦ. This stream passes under the road from Piraeus to Athens, and falls into the Bay of Phalerum.

τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων: cp. § 38. Neither Xenophon, Lysias, Diodorus, Nepos, nor Justin mention the appointment of these magistrates, who are here introduced with the article as if already known to the reader. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. I (quoted ii. 3. II note) puts their appointment by the Thirty immediately after their own election; so too Plat. Epist. vii. 324. Plutarch (Lys. 15) attributes their institution to Lysander himself: εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκίνησε (Λύσανδρος) τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καταστήσας ἄρχοντας.

Χαρμίδης, uncle of Plato and once a ward of Critias: Xenophon (Mem. iii. 7. 1) calls him ἀξιόλογον ἄνδρα καὶ πολλῷ δυνατώτερον τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ τότε πραττόντων.

§ 20. Κλεόκριτος δε δ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, one of the Eumolpidae, the hereditary heralds in the Eleusinian mysteries: cp. Aristoph. Frogs 1085.

§ 21. ὀλίγου δεῖν, 'almost,' used absolutely : cp. Goodwin, M. T.

έν ὀκτὼ μησίν, from May or June 404 to January or February 403.

δέκα ἔτη, i. e. the last ten years of the Peloponnesian War, known as the Decelean War. Isocrates (xii. 24, 67) says that the Thirty put 1,500 citizens to death: cp. ii. 3. 15 note.

§ 22. τῶν . . . ἀποθανόντων . . . ἔστιν οὖs, 'some of those who have been slain.'

ol δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες: of the Thirty at Athens twenty-seven, and of the Ten at Piraeus nine, were still left alive.

καὶ διὰ τό, κ.τ.λ., i. e. as well as an account of their defeat.

§ 23. διεφέροντο πρός άλλήλους: cp. § 8 note.

τοῖε ἐν Πειραιεῖ: the followers of Thrasybulus, now in occupation of Piraeus.

οὐδὲν δέοιντο, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'they had no need of these evils'; i.e. there was no reason why they should suffer them.

καὶ είλοντο δέκα, ένα ἀπὸ φυλῆς, i. e. one from each tribe: cp. iv. 2. 8 εἶς ἀπὸ πόλεως. Cleisthenes in 509 B. C. had divided the Athenians into ten tribes, Hdt. v. 66. It appears from Lysias (xii. 54), who mentions four by name, Eratosthenes, Phido, Hippocles, and

Epichares, that these Ten were of that section of the oligarchical party most opposed to Critias and his crew, and that they were chosen because it was thought that δικαίως Δν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούς τε τριάκοντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ φιλεῖσθαι. So soon however as they were in power (ibid. § 57) ἀμφοτέροις ἐπολέμουν, τοῖς τε τριάκοντα πάντα κακὰ εἰργασμένοις καὶ ὑμῶν πάντα κακὰ πεπονθόσι. The ᾿Αθ. πολ. (38. I) is in substantial agreement: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλαβόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὴν Μουνιχίαν καὶ νικησάντων μάχη τοὺς μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα βοηθήσαντας, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες μετὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῆ ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν, αἰροῦνται δὲ δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' οἶς ἡρέθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον, κ.τ.λ. So too Diod. xiv. 33.

403-402 B.C.

§ 24. 'Ελευσινάδε: their καταφυγή, § 8.

τῷ 'Ωιδείφ : cp. § 9 note.

σὺν ταῖε ἀσπίσι; shields were part of the equipment of the hoplites or heavy-armed soldiers and not of the Knights: cp. iv. 4. 10. The Athenian Knights were now obliged to serve as horsemen by day and as hoplites by night.

§ 25. ol dé, i. e. ol ék toû Helpalûs.

έλευκούντο: cp. iii. 2. 15.

ήμέρας δέκα, since they had occupied Piraeus.

lσοτέλεια». Such μέτοικοι as paid no μετοίκιο», but paid the same taxes as full citizens, were called lσοτέλεια». Before lσοτέλεια», τούτοις must be supplied: the infin. ἔσεσθαι depends on πιστὰ δόντες.

ώσεί: cp. i. 2. 9.

ποιούμενοι ... λαμβάνοντες. The present participles here denote frequent repetition.

οπώραν: cp. § 26 έπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. This shows that it was already summer time, although Xenophon has not marked the beginning of another year.

- § 26. Alfωνίων. This is Palmer's conjecture for ἔξω νίων, which is quite unintelligible. Alfώνη was a village between Hymettus and the west coast of Attica: cp. Critical Note.
 - § 27. τῶν ἐππίων, partitive genitive with Καλλίστρατον.
 πρὸς τὸ τείχος. Xenophon (Mem. ii. 7. 2) makes Aristarchus

describe the necessities to which Athens was reduced by these attacks from Piraeus: cp. Isocr. xvi. 13.

el δè και τοῦτο δεῖ, κ.τ.λ. Το complete the construction ἐρῶ before δε is required: cp. Cyrop. i. 4. 27 el δè δεῖ και παιδικοῦ λόγου ἐπιμνησθῆναι λέγεται, κ.τ.λ. For the genitive τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ after εἰπεῖν cp. Plat. Rep. 439 b τοῦ τοξότου οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν.

τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, the open space between the Lyceum and the city wall.

μέλλοιεν . . . προσάγειν, SC. ol έκ Πειραιώς.

§ 28. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις: Lysias (xii. 60) and Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. (38. 1) speak only of the embassy of the Ten. Diodorus (xiv. 32, 33) puts the embassy of the Thirty before Thrasybulus' occupation of Piraeus, and the embassy of the Ten at the same time as here.

τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγφ, i.e. by order of the Ten, who, instead of fulfilling the hopes with which they had been appointed (§ 23), in the words of Lysias (xii. 55), πολύ μαίζον στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεί . . . ἐποίησαν: cp. § 23 note.

συνέπραξεν, i.e. with the ambassadors.

έκατὸν τάλαντα, with which to collect a mercenary army, as the Spartans refused to send any troops of their own: cp. Lysias xii. 59, 60; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 38. 1; 40. 3. Isocrates (vii. 77), citing it as an instance of the ἐπιείκεια τοῦ δήμου, says, that shortly after its restoration the democracy repaid this loan to the Lacedaemonians, as a debt incurred by the Athenian state, and not merely by the oligarchs, who had contracted it: cp. Dem. xx. 12.

§ 29. οὖτω δὲ προχωρούντων, 'while things were going on in this way'; cp. ii. 2. 16 τοιούτων δὲ ὅντων; v. 3. 27 προκεχωρηκότων. Goodwin, M. T. 848.

φθονήσας Αυσάνδρφ. So Diodorus xiv. 33 and Plutarch, Lys. 21. τρεῖς, i. e. a majority out of the Five Ephors.

φρουρά»: a Lacedaemonian word for an army. Lysander had only mercenary forces; cp. iii. 2. 23.

§ 30. πλην Βοιωτών και Κορινθίων: cp. ii. 2. 19; and iii. 5. 5, where the Lacedaemonians charge the Boeotians with having persuaded the Corinthians to refuse to follow.

εδορκείν: consistently with the Treaty of Peace concluded in 404 B.C., ii. 2, 22.

έγίγνωσκον: 'supposed' (wrongly).

ểν τῷ 'Αλιπέδφ: the level ground between Piraeus and Hymettus. The fugitives from the violence of the Thirty and the Ten flocked round Pausanias at Piraeus, where the king so far showed his real feelings as to refuse the presents offered him by the Thirty; cp. Lysias xviii. 8-12.

§ 31. δσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν: 'so far as cries went,' i. e. in appearance only. βοή is the battle cry. Thuc. viii. 92 joins the same two prepositions with the same meaning; cp. Plat. Leg. 701 d τίνος δὴ χάριν ἔνεκα.

δίο μόραs: according to Xenophon (Rep. Lac. 11. 4.), the whole Spartan army was divided into six morae, each commanded by a Polemarch. Contrast Thucydides v. 68: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

φυλάς, cp. § 4.

τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα. κωφόν is 'dumb,' 'quiet,' in the sense of 'smooth.' Curtius supposes it to be the inlet E. of Eetionea.

§ 32. λλôr, a rare form of the present: cp. Cyrop. viii. 3. 32 ἀπίλα. ἐνέντας: 'pressing on.' Xenophon also uses the word intransitively in Cyrop. vii. 1. 29.

τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ήβης, sc. ἔτη, lit. 'the [men] ten years from military age,' which at Sparta was fixed at eighteen. The use of the neuter τά is a Lacedaemonian usage; cp. iii. 4. 23, iv. 5. 15 and Critical Note.

τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. Πειραιοῖ is the old locative case like οἴκοι. The theatre was on the hill of Munychia; cp. Thuc. viii. 93.

§ 33. ἐπὶ πόδα, 'foot by foot,' i.e. slowly, with their front facing the enemy: cp. Anab. v. 2. 32; Cyrop. iii. 3. 69.

ëν Κεραμεικῷ, in the north-west part of Athens: cp. Paus. i. 3. 1; 29. 3 ff.

§ 34. $\pi\rho\delta$ $\tau\bar{\omega}\nu$ $d\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$: if the reading of the MSS. be kept, this must mean 'eight deep in front of the rest,' i. e. the light-armed troops. But Madvig's conjecture $\tau\bar{\omega}\nu$ ' $\lambda\lambda\bar{\omega}\nu$ seems almost certain: these ' $\lambda\lambda al$, according to Curtius, were salt marshes just to the north of the harbour of Piraeus; cp. Critical Note.

els χείρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, 'let them come to close quarters': cp. vii. 4. 13.

§ 35. λέγοντσε . . . πέμπειν: present participle where the future would naturally be expected, as ii. 1. 29; 4. 37.

διίστη δε και τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, 'he created a division among,' &c. πρὸς σφῶς: to himself and the Ephors.

Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι, i.e. in accordance with the terms of the former treaty; cp. ii. 2. 20.

§ 36. νομίζεται: cp. Xen. Rep. Lac. 8. 5 πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐδέν, ἢν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺε προσκαλῆ ὁρῶντεε δὲ ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἔκαστος, πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός: cp. Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 30 and Appendix, p. 343.

τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης, two modes of expression are here confused: (1) τῆς Παυσανίου γνώμης ὅντες, and (2) μετὰ Παυσανίου ὅντες.

έπεμπον, SC. ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἐφοροι.

τάs . . . σπονδάs: here, 'the terms,' or 'offers of peace.'

ίδιώτας opposed to ol ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ in § 37.

§ 37. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ. According to Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 38. 3 the first Ten had been replaced by a second Ten, more favourably disposed towards Thrasybulus and his exiles: ώς δ' οί τὸν Πειραιέα και την Μουνυχίαν έχοντες, αποστάντος απαντος του δήμου πρός αὐτούς, ἐπεκράτουν τῷ πολέμφ, τότε καταλύσαντες τοὺς δέκα τοὺς πρώτους αίρεθέντας άλλους είλοντο δέκα τούς βελτίστους είναι δοκούντας, έφ' ων συνέβη και τας διαλύσεις γενέσθαι και κατελθείν τον δήμον, συναγωνιζομένων καὶ προθυμουμένων τούτων, προειστήκεσαν δ' αὐτῶν μάλιστα 'Pirwr τε ό Παιανιεύς και Φάυλλος ό 'Αγερδούσιος. Again in 39. 6 the first Ten are said to have been excluded from the Amnesty. This detail is probable enough in itself; but if it be true, it is curious that none of the other authorities should mention this second Ten - neither Lysias, Andocides, Xenophon nor Diodorus. Isocrates (xviii. 67) even calls Rhinon one of ol déka ol μετά τούς τριάκοντα καταστάντες: and Andocides (i. 90), professing to quote the actual words of the Amnesty (cp. § 43), does not mention them. Nepos (Thrasyb. 3) however mentions the exclusion from the Amnesty of 'decem, qui postea praetores creati superioris more crudelitatis erant usi,' but says nothing of the Ten at Piraeus.

λέγοντας instead of the more common έροῦντας; cp. ii. 1. 8; iii. 4. 25.

χρῆσθαι ὅ τε βούλονται: for the expression cp. ii. I. 2; v. 3. 23. ἀξιοῦν Ὁ ἄφασαν; the subject is still ol ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

§ 38. ol ἔφοροι: the three remaining in Sparta.
ol ἔκκλητοι. This term occurs only in this passage and in v.

2. 33 and vi. 3. 3. In the second passage no distinction seems to be drawn between the $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\sigma_0$ and the $\pi\lambda\tilde{\eta}\theta\sigma_0$ who formed the ordinary Assembly. Probably therefore the term has no technical meaning, but simply denotes the members of the Assembly, in which all the $\delta\mu\omega\tilde{\iota}\omega$ were entitled to vote: cp. iv. 6. 3; v. 2. 11; and for other views cp. Dict. Antiq. i. 703.

πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας: Cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 38. 4 ἐπὶ πέρας γὰρ βγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις Παυσανίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν δέκα διαλλακτῶν (Xenophon's 15) τῶν ὕστερον ἀφικομένων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, οὸς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν.

 $\dot{\epsilon}\phi^{*}\dot{\phi}^{*}r\epsilon$: Arist. A θ . To λ . 39 professes to quote the terms of the diality of in full.

ώς πρός: cp. Anab. iv. 3. II ώς ἐπὶ πῦρ; 3. 2Ι φέυγουσι ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔκβασιν ἄνω.

नेतो रवे संवारकेंग: cp. § 31. This implied, as far as practicable, a restitution of the confiscated property; cp. Harpocr. s. v. σύνδικοι.

πλήν τῶν κ.τ.λ.: cp. §§ 37, 43 notes.

αὐτοῖs: to those who διήλλαξαν, i.e. to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians.

§ 39. ἀνελθόντες . . . els τὴν ἀκρόπολω. This procession, which Lysias (xiii. 80) describes at some length, Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 7, p. 349) puts on the 12th of Boedromion, i.e. Sept. 403 B.C.: cp. Introd. p. xliii.

κατέβησαν † . . . ol στρατηγοί. Cobet inserts ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν. Some words of this kind are evidently required to complete the sense; cp. § 42 ad fin. and Critical Note.

§ 40. γνοίητε, εc. ύμᾶς αὐτούς.

έπὶ τίνι: cp. § 29 μέγα έφρόνουν έπὶ τῷ Δυσάνδρφ.

§ 41. \$ 65, i.e. \$ \$ xplous 65.

περιείληφθε, 'you have been outwitted.' This is Laves' conjecture. I prefer Geist's περιελήλωσθε, 'you have been worsted': the best MSS. give περιελήλυθεν, which is quite unintelligible. Some word is required in the perfect tense, meaning to 'outwit,' as opposed to γνώμη...προέχειν: cp. Critical Note.

મહેદ, લીપુર, i. e. મહેદ રંત્રો τούτοις, લી પુર.

κλοιῷ δήσαντες, κ.τ.λ. The allusion is to a law of Solon preserved in Plutarch (Solon 24) κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κλοιῷ τριπήχει δεδεμένον: the subject of παραδιδόασιν is general, οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

ndκείνοι repeats the subject οι γε, strengthening the comparison after ουτω.

§ 42. ύμας. Thrasybulus now addresses his own followers.

dνέστησε, 'adjourned,' 'broke up.' Blake wishes to translate, 'restored.'

§ 43. ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο. Euclides was created ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος, and in his archonship and the following years a complete revision of the Solonian laws and constitution took place to suit the altered condition of affairs, when Athens had lost her sovereign rights and her empire over the subject allies. Meanwhile a provisional government was set up: cp. Andoc. i. 81 δόξαντα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα (the Amnesty) εῖλεσθε ἄνδρας εἴκοσι' τούτους δὲ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἔως ἀν οἱ νόμοι τεθεῖεν' τέως δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ βουλήν τε ἀπεκληρώσατε νομοθέτας τε εῖλεσθε κ.τ.λ. Cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 40, 41.

ύστέρφ δε χρόνφ, according to 'Αθ. πολ. 40. 4 two years later: διελύθησαν δε και πρός τους εν Έλευσινι κατοικήσαντας έτει τρίτφ μετά την εξοίκησιν έπι Σεναινέτου δρχοντος.

401-400 B.C.

férous μισθοῦσθαι. Justin (v. 10. 11) gives an account of the affair but little more intelligible than Xenophon's. The Thirty, it would appear, were suspected of once more conspiring to regain their supremacy at Athens.

rovs 'Ελευσίπ. The Thirty, their adherents, and such other Athenians as had since joined them; cp. § 38. 'Ελευσίπ is the locative case.

μὴ μνησικακήσειν: cp. Cor. Nepos, Thras. iii. 2 Legem tulit (Thrasybulus) ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multaretur, eamque illi oblivionis appellarunt. The oath was taken by the Knights, the Council, and the whole people; and Andocides (i. 90) preserves the actual words, καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἔνδεκα, οὐδεὶ τούτων δε ἀν ἔθελοι εὐθύνας διδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ῆς ἦρξεν: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 39. 6 τῶν δὲ παρεληλυθότων μηθενὶ πρὸς μηδένα μνησικακεῖν ἐξεῖναι, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα καὶ τοὺς δεκα καὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄρξαντας, μηδὲ πρὸς τούτους, ἐὰν διδῶσιν εὐθύνας: cp. § 37 note.

Fri Kal PÛV. It is impossible to fix with any exactitude what time is denoted by these words. Xenophon accompanied Cyrus on his expedition against his brother in 401 B.C., a time which allows too short an interval to give the words any real meaning; and he did not return to Greece till 394 B.C. On the other hand it cannot be very long after the events described, because the praise assigned to the Athenians must mean that consistently with the Amnesty they did not prosecute certain definite persons, who had been implicated in the enormities of the Thirty, and such prosecutions were only likely to have taken place in the succeeding ten or fifteen years. We may therefore perhaps infer that Xenophon wrote these words not very long after his return to Greece: cp. Introd. p. xiv.

τοις δρκοις έμμένει: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. (40. 3) ἀποθανόντος γὰρ (τινὸς τῶν κατεληλυθότων, at the instigation of Archinus) οὐδεὶς πώποτε ῦστερον έμνησικάκησεν. ἀλλὰ δοκοῦσιν κάλλιστα δὴ καὶ πολιτικώτατα ἀπάντων καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῆ χρήσασθαι ταῖς προγεγενημέναις συμφοραῖς οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς περὶ τῶν προτέρων αἰτίας ἐξήλειψαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὰ οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔλαβον, ἀπέδοσαν κοινῆ.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

§§ 1, 2. After the expulsion of the Thirty Cyrus sent ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians, who instructed their admiral, Samius, to support him. Samius secured Cilicia. Cyrus was slain: the Greeks safely reached the §§ 3-8. The Ionian cities, threatened by Tissaphernes, appealed to the Lacedaemonians. In response they sent Thibron as harmost with 1,000 neodamodes, 4,000 Peloponnesians, and 300 Athenian Knights. On his arrival he collected additional forces, but was unable to take the offensive, until he was joined by the Cyreans. Then he captured Teuthrania and Halisarnia, and won over several other cities in Aeolia. Failing to take Larisa, he was ordered by the Ephors to march into Caria, but at Ephesus he was superseded by Dercylidas. §§ 9, 10. Dercylidas came to terms with Tissaphernes, and marched against the rival satrap Pharnabasus to revenge an old insult. \$\$ 10-15. This part of Aeolis was governed by Mania, the widow of Zeuxis, who had persuaded the satrap to allow her to carry on her husband's administration. Mania faithfully fulfilled her office until she was murdered by her son-in-law, Midias, who seized the cities of Scepsis and Gergitha, and tried to make terms with Pharnabasus, §§ 16-28. In the midst of this disorder Dercylidas appeared, whereupon many of the cities of the Troad and Aeolis opened their gates to him. Cebren too after some little delay followed their example. Midias found himself obliged to surrender to him Scepsis and Gergitha, in the latter of which was stored Mania's treasure, sufficient to maintain an army of 8,000 men for a year.

- § 1, στάσις: between the Thirty and the Democrats. οὖτως, cp. Introd. p. xix.
- čκ δὲ τούτου (i.e. 401 B.C.), both temporal and causal. The following sentences explain how the Spartans, formerly the allies of Persia, now came to be at enmity with the Great King. This embassy is put by Diodorus xiv. 19 (with whom Diogenes Laertius agrees) in the year of Xenaenetus 401-400. In the Anabasis Xenophon makes no mention of it; but Plutarch (Artax. 6) speaks of

Cyrus' bounteous promises to the Lacedaemonians if they would send him troops: ἔφη δώσει», δ» μὲν πεζοὶ παρῶσι», ἵππουε, δ» δὲ ἰππεῖε, συνωρίδαε' ἐὰν δὰ ἀγροὺε ἔχωσι, κώμαε' ἐὰν δὰ κώμαε, πόλειε' μισθοῦ δὰ τοῖε στρατευομένοις οἰκ ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἔσεσθαι.

abrès Aassdauporioss: for Cyrus' services to the Lacedaemonians cp. i. 5. 2-9; 6. 18; ii. 1. 11-14.

Σαμίφ τῷ τότε ναυάρχφ: called by Diod. xiv. 19 Samos, if indeed he has not confused him with the Egyptian Tamos (Anab. i. 2. 21, 4. 2), who guided the Greek ships from Ionia to Cilicia.

περιέπλευσε»... Συέννεσι»: Xenophon (Anab. i. 2. 21) does not mention Samios, but relates that Syennesis, when he heard that Menon's division of the army had crossed the Taurus by another pass, and that Tamos with the Lacedaemonian and Persian ships had already arrived in Cilicia, abandoned the Cilician Gates, and made terms with Cyrus. Then in i. 4. 2, referring to some twenty-five days later, he speaks of the Lacedaemonian admiral Pythagoras being on board the triremes at Issus. We must therefore suppose that in the interval Samius, at the end of his year of office (cp. Appendix, p. 344), must have been succeeded by Pythagoras; unless indeed we adopt the far-fetched hypothesis of E. Schwartz (Rhein. Mus. 44, p. 193) that Xenophon, still better to disguise his authorship of the Anabasis, has substituted Samios for Pythagoras, because the philosopher of that name was a Samian!

§ 2. τὸν ἀδελφόν: Artaxerxes Mnemon.

ή μάχη: at Cunaxa in the autumn of 401: cp. Anab. i. 8. ἐπὶ θάλατταν, to the Euxine.

Θεμιστογένει. Who was Themistogenes the Syracusan? Suidas the lexicographer professes to know, s.v. Θεμιστογένης, Συρακόσιος, Ιστορικός. Κύρου ἀνάβασιν, ήτις ἐν τοῖς Χενοφῶντος φέρεται (i.e. laudatur aut nominatur) καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ περὶ τῆς ἐαντοῦ ποτρίδος. But if, as seems most likely, Xenophon wrote the Anabasis before books iii-vii of the Hellenica, it seems more probable (cp. Introd. p. xiv) that Xenophon for some reason or other wished to conceal his own authorship of the Anabasis under a nom de plume. This hypothesis finds expression as early as Plutarch de Glor. Athen. p. 345 e: Χενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐαντοῦ γέγονεν Ιστορία, γράψας ὰ ἐστρατήγησε καὶ κατώρθωσε καὶ Θεμιστογένη [λεγει?] περὶ τούτων συντετάχθαι τὸν Συρακόσιον,

ῖνα πιστότερος ἢ διηγούμενος ἐαυτὸν ὡς ἄλλον, ἐτέρφ τὴν τῶν λόγων δόξαν χαριζόμενος. Compare Schol. ad Epist. Joannis Tzetzae 21, p. 23, ed. Pressel, ὡσπερ καὶ Χενοφῶν ἐπέγραψε τὴν Κύρου ἀνάβασιν Θεμιστογένει Συρακουσίφ, κὰν ἐπεκράτησεν δμως καὶ πάλιν Χενοφῶντος καλεῖσθαι. L. Dindorf in his note on the passage has collected together all the modern hypotheses about the relation of Xenophon to Themistogenes, all of which seem equally baseless.

§ 3. πολλοῦ ἀξιος βασιλεῖ: Tissaphernes had been the first to inform Artaxerxes of the projected revolt of Cyrus (Anab. i. 2. 4; ii. 3. 18, 19), had fought zealously at Cunaxa against the rebels, and by his treacherous conduct towards the Ten Thousand and their generals after the battle had nearly succeeded in overwhelming the whole Greek force (Anab. ii. 5. 32 ff.).

δεν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν. The extent of Tissaphernes' district before Cyrus' arrival is nowhere exactly described. Thucydides (viii. 5) calls him στρατηγός τῶν κάτω, i. e. of the coast land, and we find him at that time supreme in the whole region south and west of the satrapy of Pharnabazus which extended over the northern part of Aeolis as far as Aspendus in Pamphylia.

&ν Κῦρος, more exactly described in Anab. i. 9. 7 (quoted i. 4. 3 note). Tissaphernes was thus made commander-in-chief (κάρανος) over all Asia west of the Halys, even Pharnabazus being subordinate to him: cp. iii. 2. 13.

τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις: cp. Anab. i. i. 6 καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αὶ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δὲ (402-401 winter, B.C.) ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. Ever since Lysander was left in charge of his satrapy by Cyrus in 405, they seem to have been governed by Spartan harmosts (cp. iii. 2. 20); and when Cyrus in 401 marched eastwards against his brother, they must have become entirely independent of Persia.

πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται: cp. Her. v. 49. At the time of the Ionic revolt Aristagoras of Miletus sought help from the Spartans, similarly maintaining Ἰώνων παΐδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων δνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, δσφ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. It is true that in their three treaties with Persia concluded in 412 (Thuc. viii. 18, 37, 58) the Lacedaemonians had distinctly recognized the right of the Great King to rule over all Asiatic cities, but these treaties they had

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de facto broken by supporting the revolt of Cyrus. According to Diodorus (xiv. 35) the Lacedaemonians immediately sent envoys to Tissaphernes, warning him μὴ ὅπλα πολέμια ἐπιφέρειν ταῖε Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσι, and promised speedy aid. The satrap however at once attacked Cyme, and ravaged the surrounding country.

899-398 B.C.

§ 4. Θίβρωνα. Nothing is known of his previous career. Diodorus (xiv. 35–39) gives a very confused and erroneous account of the succeeding campaigns of Thibron and Dercylidas, evidently grouping together the events of 399–397 for purposes of convenience into the annals of two years. Thus he wrongly spreads the command of Thibron over two years 400, 399, whereas it appears from Xenophon (Anab. vii. 8. 24 as well as the Hellenica) that he came to Asia in the spring of 399, and was superseded by Dercylidas in the autumn of the same year. Then he compresses all the exploits of Dercylidas, who held the command until the arrival of Agesilaus in the spring of 396, into the single year 399, breaking off his narrative with the truce concluded between him and Tissaphernes (which really occurred in the summer of 397), and not again dealing with Asiatic affairs until the arrival of Agesilaus.

άρμοστήν: cp. Appendix, p. 348. νεοδαμώδων: cp. i. 3. 15 note.

ήτήσατο. The Athenians were now subject allies of Sparta, bound τον αὐτον έχθρον καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἐν ἡγῶνται: cp. ii. 2. 20.

aυτος μισθόν παρέξει. Though subject allies were in the ordinary course of things obliged to maintain their own contingents, Athens deprived after Aegospotami of all her external revenues was now in too destitute a condition to do so.

τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων. The Knights had taken a leading part in support of the Thirty (ii. 4. 2, 8) and the Ten (ibid. 24), and had finally assisted Pausanias in his attack upon the refugees at Athens (ibid. 31). Though they were together with the large majority of the oligarchs covered by the Amnesty of 401 B.C., yet according to Lysias (xvi. 6) they were afterwards excluded from further military service and compelled to give up their equipment. The partitive genitive is here used as object

without rivás to expres the indefiniteness of the number: cp. ii. 3. 14; iv. 4. 13.

§ 5. els τὴν 'Ασίαν: Ephesus, according to Diod. (xiv. 36), who estimates these Asiatic troops at 2,000.

πασαι . . . ἐπιτάττοι: cp. Anab. vi. 6. 9–12 where Xenophon remarks by way of comment on the power of Clearchus the harmost of Byzantium, in 400 B.C., Ικανολ δέ εἶσι καλ εἶς ἔκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅ τι βούλονται διαπράττεσθαι.

δρῶν . . . τὸ ἐππικόν. Herwerden's conjecture is perhaps the best, ὁρῶν . . . ⟨πρὸς⟩ τὸ ἐππικόν, 'looking at his cavalry.' Dindorf interprets, 'seeing his own cavalry was weak,' which seems to be more than the words can well mean. There is a similar difficulty in iv. 4. 6 ὁρῶντες τοὺς τυραννεύοντας, where Campe reads τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὅντος τυραννεύοντας: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360, for other conjectures.

els to medion, the valley of the Macander.

ἢγάπα... ἀδήωτον διαφυλάττειν. This language of Xenophon, who throughout (cp. §§ 7, 8; 2. 1, 6, 7; iv. 8. 18, 19, 22) seems to betray some animus against Thibron, for which there was probably ample justification, can hardly be made to square with the account of Diodorus xiv. 36. According to the latter, before the arrival of the Cyreian troops, Thibron took the unwalled city of Magnesia near Ephesus, besieged Tralles without success, returned to Magnesia, and put its inhabitants into a place of safety on Mount Thorax. Then he ravaged the country round, until on the approach of Tissaphernes with an overwhelming army he returned to Ephesus. Diodorus however omits all details of his exploits after the arrival of the Cyreians.

§ 6. σωθέντες... συνέμειξαν αὐτῷ. It appears from Anab. vii. 6. I ff. that Thibron had, immediately on his arrival in Asia, sent an invitation to the Cyreians, who were at the time in the service of the Thracian prince Seuthes, to join him in the war against Tissaphernes. They had gladly assented, and were to the number of some 5,000 or 6,000 led by Xenophon himself from Selymbria across to Lampsacus, through the Troad, and on to Pergamos in Mysia, where Thibron took over the command. Anab. vii. 8. 24.

Πέργαμον. This town had already been seized by the Cyreians : Anab. vii. 8. 8.

ol ἀπὸ Δημαράτου: cp. Her. vi. 70. Being deprived of his kingship on the pretext of illegitimacy by Cleomenes, Demaratus retired to Persia, to the court of Darius Hystaspes, who ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστὶ καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλις ἔδωκε. Afterwards he accompanied Xerxes as adviser in his expedition against Greece. For similar gifts of land and cities cp. the instance of Themistocles, Thuc. i. 138.

ἐκ βασιλέωs. For ἐκ instead of ὑπό or παρά cp. Anab. i. I. 6 ἐκ βασιλέωs δεδομέναι: the agent is regarded as the source of the gift.

Γοργίων και Γογγύλος: cp. Anab. vii. 8. 8. Hellas, their mother, entertained Xenophon at Pergamos, and forced her son Gongylus to support him in an attack upon the Persian Asidates, which she herself had advised as likely to result in rich booty.

Γάμβριον, κ.τ.λ. These cities, except Palaegambrium, lay in southern Aeolis between the rivers Caicus and Hermus. Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia were also in Aeolis north of the Caicus.

Γογγύλφ: cp. Thuc. i. 128; Nepos, Paus. 2. This Gongylus of Eretria had acted as the regent Pausanias' envoy in his treacherous correspondence with Xerxes. He must have been an ancestor, probably grandfather of the Gorgion and Gongylus just mentioned.

§ 7. In dit ds = rwis: forw δs is declined like a pronoun: cp. ii. 4. 6, &c.

Λάρισαν...τὴν Λίγυπτίαν, north of the Hermus; so called because Cyrus the Great after conquering Croesus allowed the Egyptians, who had acquitted themselves bravely in the service of the Lydian king, to settle there: cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 45.

γε μήν: this combination of particles is generally used to emphasize some additional point in the narrative. It occurs but twice in the first two books, ii. 3. 33, 42, but frequently in the later books: cp. Roquette, Vit. Xen. p. 54.

είς τὸ δρυγμα, i. c. είς τὴν φρεατίαν.

χελώνην ξυλίνην, like the Roman testudo, is used to denote any kind of movable roof or shed used to protect men or siege engines: cp. Caesar, B. G. v. 43, 52; Vitr. x. 21.

αὐτοῦ: genitive of the pronoun. Breitenbach (not. ad loc.) takes it as the adverb, making δοκοῦντος impersonal; but in the immediate context αὐτοῦ is twice used of Thibron, and there is no real difficulty in the accusative ἀπολιπόντα in the infinitival clause following πέμπουσι, which is here used pregnantly for πέμπουσι καὶ κελεύουσι: cp. ii. 2. 7; iii. 2. 12; 4. 27.

έπὶ Καρίαν, where Tissaphernes' palace was situated: iii. 4. 12. § 8. Δερκυλίδας: in 411 B.C. the Spartans despatched him from Miletus to the Hellespont, where he induced Lampsacus and Abydos to revolt from Athens; cp. Thuc. viii. 61, 62.

Σίσυφος, the Corinthian hero, noted for his cunning. Ephorus (ap. Athenaeum xi.500) gives a different explanation of his nickname: Λακεδαιμόνιοι άντι Θίβρωνος Δερκυλίδαν ἔπεμψαν είς την 'Ασίαν, ἀκούοντες ὅτι πάντα πρώττειν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ την 'Ασίαν βάρβαροι μετὰ ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου. διόπερ Δερκυλίδαν ἔπεμψαν ἤκιστα νομίζοντες ἐξοπατηθήσεσθαι· ἢν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ τρόπφ λακωνικὸν οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ πανοῦργον καὶ τὸ θηριῶδες. διὸ καὶ Σκύθον αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσηγόρευον.

άρπάζειν...τοὺς φίλους. This is the only instance of άρπάζειν used with the accus. of the person: cp. ἀφαρπάζεσθαι τὴν χώραν, Anab. i. 2. 7 and ἄνδρας ληίζεσθαι, Anab. vii. 3. 31.

§ 9. ὑπόπτους...ἀλλήλοις: for the rivalry between the two satraps cp. i. 1. 6 note. There was now an additional reason for jealousy, because Tissaphernes in return for his services to the King had been made κάρανος of Asia in the place of Cyrus: cp. iii. 1. 3; 2. 13.

ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, in the year 407, unless we suppose with Breitenbach that it was during Lysander's second command, 405, when he was secretary to the titular admiral Aracus, on the ground that Lysander was not in the Hellespont in 407, but first sailed thither in the year of Aegospotami. A similar punishment was invented by the regent Pausanias for his allies according to Plutarch (Arist. 23): τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκόλαξε πληγαῖς ἡ σιδηρῶν ἄγκυρον ἐπιτιθεὶς ἡνάγκαξεν ἐστάναι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. Moreover a Spartan officer never carried his shield himself except in battle; his ὑπασπιστής carried it for him: cp. iv. 8. 39.

§ 10. τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος, i.e. the northern portion of the district. ἐσστράπευε, i.e. as under-satrap: cp. Tamus, Tissaphernes' under-satrap of Ionia (Thuc. viii. 31, 87), Tiribazus, Orontes' under-satrap of West Armenia (Anab. iv. 4. 4).

Δαρδανεύε, Δαρδανίε, of Dardanus on the Hellespont.

Zήνιος: Ionic genitive, used even by Attic writers in the case of non-Attic names. So Συννέσως, Anab. i. 2. 12; 'Αφύτιος, Thuc. i. 64.
§ 12. ἔγνω with a following infinitive, 'determined that': cp. iv. 6. 9: Goodwin, M. T. 915.

την γυναίκα σατραπεύειν. Ramsay points out ('Church in the Roman Empire,' pp. 67, 161) that the honours and influence which belonged to women in Asia Minor are one of the most remarkable features in the history of the country: cp. Arrian, Anab. i. 23. 7 νενομισμένον ἐν τῆ 'Ασία ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμράμεως καὶ γυναίκας ἄρχειν ἀνδρῶν.

§ 13. παρέλαβε, inherited as her husband's successor.

ἐπιθαλαττιδίας: the feminine form is also used, iv. 8. 1: but in iii. 4. 28 it appears as an adjective of two terminations.

Λάρισάν τε καὶ 'Αμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάs: these three cities and all the cities mentioned in Mania's district §§ 15-17 were in the Troad. This Larisa is to be distinguished from the Egyptian Larisa of § 7.

fενικφ' Ελληνικφ: Greek mercenaries increased more and more in numbers after the Peloponnesian war, partly because the more general employment of slave labour ousted poor citizens from the lower kinds of work, partly because owing to internal dissensions there were numerous exiles from almost every city, and partly because war became more and more of an art, for which the citizen was never sufficiently trained, and which only the professional soldier could master: cp. Buckle, Hist. Civ. i. 205. In Asia the superiority of the Greek soldier was now universally acknowledged.

ἐφ' ἀρμαμάξης: Polyaenus (viii. 54) has extracted this story from the Hellenica.

Hισίδας, a tribe S.E. of the Phrygians and just to the N. of the Pamphylians; consequently far distant from the frontiers of Pharnabazus' territory. The passage must therefore mean that Mania with her mercenaries accompanied the satrap, when he himself was called upon by the κάρανος of the district to supply his contingent for distant expeditions: cp. Anab. i. 1. 11; 9. 14; ii. 5. 13; iii. 2. 23; Mem. iii. 5. 26.

ότι . . . κακουργούσιν: if these words be genuine (cp. Appendix, p. 360), the present tense must denote the state of continual depredations.

§ 15. $\Sigma \kappa \hat{\eta} \psi \nu$, on the river Aesepus in the Troad. Ephor. fr. 122; Strabo p. 603.

Γέργιθα, on the river Granicus.

κατέσχεν, 'seized': aorist of complete and definite action.

απεκρίνατο, implying a command, cp. Cyrop. v. 2. 24.

§ 16. ἐν τούτφ τῷ καιρῷ: doubtless the disturbed state of the satrapy as well as his grudge against Pharnabazus induced Dercylidas to march into this district rather than into Caria.

Λάρισων κ.τ.λ.: cp. Diod. xiv. 38 'Αμαξιτόν . . . καὶ Κολωνάς καὶ 'Αρίσβαν είλεν έξ ἐφόδου' μετὰ δὶ ταῦτα "Ιλιον καὶ Κεβρηνίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Τρφάδα ἀς μὲν δόλφ παρέλαβεν ἀς δὲ ἐκ βίας έχειρώσατο. Ilium and Neandria lay on the river Scamander: Cocylium is otherwise unknown.

δέχεσθαι, SC. αὐτόν.

§ 17. Κεβρηπ, also on the Scamander.

oùx èyivero, 'were not favourable': used of sacrifices repeatedly, iii. 5. 7; iv. 7. 2; 8. 36; v. 1. 33; 3. 14; 4. 37; vi. 5. 12, 49.

§ 18. οἱ ἔνδοθεν = οἱ ἔνδον by a kind of attraction due to the following ἐπεξελθόντες: cp. § 22 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, &c.; v. 3. 25 τῶν οἶκοθεν.

αθυμοτέραν καί: see Critical Note. If the MSS. reading be retained, it must be explained by a transfer of the emotion of the agent to the action. Breitenbach, who keeps the MSS. reading, compares Ages. I. 35 τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγέγνετο, τὰ δὲ ᾿Αγησιλάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. Liebhold's emendation ἀθυμοτέρους κατὰ seems almost certain.

- ό ἄρχων, i.e. ό την φυλακην έχων of § 17.
- § 19. λέγων: for the participle without the article or τις, used as an indefinite substantive cp. ii. 1. 8; vi. 5. 25, &c.
- § 20. ἐξῆλθε: Polyaenus (ii. 6) gives a slightly different version of the same story, apparently confusing the capture of Scepsis with that of Gergitha. Dercylidas, he says, enticed Meidias out ἐφ' ફ τε προελθόντα καὶ ὁμιλήσαντα ταχὺ πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφείναι. Then having compelled him to open the gates on pain of death ἀφίημί σε, ἔφη, νῦν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο γὰρ ὅμοσα΄ κάγὼ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως εἰσέρχομαι.
- § 21. βία τῶν πολιτῶν, 'against the will of the citizens': cp. Anab. vii. 8. 17 ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βία τῆς μητρός.

§ 22. Theyer: the imperfect, strictly taken, represents the point of view, not of the historian, but of the reporter of the speech. Classen in a note on Thuc. ii. 71 points out that that historian uses the agrist and imperfect indifferently to introduce speeches in oratio recta.

els δύο, 'in double file': cp. vii. 4. 22.

ol ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. § 18 ol ἔνδοθεν. The preposition ἀπό is accounted for by the verb ἔβαλλον.

§ 23. ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι, 'in the van': cp. Latin 'acies.'

ės μοθοφορήσονταs, 'since for the future they would serve in his (Dercylidas') pay.'

οδδὶν ἔτι δεινόν, because, being no longer tyrant, Meidias would have no more need of δορυφύροι to protect him.

- § 24. feriferola: fire and its derivatives imply both hospitality and the giving of presents. Dercylidas now, having sacrificed as master of the house, invites Meidias to partake of the sacrificial feast which was made from the flesh of the victim.
- § 26. τίνος: all subjects were regarded and regarded themselves as slaves of the King. So in iv. 1. 36 Agesilaus speaks of the όμοδούλους of the satrap Pharnabazus: cp. vi. 1. 12.

καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου: καί explanatory, equivalent to 'id est.'

§ 28. τῆ στρατιᾶ... δκτακισχιλίοις. Thibron brought (§ 4) 5,300 troops with him: he collected reinforcements in Asia estimated by Diodorus (xiv. 36) at 2,000, and was eventually joined by the Cyreians, who numbered more than 5,000 according to the same authority: cp. Anab. vii. 7. 23. This makes a total of some 12,300 men. As the army had sustained no losses of importance, the balance beyond 8,000 was probably employed on garrison duty in the various cities, which had submitted to Thibron and Dercylidas.

dν τῆ πατρφα οἰκία: thereby Dercylidas reduced Meidias once more to the position of a private citizen, as he had been before his marriage with Mania's daughter.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-5. In eight days Derrylidas had won over nine cities. To relieve his allies of maintaining his troops during the winter and of all danger from Pharnabasus, he made peace with the satrap and marched his troops into Bithynia, where he was joined by some rainforcements from Seuthes, king of

the Odrysae. The Bithynians surprised the camp of these Odrysae during their absence, and slew many of the Greek guards within it, Dercylidas went to Lampsacus, where he received orders to hold his command for a second year and to enjoin his troops not to maltreat the allies. 55 8-11. Learning too that the Greeks in the Thracian Chersonese had appealed to Sparta for help against the Thracians, he renewed his truce with Pharmabasus, crossed into the Chersonese, and built a wall across the 1sthmus. On his return to Asia he laid siege to Atarneus, which had been seized by some Chian exiles: after eight months he compelled them to surrender. Then he went on to Ephesus. §§ 12-14. In response to an Ionian embassy the Ephors sent orders that Dercylidas, supported by the admiral Pharax, should invade Caria. Pharnabasus joined Tissaphernes and the two proceeded into Caria, but so soon as they had garrisoned all the strong places, returned to Ionia, so that Dercylidas was obliged to turn back. §§ 15-20. On the plain of the Maeander Dercylidas found the Persian army drawn out to meet him. Tissaphernes was afraid to fight and proposed a conference; so the two armies separated without a battle. Next day the three generals met and concluded a truce, until they should have consulted their respective governments about the terms for a permanent peace. \$\$ 21-24. The Lacedaemonians, having long suffered many insults from the Eleans, demanded that they should allow their subject states to be autonomous: on their refusal to comply they declared war. Agis invaded Elis, but on the occurrence of an \$\$ 25-27. The war was renewed: Agis led the allied earthquake retired. army against the Eleans, and was joined by many of their subject states. Having sacrificed at Olympia without opposition he advanced, plundering and ravaging, as far as the suburbs of Elis. §§ 27-31. Thereupon a faction fight broke out, which ended in the expulsion of the oligarchs, who fled to the Lacedaemonians, now at Cyllene. Then Agis retired, leaving a garrison at Epitalium. Next year the Eleans submitted to the terms dictated by Sparta and entered her alliance.

§ 1. εἶη . . . κακουργή: the optative expresses the doubtful possibility of the one clause, the subjunctive the definite necessity, as it appeared to Dercylidas' mind, of the other. For δπως ἄν with opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

intrereixiσθα: the technical meaning of intreixiσμός was a fortress (like Decelea) or fortified city (like Heraclea) established in an enemy's country: cp. Thuc. i. 122 and v. 1. 2; vii. 2. I.

σπονδάς: according to Diodorus xiv. 38 δκταμηνιαίους ἀνοχάς. This is not necessarily inconsistent with § 9, where Dercylidas again asks Pharnabazus, as a preliminary to his intended expedition

to the Thracian Chersonese, πότερα βούλοιτο σπονδὰς ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος. For if the truce were concluded in October, it would expire in June, which was the most favourable time for military operations; whereas Dercylidas reckoned on being absent in the Chersonese for the whole summer. Moreover we are not told in § 9 (which refers to the spring, April) that the truce had already expired. Still it is perhaps better to assume with Breitenbach that Diodorus, whose chronology at this point is wrong in other respects, has confused the duration of the two truces spoken of by Xenophon. On this assumption the first truce must have been made in November or December 399, and Dercylidas probably came back to Asia about the time of the expiration of the second, July or August, 398: cp. §§ 10, 11.

§ 2. Βιθυνίδα Θράκην: cp. i. 3. 2 note.

τὰ ἄλλα, 'in all other respects,' adverbial.

Σεύθου. The Cyreians had served under this prince in the winter 400-399, Anab. vii. 1. 5: cp. iii. 1. 6 note and iv. 8. 26.

πίραθεν: from the further side, i. e. the European shore of the Hellespont.

τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, partitive genitive as the object of aἰτοῦντες, to which φύλακας stands in apposition: cp. iii. 1. 4.

§ 3. ol pèr... ol dé, the Bithynians; the second ol dé, the Greek hoplites (abroús).

ώς ἀνδρομήκει: ώς = 'about,' as with numerals, e.g. παλτὸν ώς ἐξάπηχυ, Anab. vi. 4. 12.

§ 4. οί δε . . . εκθέοιεν, i. e. οί δε Βιθυνοί ή μεν οί Ελληνες εκθέοιεν. πελτασταί όπλίτας: Cp. iv. 5. 15, όπλεται όντες πελταστάς.

dμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα: the article expresses the whole in round numbers.

έπεὶ εὐθέως = έπεὶ τάχιστα, 'as soon as.'

§ 5. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 'in their honour.'

lπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες. Herodotus (v. 8) notes it as a burial custom of the Thracians dyŵνα τιθέναι παντοΐου; their drunkenness was notorious.

398-397 B.C.

§ 6. τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, the Ephors: cp. Appendix, p. 341.

"Αρακος: perhaps the same as the titular admiral under whom

Lysander served as secretary at the battle of Aegospotami, ii. 3. 7: the other two envoys are otherwise unknown, unless this Antisthenes be the same as the Spartan commander mentioned by Thuc. viii. 39, 61.

τὰ ἄλλα, adverbial as in § 2.

ἐπιστείλαι: infin. depending on ἐροῦντες, 'to say that the Ephors had especially (σφίσιν αὐτοῖς) charged them to summon a meeting of the soldiers and to tell them.'

δυ = τούτων ἄ, causal genitive after μέμφοιντο: cp. Eur. Hec. 962 μέμφει τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπουσίας.

§ 7. δ... προεστηκώς: probably Xenophon, since we know from the Anab. vii. 8. 23 that he had himself conducted the Cyreians to Thibron. Moreover it seems to have been his habit to suppress his own name: cp. iii. 1. 2 note; 4. 20.

τότε δέ, SC. έξαμαρτείν.

§ 8. την Χερρόνησον . . . ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν. In the middle of the sixth century the elder Miltiades had built a wall across the isthmus from Cardia to Pactya to protect his Athenian colonists and the Dolonci from the attacks of the Apsinthian Thracians: Her. vi. 36. Again about 453 Pericles strengthened the Greek community in the peninsula by the addition of 1,000 Athenian colonists and renewed the wall across the isthmus to guard against the continual incursions of the Thracians: Plut. Per. 19. Once more in 402-401 the Lacedaemonian Clearchus used the mercenary troops that he had collected with the money given him by Cyrus to punish these same troublesome Thracians: Anab. i. 1. 9; 3. 4; cp. ii. 6. 5.

ώστ' έφασαν, SC. οί περὶ τὸν Αρακον.

§ 9. ἐπ' Ἐφόσου. Grote's conj. ἐπί for the MSS. ἀπό is to be accepted because Dercylidas was now at Lampsacus, § 6.

σπονδάς έχειν: cp. note § 1.

ούτω, instead of the more usual ούτω δή, refers to the fact stated in the previous clause as the reason for Dercylidas' action: cp. iv. 4. 2.

τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνον πύλεις φιλίας ἐν εἰρήνη διαβαίντι. Breitenbach retains the MSS. reading τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνον φιλίας, κ.τ.λ., translating— 'leaving the cities of Pharnabazus' district friendly, he crosses in

peace.' For the expression τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνον πόλεις he compares Diod. xiii. 52 τὰς περὶ Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεις, to which Büchsenschütz adds Thuc. iv. 83 τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν (Περδίκκαν) χωρίων. Cobet conjectures περὶ ἐκεῖνα. Dindorf and Keller bracket φιλίας: cp. Critical Note.

διὰ... Θράκης... els Χερρόνησον. Hence it appears that Dercylidas must have sailed from Lampsacus to some place in Seuthes' dominions north of the Chersonese, and then marched SW. into the peninsula.

§ 10. ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα: according to Her. vi. 36 the distance was thirty-six stadia: cp. § 8 note.

έκτειχίσασι, ες. τὸ μέρος τοῦ τείχους.

πρὸ ὀπώρας, about July.

σπόριμον, εc. γην.

§ 11. Χίων φυγάδας. Diod. xiii. 36 relates that, when the Spartan Cratesippidas restored the oligarchical exiles (410 B.C., cp. i. 1. 32), they in their turn expelled their opponents to the number of 600, who thereupon seized upon Atarneus just opposite to Mytilene, and made sallies therefrom upon Chios.

ζώντας ἀπὸ τούτου, i. e. living by the plunder.

Δράκοντα: Isocrates (iv. 144) rather inaccurately says, Δράκων 'Αταρνία καταλαβών καὶ τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς συλλέξας τὸ Μύσιον πεδίον ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε.

έκπλεω, proleptic: cp. v. 1. 24 πλήρεις τὰς ναῦς έτρεφε.

897-896 B.C.

§ 12. ἐν εἰρήνη διῆγον, according to the understanding arrived at in the autumn of 399, iii. 1. 9.

dπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων, which had sent to Sparta for aid in 400 B.C., iii. I. 3.

διαβαίνειν, i. e. the river Macander.

§ 13. Papráßasos. According to Diod. xiv. 39 this satrap had during the truce (§ 9) visited the King at Susa, had persuaded him to equip a naval expedition, of which Conon the Athenian was to be the admiral, had himself received 500 talents for that purpose, and had crossed over to Cyprus to make the offer to Conon, who was still an exile at the court of Evagoras: cp. iii. 4. I note.

στρατηγός τῶν πάντων: cp. iii. I. 3 note.

διαμαρτυρόμενος: the present is more vivid than the future; it

expresses an attendant circumstance as well as a purpose: cp. iii. 5. 4; vii. 4. 5 βοηθών παρείη.

Aioλίδος: cp. § 1.

§ 14. οὖτοι: Dercylidas and his army.

ώς προεληλυθότων κ.τ.λ.: 'supposing that the enemy had advanced far into the country of Ephesus.'

μνημάτων: lofty tombs, which served as good look-out posts: cp. vi. 2. 20. So μνημεία, § 15.

§ 15. τινάς: 'some of their men': the accusative after ἀνταναβιβάσαντες.

τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: cp. iii. 1. 13 note. Diodorus (xiv. 39) estimates the Persian army at 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and Dercylidas' army at 7,000.

έκάτερος: Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

§ 16. els δκτώ: the ordinary depth of the phalanx in battle array. κράσπεδα, apparently a poetical expression for τὰ κέρατα: cp. Eur. Supp. 661 ὅχλον πρὸς κρασπέδοισι στρατοπέδου τεταγμένου. Büchsenschütz suggests that possibly here it may bear its more usual sense, 'the foot of a hill or mountain.'

§ 17. Πρίηνης . . . 'Αχιλλείου. Both cities lay in the plain of the Maeander, iv. 8. 17. Herodotus (i. 142) reckons Priene among the Ionic cities, and there is no known reason why Xenophon should have distinguished it and Achilleum from al 'Ιωνικαὶ πόλεις.

βαθύς ὁ σίτος fixes the season of the year, c. June.

§ 18. έξηγγέλλετο: impersonal passive.

aurois: Tissaphernes and his army.

τοὺς κρατίστους: Clearchus did the same in his interview with Tissaphernes, Anab. ii. 3. 3.

§ 19. δόξαντα . . . περανθέντα: accusative absolute: this construction used personally as here, without ώs οτ δοπερ, is extremely rare, cp. Anab. iv. 1. 13 and Her. ii. 66 ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει: Goodwin, M. T. 854.

Τράλλεις, north of the Maeander: cp. iii. 1. 5.

Λεύκοφρυν, also in the plain of the Maeander, iv. 8. 17: its site has recently been discovered, cp. Athenæum, 1891.

ην: the imperf., because a present fact is here stated with reference to past circumstances: cp. ii. 1. 21.

πλέον: the adverb is used for the adjective.

§ 20. εἶπον ὅτι. This form of the aorist, mostly preserved in B alone, occurs iii. 4. 4; 5. 24; vi. 1. 16; vii. 4. 4. ὅτι recalls the clause to be supplied from the preceding sentence τὴν εἰρήνην ἀν ποιήσαιντο: cp. i. 5. 6.

άρμοσταί. Hence it appears that, though by this time Lysander's Decarchies had been overthrown (iii. 4. 2, 7), the Spartans still maintained their empire over the Asiatic cities by harmosts and garrisons.

σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο. Xenophon has entirely omitted to say what were the results of these negotiations begun in the summer of 397, or what became of the Greek army. Diodorus (xiv. 39) only adds οὖτοι μὲν οὖν οὖνω διέλυσαν τὰ στρατύπεδα. Dercylidas himself is casually mentioned in iii. 4. 6 as one of Agesilaus' envoys in the negotiations with Tissaphernes in the truce concluded in the spring of 396, but from that time he disappears from history until in 394 he meets Agesilaus at Amphipolis with the news of the victory at the Nemea, when the king was marching back from Asia in obedience to the summons of the Ephors.

τως ἀπαγγελθείη, i. e. to continue until, &c.; for this final use of τως cp. Goodwin, M. T. 614.

Δερκυλίδα . . . Τισσαφέρνει. Datives of the Agent instead of ὑπό with the genitive.

P 398-397 B.C.

§ 21. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων . . . κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον. For the chronology cp. Introd. p. xlv.

Λακεδαιμόνιο: A 'nominativus pendens.' The construction is changed at οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ήρκει, and resumed again in a different form in § 23.

συμμαχίαν πρὸς 'Αθηναίους κ.τ.λ., in 420 B.C.; cp. Thuc. v. 47. For the motive cp. ibid. 31.

καταδεδικάσθαι. This second charge, which Xenophon repeats almost in the words of Thucydides, is narrated by the latter historian, v. 49. The Eleans had condemned the Lacedaemonians to pay a fine of 2,000 minae for violating the Olympian truce, and on their refusal to pay had excluded them from the festival of Ol. 90 (420 B.C.). The insult to Lichas also occurred at the same festival. Thuc. v. 50; Paus. vi. 2. 2.

οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ῆρκει: instead of οὐκ ῆρκει ταῦτα μόνον: for the order of the words cp. Cyrop. viii. 8. 16, 17.

§ 22. τόντων δ' ὕστερον. The date cannot be determined. Diod. xiv. 17 speaks of the insult as offered to Pausanias.

rόμιμον. The custom seems to have been honoured in the breach rather than in the observance. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Lacedaemonians sent to Delphi and δπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔστοι: Thuc. i. 118. Again in 388 or 387 Agesipolis indirectly asked the same question both at Olympia and Delphi: cp. iv. 7. 2.

Έλλήνων πολέμφ, 'war against Greeks': cp. iv. 8. 24 έπλ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμφ.

§ 23. τῆ ἐκκλησία, cp. Appendix, p. 341.

ràs περιοικίδας πόλεις. The Eleans had gradually made themselves masters of Pisatis and Triphyllia with the exception of Lepreum, and about 465 B.C. had been supported by the Lacedaemonians in suppressing a revolt among the subject towns; cp. Paus. iii. 8. 2; vi. 22. 2; Strab. viii. 355, 358. Now, however, that the Eleans had proved disaffected towards the Peloponnesian League, it was the Spartan interest to weaken them in all possible ways. The autonomy of all Greek States had been the Spartan watchword even before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Diodorus (xiv. 17) adds that the Lacedaemonians also demanded from the Eleans their quota of the expenses of the war against Athens, and that the Eleans in return charged the Lacedaemonians δτι τοὺς Ελληνας καταδουλοῦνται.

φρουρὰν ἔφηναν: a Lacedaemonian phrase, which first appears in Xenophon. It means 'to call out the ban,' φρουρά, like the German Bann, denoting a body of men destined for military service. Generally it is used of a declaration of war by the Ephors or the Spartan state; but in iv. 7. I it is used of king Agesilaus alone, and kings Pausanias and Agesipolis are both said ἐξάγευν φρουράν ii. 4. 29; v. 2. 3: cp. Appendix, p. 342.

²Ays: Diodorus (xiv. 17, 34) gives the name of Pausanias instead of Agis and compresses the events of three years into two. His version is in many respects quite inconsistent.

Λάρισον, a river forming the boundary between Achaea and Elis: Paus. vii. 17. 5.

§ 24. ἐκ τῆς χώρας. According to Pausanias (iii. 8. 3) Agis in this year's campaign twice penetrated to Olympia and the Alpheus.

δυσμικίε. This growing hostility towards Sparta, which culminated in the outbreak of the Corinthian war, is noteworthy. Still only the Boeotians and Corinthians dared to refuse the usual contingents required of them.

§ 25. περιόντι δὶ τῷ ἐνιαντῷ, better περιώντι. Classen (in a note on Thuc. i. 30 περιώντι τῷ θέρει) has shown that the phrase can only mean 'when the year was drawing to a close,' i.e. about February or March, since Xenophon like Thucydides begins his year about our April: cp. Introd. pp. xxxvi, xliv.

καὶ οἱ ᾿Αθηναίοι: Cp. iii. I. 4.

Αὐλῶνος: on the river Neda in the borderland between Elis and Messenia.

Maxiorio... Mapyareis. The two first-mentioned towns were in Triphyllia to the S. of the Alpheus; the three last towns in Pisatis to the N. of that river.

έχόμενοι, 'next neighbours.' τὸν ποταμόν: the Alpheus.

§ 26. τὸ ἄστυ, i. e. Elis: so too τὴν πόλιν in the next section.

έπισιτισμός. Not only was Elis the most fertile part of the Peloponnesus, but it had suffered from no invasion since 420 B. C. (Thuc. v. 49) and then the invaders had penetrated no further than Lepreum.

§ 27. περί Κυλλήνην: the seaport of Elis.

βουλόμενοι ... †δι' αὐτῶν † προσχωρῆσαι. The words as they stand in the text seem untranslateable; but if, with Schäfer, δι' αὐτῶν be altered into δι' αὐτῶν, they may perhaps be translated 'wishing by themselves alone (i.e. without the participation of the opposite faction) to go over to the Lacedaemonians': cp. Polyb. iii. 80 σπουδίζων δι' αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὸ προτέρημα καὶ μὴ προσδίξασθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ τὴν ἴσην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, and Critical Note.

οί περί Χενίαν. Pausanias (iii. 8. 4) tells the story as follows: Σενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἡλεῖος Ἅριδί τε ίδια ξένος και Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενος ἐπανέστη τῷ δήμφ σὰν τοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι: πρὶν δὲ Ἦγιν και τὰν στρατὰν ἀφίχθαι σφισιν ἀμύνοντας, Θρασυδαίος προεστηκὼς τότε τοῦ Ἡλείων δήμου μάχη Χενίαν και τοὺς σὰν αὐτῷ κρατήσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πύλεως. τον λεγίμενον, ' who proverbially was said.'

έξ olkias: whose house it was, Xenophon leaves indeterminate. τῷ τοῦ δί,μου προστάτη, cp. i. 7. 2 note.

§ 28. περιεπλήσθη ἡ οἰκία . . . δ ἡγεμών. On account of the lameness of the comparison many commentators have supposed there to be some corruption in the text. Schwabe suggested περιεκλήσθη (or περιεκλείσθη), excising ἡ οἰκία, but this hardly seems to be any improvement.

§ 29. αὖ...πάλιν: the former belongs to ἀπιών, the latter to διέβη. διῆκεν: 1st aor. from διίημ.

397-396 B.C.

§ 30. Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον, in apposition to τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις: the other three towns next mentioned were in the Pisatis.

'Arpapelous: the inhabitants of the district east of Elis, which included Lasion.

μεταξύ governs the genitives Ηραίας και Μακίστου: for its position Cp. iii. 5. 3 της ἀμφισθητησίμου χώρας Φωκεῦσί τε και ἐαυτοῖς.

'Hpaias, an Arcadian town on the upper Alpheus.

§ 31. οὐκ ἀρχαίου, cp. Paus. v. 9. 4; vi. 22. 2; Her. ii. 160. The Olympic games were under the care of the Pisatans until Ol. 50 (580 B. C.), when the Eleans were given the management of them. Since their συνοικισμός in 471 (Diod. xi. 54) the Eleans had formed a city state and the Pisatans were in comparison only χωρίται, though they never forgot their old claims to the administration of the festival; cp. vii. 4. 28.

συμμαχία. Pursuing the same policy, which had already proved successful against Athens and which some ten years later was adopted with equal success against Thebes, Sparta had thereby isolated Elis from all her neighbouring towns and reduced her to the position of a subject ally.

CHAPTER III

\$\forall 1-3. On the death of Agis his reputed son Leolychides and his brother Agesilaus disputed the succession. Through the influence of Lysander the state decided in favour of Agesilaus.
\$\forall 1-3. On the death of Agesilaus the influence of Lysander the state decided in favour of Agesilaus.

sacrificing, the seer warned him against a plot; five days later the Ephors were informed of a wide-spread conspiracy among the subject population, headed by Cinadon. §§ 8-11. The Ephors feared to arrest Cinadon openly, and sent him on a pretended mission to Aulon. On the road he was arrested and forced to disclose the names of his fellow-conspirators. He was brought to Sparta, where he and the ringleaders were put to death.

§ 1. ἀποθύσας: ἀπό in composition sometimes as here signifies the obligation to do the action expressed by the verb; cp. Anab. i. 1. 8 ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ.

'Ηραία: cp. iii. 2. 30.

σεμνοτέρας ή κατὰ ἄνθρωπον: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 9 al δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῆδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι δτι οὐχ ώς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ώς ήρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν: Her. vi. 58, 59 describes these honours at length.

al huipat: according to Her. l. c. 10 days.

viòs φάσκων "Aγιδος «Ira:. Plutarch (Alc. 23; Ages. 3) relates that Leotychides was a son of Alcibiades by Timaea, Agis' wife. Thucydides however (viii. 12, 45) does not allude to the story. Pausanias (iii. 8. 4) says that Agis on his death-bed acknowledged Leotychides as his son, but Plutarch (Ages. 3; Lys. 22) adds that he only did so in response to the tearful prayers of Leotychides and his friends.

dδελφός. Agesilaus was half-brother of Agis, being a son of Archidamus by his second wife, Eupolia: cp. Plut. Ages. 1.

§ 2. κα, Doric for αν: similarly ωs for ούτως.

έμε αν δέοι βασιλεύειν. This is Agesilaus' rejoinder.

τύ, Doric for σύ: so also Ποτειδάν for Ποσειδών, σευ for σου, ψευδομένω for ψευδομένου. In all other passages, where Xenophon reports conversations in Doric, as indeed in Ionic or Aeolic, except in iv. 4. 10, he adheres to the Attic forms.

λεγύμενος: cp. iii. 2. 27 note.

dφ' οὖ γάρ τοι, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.
§ 3. Διοπείθης: Plutarch gives the oracle (Ages. 3; Lys. 22):
φράζεο δή, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος ἐοῦσα,
μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστη χωλή βασιλεία.

δηρόν γάρ νοϊσοί σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι Φθισιβρότου τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδόμενον πολέμοιο. Agesilaus was lame in one foot.

Λύσανδρος. Now that Agis was dead and Pausanias more or less in disgrace (for he had only escaped condemnation for his conduct of the war against Athens in 403 through the votes of the judges being equal, Paus. iii. 5. 3), Lysander, whose commanding influence had been checked by the opposition of these two kings, saw a chance of coming once more to the front, if only he could procure the throne for his own nominee: for it was in this light he regarded Agesilaus, whose ἐραστής he had formerly been according to the Spartan custom, Plut. Lys. 22.

χωλεύσαι: see Critical Note.

Δν τοῦ γένους, i. e. of the royal family; cp. iv. 2. 9.

ol dφ' Hρακλόουs. For the descent of the Spartan kings cp. Her. vi. 52; vii. 204; viii. 131.

396-395 B.C.

§ 4. θύοντος αὐτοῦ: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 2 ἔθηκε (ὁ Αυκοῦργος) θύειν μεν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια, ὡς ἀπὸ (τοῦ) θεοῦ ὅντα.

§ 5. τῶν ὁμοίων, the citizens in full enjoyment of their political rights, opposed to the ὑπομείονες: cp. § 6, and Appendix, p. 335.

κελεύοι: the pres. opt. in *oratio obliqua* represents the imperf. in *oratio recta*: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.

Σπαρτιᾶται: in the sense of full Spartan citizens: cp. Appendix, p. 335.

d's τοις χωρίοις: 'in the country,' opposed to d's τῆ ἀγορφ and d's ταις όδοις.

έν έκάστφ [sc. τῷ χωρίφ]: ' on each estate.'

§ 6. αὐτοί, i. e. οἱ προστατεύοντες.

τφασαν. If τφασαν be retained in the text, it may perhaps be explained, notwithstanding the change in mood, as dependent upon ώς like συνειδείεν. This construction however is extremely harsh; and it is almost as easy to suppose that Xenophon for the sake of vividness has put the traitor's words into oratio recta. If on the other hand τφασαν be rejected, it seems necessary to alter αὐτοί into αὐτούς. Εφασαν at the beginning of § 7 is nearly as difficult.

etheor: . . περιοίκοις: cp. Appendix, p. 335. The υπομείονες are only mentioned in this passage.

μη οδχ: the double negative is due to the notion of hindrance in κρύπτειν: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 811.

Δμῶν ἐσθίειν. Proverbial. Hom. Il. iv. 34:

εί δε σύ γ' είσελθοῦσα πύλας και τείχεα μακρά

ώμον βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον.

cp. Anab. iv. 8. 14 τούτους, ην πως δυνώμεθα, και ώμους δεί καταφαγείν.

§ 7. ἔφασαν: the indicative is apparently used as more expressive

than the regular optative.

τὸν δέ, i. e. ἔψη ὁ εἰσαγγείλας τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰπεῖν. The particle δέ is frequently used to introduce the consequent: cp. iv. 1. 33 εἰ οὖν ἐγὰ μὴ γιγνώσκω ... ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ με; Plat. Symp. 220 b καί ποτε ὅντος πάγου ... οὖτος δ' ἐν τούτοις ἐξῆει. Madvig supposes that some words have slipped out of the text, like αὐτὸς ἔψη τοῦτο ἔρεσθαι: cp. Critical Note.

ol . . . συντεταγμένοι, seems to mean the definitely organized conspirators, and not, as Büchsenschütz takes it, those enrolled for the Spartan military service: cp. vi. 4. 11; 5. 29.

[ἔφασάν γε], seems inexplicable: cp. Critical Note.

τῷ δ' δχλφ: dative of the possessor: in the following words Xenophon has suddenly changed the construction for the sake of greater vividness.

els του σίδηρου, i.e. to the place where articles of iron were kept: cp. Pollux, x. 19 ol 'Αττικοί ἀπό τῶν πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὰ χωρία ώνόμαζου, λέγοντες εἰς τοὖψου καὶ εἰς τὰ μύρα καὶ εἰς τὰ υλορόν τυρὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

δπλα . . . ἀρκοῦντα: proleptic, 'implements which would serve as weapons.'

ἐπιδημεῖν, 'to stay in the city,' so as to be ready for action.

§ 8. ἐσκεμμένα . . . λέγειν: 'that he was describing a fully elaborated scheme.'

μικράν . . . ἐκκλησίαν: cp. Appendix, p. 341.

συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων: συλλεγόμενοι must be taken as middle, with the partitive genitive without τινάς (cp. iii. 1. 4) for its object. Trans.; 'the Ephors summoning to themselves some of the Senators.'

Aulana: the district in the NW. of Messenia.

σκυτάλη: cp. Plut. Lys. 19 έστι δὲ ἡ σκυτάλη τοιοῦτον. ἐπὰν έκπέμπωσι ναύαρχον ή στρατηγόν οί έφοροι, ξύλα δύο στρογγύλα μήκος καί πάχος ακριβώς απισώσαντες, ώστε ταίς τομοίς έφορμόζειν πρός διληλα, τὸ μὲν αὐτοὶ φυλάττουσι, θάτερον δὲ τῷ πεμπομένφ διδόασι. ταύτα δὲ τὰ ξύλα σκυτάλας καλούσιν. δταν οδν ἀπόρρητόν τι καὶ μέγα φράσαι βουληθώσι, βιβλίον ώσπερ Ιμάντα μακρόν και στενόν ποιούντες περιελίττουσι την παρ' αυτοίς σκυτάλην, ουδέν διάλειμμα ποιούντες, άλλα παυταχόθεν κύκλφ την επιφάνειαν αυτής τῷ βιβλίφ καταλαμβάνοντες. τούτο δὲ ποιήσαντες δ βόυλονται καταγράφουσιν είς το βιβλίον δσπερ έστι τη σκυτάλη περικείμενον όταν δε γράψωσιν, άφελόντες το βιβλίον δευ του ξύλου πρός τον στρατηγόν αποστέλλουσι. δεξάμενος δε έκεινος άλλως μέν ούδεν αναλέξασθαι δύναται των γραμμάτων συναφήν ούκ έχόντων, άλλα διεσπασμένων, την δέ παρ' αύτφ σκυτάλην λαβών το τμήμα τοῦ βιβλίου περὶ αὐτὴν περιέτεινεν, ώστε τῆς ελικος els τάξιν όμοίως ἀποκαθισταμένης ἐπιβάλλοντα τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ δεύτερα κύκλφ τὴν δψιν έπάγειν τὸ συνεχές ἀνευρίσκουσαν. καλείται δὲ δμωνύμως τῷ ξύλφ σκυτάλη το βιβλίον, ώς τῷ μετροῦντι το μετρούμενον.

§ 9. ὑπηρετήκει δὶ ... τοιαῦτα: for a description of the Spartan κρυπτεία cp. Plut. Lyc. 28.

έρομένου: for gen. abs. without a subject cp. ii. 4. I.

Iππαγρετών: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

αὐτοίς, i. e. the Ephors.

όπως . . . eldein: for the pres. opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 339.

§ 10. τὸ μέγεθος: accus. of respect: οἰκ ήδεσαν ὁπόσον τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ μέγεθος εἶη: cp. Plat. Rep. iv. 423 b δσην δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος τὴν πόλιν ποιείσθαι.

πρώτον . . . πρίν like πρότερον . . . πρίν.

dποπέμπει»: the object τὰ γεγραμμένα δνόματα is to be supplied from γράψωντες.

ούτω ἔσχον . . . πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, 'were so concerned about the matter'; cp. Plat. Prot. 352 b πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐπιστήμην;

τοις επ' Αύλωνος, i. c. τοις των νέων έπ' Αύλωνος πεμπομένοις.

§ 11. dπίγραψε: the legal term for dictating what another man writes down.

Tiσnμενόν. Is he to be identified with the soothsayer of § 4? εἶναι: dependent upon βουλόμενος.

CHAPTER IV

\$5 1-4. News coming of a large fleet being fitted out in Phoenicia, Agesilaus, instigated by Lysander, offered to lead an expedition into Asia. The Spartans and their allies consented. Like Agamemnon, he went to offer sacrifice at Aulis, but was prevented by the Bosotarchs. He met his forces at Gerastus and sailed to Ephesus. \$\$ 5, 6. Agesilaus demanded the autonomy of the Asiatic Greeks. Tissaphernes induced him to consent to a truce, while he consulted the Persian king: really however the satrap only asked for reinforcements. \$\$ 7-10. The Asiatic Greeks paid court to Lysander rather than to Agesilaus. The king in revenge thwarted all their wishes. Thereon Lysander persuaded him to send him to the Hellespont, where he induced the Persian Spithridates to revolt. \$\$ 11-15. Tissaphernes declared war upon Agesilaus, who at once summoned his contingents to Ephesus. The satrap moved his infantry into Caria, but posted his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. Agesilaus however marched northwards into Phrygia, gathering rich booty. His cavalry were defeated in a skirmish near Dascyleum. On his return to the sea he took speedy means to improve this arm of his forces. \$\$ 16-19. In the spring Agesilaus mustered his troops at Ephesus, and drilled them by military exercises and \$\$ 20-24. Agesilaus appointed four of the new Spartan commissioners to various commands. Tissaphernes posted his troops as before, This year however the king really marched upon Sardis. At the Pactolus he was met by the Persian cavalry: but he easily defeated them, and captured their camp full of booly. §§ 25, 26. Tissaphernes, being suspected of treachery, was beheaded by Tithraustes, who had been sent to supersede him. The new satrap offered autonomy to the Greek cities, provided that they paid the usual tribute, and induced Agesilaus to move into Pharnabasus' territory, until he had consulted the Spartan government as to the offer. \$\$ 27-29. Agesilaus, being entrusted with the command of the navy, appointed Pisander admiral and collected a new fleet of 120 ships.

§ 1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: cp. Ages. 1. 6 ἄρτι δὲ ὅντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῆ ἀρχῆ ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς άθροίζων, and Plut. Ages. 6 τοῦ δὲ ᾿Αγεσιλάσυ τὴν βασιλείαν νεωστὶ παρειληφότος ἀπήγγελλόν τινες with iii. 3. 4.

τριήρεις Φοινίσσας. Isocrates (ix. 55) represents Conon the exiled Athenian general and his friend Evagoras the tyrant of Salamis as persuading the Persian satraps, who had fared so badly in their recent campaigns against the Lacedaemonians, μη κατὰ γῆν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ποιείσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, alleging that εἰ κατὰ θάλατταν κρατήσειαν, ἄπασαν την Ἑλλάδα τῆς νίκης ταύτης μιθέξειν. Similarly Plut. Ages. 6 says that the object of the expedition was

Auxedatuorlous despaheir της θαλάσσης. Pausanias (i. 3. 1) adds that it was by Evagoras' personal influence with Artaxerxes, that Conon was appointed admiral of the fleet: cp. iv. 3. 11. Diodorus (xiv. 39) tells the story somewhat differently: according to him, Pharnabazus just before his joint campaign with Tissaphernes (i. e. in 397: iii. 2. 12-20) went up to Artaxerxes and persuaded him to equip a fleet and appoint Conon its admiral: thereupon the satrap sailed to Cyprus, ordered the native princes to equip 100 vessels, and offered Conon the command. Conon accepted, and so soon as 40 ships were ready, crossed over to Cilicia, there to complete his preparations. Diodorus erroneously records these events under 399 B.C., though he does not resume them again till 396 (xiv. 79) without accounting at all for the interval: cp. § 28 note.

ἀναγόμενον: for the position of the participle cp. iv. 3. 2 al συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμίν τοὺς στρατιώτας; v. 2. 4 τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως, &c.

ώς... παρασκευαζομένων: for the participial construction in the genitive cp. iv. 3. 14; 5. 8; vii. 2. 5.

Tisonopéopous: Herodas naturally reported the name of Tissaphernes rather than of Pharnabazus, because the former was commander-in-chief of the whole country. Cor. Nepos (Con. 2) gives an extraordinarily garbled version of the story.

§ 2. τὸ . . . ἀναβάν: cp. iii. 1. 1, 2.

πείθει τὸν 'Αγησίλαον. According to Plutarch (Ages. 23) Lysander urged his friends in Asia to send an embassy to Sparta to ask for Agesilaus' appointment.

τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατών. In 429 B.C. the Spartans sent three σύμβουλοι to attend their unsuccessful admiral Cnemus, Thuc. ii. 85. Again in 418 after Agis' ill success against Argos νόμον ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, δε οδπω πρότερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖε' δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατών προσείλοντο αὐτῷ ξυμβούλους, ἄνευ ὧν μὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπάγειν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Thuc. v. 63. The thirty Spartiatae sent out with Agesilaus were in the following year succeeded by a second thirty despatched by the home government, cp. § 20 and Appendix, p. 337.

τὰς δεκαρχίας... διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους: cp. iii. 2. 20 note. After the capture of Athens the two kings Agis and Pausanias had successfully combined to crush the influence of Lysander; but no definite measures are known, whereby the Ephors displaced the Decarchies, which he had set up in the Asiatic cities: ii. 2. 5; 3. 7; iii. 5. 13. Plutarch (Ages. 6) simply says of them—κακῶς χρώμενοι καὶ βιαίως τοῖς πράγμασιν εξέπιπτον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀπέθνησκον. The reference in § 7 throws no further light on the matter.

marplovs πολιτείας, i.e. as they existed before the Athenian Empire: cp. § 7.

§ 3. έξαμήνου, SC. χρόνου.

τὰ διαβατήρια. Xenophon describes these sacrifices Resp. Lac. 13. 2. First at Sparta the king sacrificed to Zeus Agetor; then again at the frontiers he sacrificed to Zeus and Athena.

ταῖε πόλεσι. Pausanias (iii. 9. 1-3) states that Thebes, Corinth, and Athens under various pretences refused to send contingents: cp. iii. 5. 5 οὐδ' εἰε τὴν 'Ασίαν 'Αγηπιλάφ συνεστράτευσι (sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι).

όπου παρείναι, i.e. Gerastus (§ 4) in the southern point of Euboea. θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι. Plutarch (Ages. 6; Pel. 21) tells the story with many embellishments, which were unknown even to Pausanias (iii. 9. 1, 2).

§ 4. βοιώταρχοι, the presiding magistrates of the Boeotian League, who were elected annually: cp. v. 2. 25 note; Thuc. iv. 91; Appendix, p. 357.

δσον . . . πλείστον: for δσον with the superlative and δύναμαι cp. ii. 2. 9 δσους έδύνατο πλείστους.

§ 5. ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο: cp. Cor. Nep. Ages. 2 tanta celeritate usus est ut prius in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit quam regii satrapae eum scirent profectum.

elvas dependent on desperos.

§ 6. $\Delta \epsilon p \kappa \nu \lambda i \delta q$. The presence of Dercylidas at Ephesus makes it probable that his army had been incorporated with that of Agesilaus; cp. iii. 2. 20 note.

έμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς: Cp. Ages. I. 10 σπονδάς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, δρ σάμενος τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας: Polyaen. ii. I. 9.

- § 7. συντεταραγμένων . . . των πολιτειών: cp. Ages. 1. 37 παραλαβών πάσας πόλεις έφ' ds ἄρξων έξέπλευσε στασιαζούσας διά τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινηθήναι, έπεὶ 'Αθηναίοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔληξαν, ἐποίησεν ώστ' ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων ἔως αὐτὸς παρῆν όμονόως πολιτευομένας καὶ εὐδυίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι: cp. iii. 2. 20; 4. 2 notes.
- § 8. ἔμηνε, transitive in a causal sense. It is never used except here in the meaning 'to madden with anger' (cp. Eur. I. A. 580;

Ion 520; Aristoph. Thesm. 561), though frequently so used in the passive: cp. Anab. ii. 5. 10 el δè δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν. By the poets (cp. Eur. &c. &c.) this agrist is used in the simple sense 'to drive mad': cp. Critical Note.

έδήλωσεν, SC. ό Αγησίλαος.

ol . . . άλλοι τριάκοντα: Lysander was one of the thirty.

iπδ τοῦ φθδ-ου: the article is used because the cause of the φθδνοs has already been sufficiently explained.

τῆς βασιλείας δγκηρότερον διάγων, i.e. behaving himself more pompously than would be eem even the king: cp. Mem. ii. 1. 22 δστε δυκείν δρθοτέραν (τὴν γυναίκα) τῆς φύστως εἶναι.

ήττωμένους, i.e. 'disappointed': cp. infr. έλαττον έξοιεν.

§ 9. τῆ ἀτιμία: for the dative cp. v. 1. 29 χαλεπῶε ἔφερον τῷ πολέμφ. Similarly with ἐπὶ and the dative vii. 4. 21 χαλεπῶε . . . φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῆ πολιορεία. The more usual construction is with the accusative. According to Plut. Lys. 23 Agesilaus made Lysander his κρεοδαίτης.

μὲν ῗρα intensive, without a corresponding δέ: cp. Anab. vii. 6. 11 ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἄνθρωπον ὅντα προσδοκῶν δεῖ.

τοὺς αθέρντας, sc. ἐμέ. Breitenbach wishes to emphasize the difference between ποιεῦν and πράττειν, translating, 'You are behaving towards me more reasonably than I acted (i.e. when I helped you to the throne).' But Büchsenschütz is probably right in thinking that the two words are used almost indifferently, adducing as parallels Mem. i. 2. 29 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιηρὸν ποιῶν ἐκείνους φαῦλα πράττυντας ὁρῶν ἐπήνει, δικαίως ἄν ἐπετιμῶτο and Dem. iv. 5 οὐδὲν ἄν ῶν νυνὶ πεποίηκε ἔπραξεν. Plutarch seems to have read λέγεις instead of ποιεῖς, Lys. 23 ᾿Αλλ' ἴσως μίν, ὧ ᾿Αγησίλαε, σοὶ λέλεκται κάλλιον ἡ ἐμοὶ πέπρακται, and Ages. 8 ᾿Αλλ' ἴσως, ἔφη, ταῦτά σοι λέλεκται βέλτιον ἡ ἐμοὶ πέπρακται.

έκ τοῦ λοιποῦ, 'still at any rate.'

έν καιρφ σοι είναι: Plut. Ages. 8 εσομαί σοι χρήσιμος.

§ 10. Σπιθριδάτην: cp. Anab. vi. 5. 7. Spithridates helped Pharnabazus in trying to hinder the ravages of the Ten Thousand upon the Bithynians.

έλαττούμενον τι: cp. Ages. 3. 3 Σπιθριδάτης μέν γε ὁ Πέρσης εἰδως δτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν τὴν βασιλέως ἔπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ΄ αὐτοῦ ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὕβριν νομίσας τοῦτο 'Αγησιλάφ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναϊκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχεἰρισε.

draβιβασύμετος, perhaps 'having put Spithridates and his son on board ship.' The force of the middle voice is by no means clear: cp. Thuc. vii. 33, 35. Agesilaus was at Ephesus.

§ 11. καταβάντι: for the position of the participle cp. § 1 note. οἱ ἄλλοι: for this idiomatic use of ἄλλοι cp. ii. 4. 9.

ἀγοράν. The Greek soldier usually provisioned himself at his own cost, but it was the duty of his general to take care that provisions should be forthcoming at the various halting places on the march.

§ 12. νομίσας... νομίζων: cp. iv. 8. 25: the aorist denotes a more definite belief than the present participle.

τἀναντία, adverbial: cp. Anab.iv. 3. 32 τἀναντία στρέψωντες ἔφευγον.
τάς τ' ἐν τŷ πορεία. Most editors here insert from Ages. I. 1. 16 ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλωμβάνων ἦγεν καὶ τάς: cp. Critical Note. Cp. § 11, whence it appears that these δυνάμεις must have been mostly the Aeolian and Hellespontine contingents.

§ 13. Δασκυλείου: SE. of Cyzicus, on the river Odryses, where stood the residence of Pharnabazus, iv. 1. 15.

προϊόντος αὐτοῦ. Most editors have accepted Leonclavius' correction of προϊόντος into προϊόντες and Koppen's correction of αὐτοῦ into αὐτῷ, comparing v. 4. 59 προήσσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταί, and vii. 2. 22. αὐτῷ is to be taken as a kind of ethical dative: cp. Critical Note.

'Paθίνην, mentioned along with Spithridates as one of Pharnabazus' officers, Anab. vi. 5. 7.

τούς πρώτους, i.e. the front not broader than twelve men.

πλέον = els πλέον: cp. vi. 4. 12, the same words; Oecon. 21. 3 πλείον $\hat{\eta}$ έν διπλασίφ χρόνφ.

- § 14. κρανέϊνα παλτά: for the superiority of these weapons cp. De Re Equest. 12. 12 ἀντί γε μὴν δόρατος καμακίνου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ δύσφορόν ἐστι, τὰ κρανέϊνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν.
- § 15. $\delta \lambda_0 \beta a$. The absence of one of the lobes in the liver of the victim was regarded as a most unfavourable sign: cp. Dict. Antiq. i. 360, 646.

έπὶ θάλατταν: Diod. xiv. 79 ὑπὸ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἀνέκαμψεν els Εφεσον; Xen. Ages. I. 18 dilates upon the richness of the booty.

ώς . . . δίοι: for this exceptional use of ώς cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ἐπποτροφεῖν: epexegetical infinitive. κατέλεξε, 'drew up a list of.'

emolησεν, κ.τ.λ., 'thus caused these preparations to be made as zealously as if they were eagerly seeking substitutes to die for them.'

395-394 B.C.

§ 16. ὑπίφαινε. Xenophon uses both the active and the middle in this intransitive sense: cp. v. 3. 1.

σωμάτων: for the genitive dependent upon ἔχοι constructed with an adverb cp. ii. I. 14 ἀναμνί,σας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρός, κ.τ.λ., iv. 5. 15 διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἔκαστος εἶχεν: it specifies the object of the relation expressed by ἔχειν and thể adverb.

- § 17. δοτε τὴν πόλιν κ.τ.λ., 'so that one might really have thought that the whole city was turned into an arsenal.' This passage is alluded to by Polybius x. 20. 7.
- § 18. δπου... σέβοιντο. Although there is no historic tense in the principal clause, the optative is used instead of the more usual subjunctive with δν, as v. 2. 16 after δπως: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

§ 19. μαλακούς: Ages. 1. 28 πίονας.

§ 20. διάδοχοι: cp. § 2 note. Herippidas seems also to have been one of the thirty both for the preceding year 396, and for the next year, 394 (iii. 4. 6; iv. 2. 8), unless indeed he accompanied Agesilaus during the first and third years only in a private capacity.

inl robs Kupelous: Herippidas seems to have succeeded Xenophon himself in their command, cp. iii. 2. 7. Xenophon however remained in attendance upon Agesilaus and accompanied him on his return march at least as far as Coronea: Anab. v. 3. 6; Plut. Ages. 18.

τὴν συντομωτάτην, SC. όδάν.

ểπὶ τὰ κράτιστα: i.e. Lydia, cp. § 21; Plut. Ages. 10. For the neuter adjective as substantive cp. Anab. i. 8. 4 τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος.

aὐτόθεν: 'at once': temporal, as ii. 2. 13.

§ 21. πάλιν: cp. § 11.

els τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον: Diod. xiv. 80 represents Agesilaus as marching els τὸ Καῦστρου πεδίον καὶ τὴν περὶ Σίπυλον χώραν and ravaging the country as far as Sardis; then as turning back and engaging Tissaphernes' whole army, infantry as well as cavalry, ἀνὰ μέσον . . . τῶν τε Σάρδεων καὶ Θυβάρνων. It is however manifest from Xenophon's narrative that the Persian infantry were far away

in Caria. Plutarch follows Xenophon, Pausanias (iii. 9. 3) is more like Diodorus.

§ 22. εἶπε: most editors insert ὁ ἡγεμών from Ages. 1. 36, as evidently the commander of the Persian cavalry (not Tissaphernes, cp. § 25) must be meant.

domapμérous: instead of διασπαρμένους: so iv. 1. 17; vi. 2. 17: cp. Critical Note.

- § 23. την μέν φάλαγγα, i. e. the army as a whole: the following clauses state the orders given to its several sections. Then παρήγγειλε δὲ καί, which should have come first, is put in as an afterthought; for it is evident from the following τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἐππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι that the Greek cavalry charged in advance of their main army.

According to Diod. xiv. 80 Agesilaus' victory was mainly due to a successful ambush.

κύκλφ πάντα, κ.τ.λ., 'formed a cordon round all that was in the camp, whether belonging to friend or foe.'

δ, subject to ηδρε, 'fetched,' 'produced': cp. Oecon. 2. 3 πόσον δν οἷει εὐρεῖν τὰ σὰ κτήματα πωλούμενα; for these spoils ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοῖν cp. iv. 3. 21 and Ages. 1. 34.

καὶ . . . δέ after τε, as ii. 4. 6.

al κάμη\οι: not afterwards mentioned.

§ 25. Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσι». This statement of an eyewitness is doubtless to be preferred: but both Diodorus (l. c.) and Plutarch represent Tissaphernes as commanding his cavalry in person at the first successful skirmish, and the former definitely states that after this defeat—ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης Τισσαφέρνης... εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεχώρησε.

yrous, in the sense of 'being of opinion,' 'judging,' is here as in ii. 3. 25 constructed with an infinitive.

κακῶς φέρεσθαι, κ.τ.λ., 'of his affairs being in evil plight': cp. Oecon. 5. 17 εδ φερομένης τῆς γεωργίας ἔρρωνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἄπασαι. According to Diod. l.c. Artaxerxes was also incited to punish Tissaphernes by his mother Parysatis, who had never forgiven the satrap for accusing her younger son Cyrus of designs against his brother: Anab. i. 1. 3; Hell. iii. 1. 3.

Τιθραύστην: described by Nepos (Conon 3) as 'chiliarcham qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat.'

dπότεμνει . . . τὴν κεφαλήν: at Colossae, Diod. l.c. But Polyaenus (vii. 16) says that he was treacherously seized at Colossae and carried to Celaenae, where he was beheaded.

λέγοντας, 'who said,' instead of the usual ἐροῦντας: cp. ii. 4- 37-

αὐτονόμους, i. e. undisturbed in their local affairs.

§ 26. ἀλλά, 'still,' 'at any rate,' just as after εἰ μή: cp. Aristoph. Achar. 1033 στὸ δ' ἀλλά μοι σταλαγμόν εἰρήνης ενα ένστάλαξον.

εως αν πύθη: according to Diod. xiv. 80 εξαμηνιαίους ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσατο. Isocrates (iv. 153) however calls it eight months, τὴν μέν γε μετ' 'Αγησιλάου στρατιὰν ὁκτὰ μῆνας ταῖς αὐτῶν δαπάναις διέθρεψαν.

§ 27. Κύμης: probably Cyme in Aeolis is meant.

τρχεται καταστήσασθαι. The infinitives may either be regarded as the subjects to τρχεται or as dependent upon it used impersonally: cp. Ages. 1. 36 ηλθεν αὐτψ̂ βοηθείν.

καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ: cp. Plut. Ages. 10 σκυτάλην δέχεται παρὰ τῶν οἶκοι τελῶν κελεύουσαν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ· τοῦτο μόνφ πάντων ὑπῆρξεν ᾿Αγησιλάφ: Paus. iii. 9. 6.

δπως γιγνώσκοι, 'as he might think fit': cp. iv. 5. 5 γνώναι δ τι βούλοιτο περὶ σφών.

ώς ... εἶναι: ὡς like ὅτι is several times used by Xenophon with an infinitive where a finite verb would be more usual, especially when a dependent clause comes in between the particle and the verb: cp. ii. 2. 2 εἰδώς, ὅτι ... ἔσεσθαι; vi. 5. 42 ἐλπίζειν ὡς ... γενήσεσθαι.

 $\kappa a \theta^* \tilde{\epsilon} r$: lit. 'the force belonging to both being at one,' i.e. 'both forces being united': cp. v. 2. 16.

§ 28. if $\delta v = i\kappa \tau \sigma i \tau \omega v \delta c$, i. e. consisting of those ships which, &c.' Xenophon has said nothing about the Lacedaemonian fleet since the orders given to the admiral Pharax in 397 to support Dercylidas in an attack upon Caria (iii. 2. 12-14). According to Diod. (xiv. 79, cp. § 1 note) in 396 Pharax with 120 ships besieged Conon in Caunus, who was in command of only 40 ships, but on the Caunians receiving reinforcements from Artaxerxes and Pharnabazus he was obliged to raise the siege and retire to Rhodes.

Meanwhile Conon, now at the head of 80 ships, had sailed to the Cnidian Chersonese. The Rhodians thereupon revolted, expelled Pharax, and opened their harbour to Conon. Agesilaus must therefore have received these orders from home about strengthening the Lacedaemonian fleet with a view to crushing the rising power of Conon before it was too late: cp. iv. 3. 10 note; Paus. vi. 7. 2; Justin vi. 2.

§ 29. Πείσανδρον... ἀπειρότερον: Plutarch (Ages. 10) also censures the king, άμαρτεῖν ἔδοξεν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρων καὶ φρονιμωτέρων παρόντων οὐ σκεψάμενος τὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα τιμῶν καὶ τῆ γυναικὶ χαριζόμενος, ἦς ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Πείσανδρος, ἐκείνφ παρέδωκε τὴν ναυαρχίαν.

CHAPTER V

- §§ 1, 2. Tithraustes sent Timocrates to Greece to stir up war against Sparta. The latter distributed fifty talents in Thebes, Corinth and Argos. §§ 3-7. The Thebans stirred up The Athenians took none of the money. a quarrel between the Locrians and Phocians. The Thebans supported the former: the latter appealed to Sparta. The Lacedaemonians were glad of a pretext to declare war against the Thebans, and sent Lysander forward to collect forces at Haliartus, where Pausanias was to meet him with the §§ 7-16. The Thebans sent envoys to Athens, who Peloponnesian army. advocated for many reasons an alliance between the two states. The Assembly voted to enter into a defensive alliance, and Thrasybulus communicated the decree to the Thebans. \$\$ 17-21. War began. Lysander without waiting for Pausanias attacked Haliartus and was slain, whereupon his allied forces \$\$ 21-25. Pausanias arrived on the scene and next day the Athenian contingent joined the Thebans. The Spartans applied to the Thebans for the recovery of the corpses, which was only granted on condition that they left the country. On his return Pausanias was condemned to death, but escaped to Tegea.
- § I. τὸν ᾿Αγησίλαον . . . ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίας: for the warlike operations of Agesilaus in the autumn of 395 in Phrygia and Paphlagonia cp. iv. I. I-28.

αlρήσειν, 'to subjugate': Paus. iii. 9. Ι Δακεδαιμονίοις ήρεσε διαβήναι ναυσίν ές την 'Ασίαν 'Αρταξέρξην τον Δαρείου αίρήσοντας.

τί χρφτο, cp. ii. I. 2.

Τιμοκράτην τὸν 'Ρόδιον: Rhodes had recently revolted from Sparta: cp. iii. 4. 28 note.

τοῖς προεστηκόσιν: cp. i. 7. 2 note. Plut. Ages. 15 calls them of δημαγωγοί.

ἐν Θήβαις. The Thebans seem to have used the Persian gold to coin money bearing the impress of Heracles and the Snake. Then after the battle of Cnidus, 394, many of the Asiatic states—Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasos, Samos, Ephesus, and later on Lampsacus, Cyzicus, and even Croton and Zacynthus in Europe—adopted this type, entering, it would seem, into some close relationship with Thebes, and forming themselves into some sort of League, in all probability to protect themselves against Sparta (cp. A. Holm, History of Greece, vol. iii. 48; Head, Coins, pp. 40, 41). The coins of Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasos, Samos and Ephesus are inscribed with ΣΥΝ.

'Ανδροκλείδα: cp. § 4; v. 2. 31, 35.

'Ισμηνία: cp. v. 2. 25-35.

Γαλαξιδώρφ is not further mentioned.

Τιμολά φ : cp. iv. 2. II; he advised the allies to march upon Sparta, 394 B. C.

Πολυάνθα . . . Κύλων: not otherwise mentioned.

§ 2. 'Αθηναίοι . . . οὐ μεταλαβόντες: Plut. Ages. 15 states the contrary, τοσούτων (τοξοτών, i.e. darics) γὰρ εἰς 'Αθήνας καὶ Θήβας κομισθύντων καὶ διαδοθύντων τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς: and Pausanias (iii. 9. 8) actually names Cephalus and Epicrates as the recipients. Curiously enough Head (Coins, p. 314) is of opinion that a gold coinage was first instituted at Athens about 394.

tre airūr ἄρχεσθαιt: no meaning can be extracted out of these words; cp. Critical Note.

els...πόλεις διέβαλλον, 'began covertly to attack the Lace-daemonians in their respective states,' Dakyns. For els instead of πρός cp. ii. 1. 2 μή τινα καὶ els τοὺς διλλους Έλληνας διαβολήν σχοῖεν.

συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις. In the following sections Xenophon speaks only of the league formed between the Thebans and Athenians. But Diodorus (xiv. 81, 82) relates that after the death of Lysander the Corinthians and Argives also joined the league, and their example was speedily followed by the whole of Euboea, the Leucadians, Acarnanians, Ambraciots, and Chalcidians.

The results of these alliances are apparent in the list of forces opposed to Sparta at the battle of Corinth: cp. iv. 2. 17; 3. 3 note.

§ 3. ol ἐν ταῖς Θηβαῖς . . . πείθουσι. Similarly Isocrates (xiv. 27) γενομένου δὲ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν τούτων (the Thebans). Grote (ix. 113) calls in question this statement, that the Thebans instigated the war between the Locrians and Phocians, thinking that it is due to Xenophon's philo-Laconian and miso-Theban tendency: but the evidence from inscriptions (cp. § 1 note) shows that the Thebans at this time were carrying on a far more energetic foreign policy than had been previously supposed. Xenophon's account moreover is borne out by Pausanias (iii. 9. 9), so that Diodorus' jejune version of the affair (xiv. 81), on which Grote relies, but which says nothing about the Locrians at all, cannot be taken to counterbalance the united testimony of the two other authorities.

λύειν . . . συμμάχους: for the expression cp. Thuc. v. 61 δμως γδρ τὸς σπονδὸς ὅκνουν λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

έκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου . . . τελίσαι, 'to levy money upon the debateable land claimed both by the Phocians and themselves (i. e. the Locrians).' For the position of ἀμφισβητησίμου, on which the two datives depend, cp. iii. 2. 30.

πολλαπλάσια, i.e. many times as much as the Locrians had seized.

§ 5. τῆς ἀντιλήψεως . . . ἐν Δεκελεία. These words must mean: 'the claim they put forward at Decelea to the tithe dedicated to Apollo,' i.e. at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War; cp. Justin v. 10. 12 interea Thebani Corinthiique legatos ad Lacedaemonios mittunt, qui ex manubiis portionem praedae communis belli periculique peterent. quibus negatis non quidem aperte bellum adversus Lacedaemonios decernunt, sed tacitis animis tantam iram concipiunt, ut subesse bellum intelligi posset. Plut. Lys. 27 τῆς δεκάτης ἀντεποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου Θηβαῖοι μόνοι, τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἡσυχαζόντων. As neither of these authorities mention Apollo or Decelea (indeed the booty, we learn, was conveyed by Lysander to Sparta), Breitenbach wishes to read τῆς δεκάτης τῆς ἐκ λείας.

έπὶ τὸν Πειραιά . . . μὴ συστρατεύειν: cp. ii. 4. 30.

lepà ... ξρριψαν: cp. iii. 4. 4.

ούδ' els . . . συνεστράτευον: cp. iii. 4. 3. This fact was not previously mentioned by Xenophon.

§ 6. \$\phi\text{poupoup}\cdots\cdots\cdot\text{poupoup}\cdot\cdots\cdot\text{cp.iii. 2. 23 note.} Pausanias (iii. 9. 11) relates that before the declaration of war the Athenians sent ambassadors to Sparta to implore the Lacedaemonians to refer the points in dispute to arbitration, but that the ambassadors were indignantly dismissed.

Λύσανδρον: Lysander must have returned to Sparta in the spring of 395 (cp. iii. 4. 20). According to Plutarch (Ages. 20; Lys. 24) he at once began organizing an extensive conspiracy against Agesilaus, which the king only discovered after his death.

Olraious Ral 'Hparketras. According to Diod. xiv. 38, in 399 B.C. Herippidas quelled a revolt which had arisen at Heraclea with great severity, and expelled the Oetaeans from their homes, to which they were restored by the Bocotians five years afterwards.

els 'Aliapror in the NW. of Boeotia. The design of the Spartans was to attack Boeotia on the north and south sides simultaneously.

'Ορχομενίους ἀπίστησε. Orchomenus was the second city of the Boeotian League and was always jealous of the Theban supremacy. Moreover, at this time her government was aristocratical, while Thebes was in the hands of the democrats. In 364 the Thebans razed the city to the ground; cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

§ 7. τὰ διαβατήρια: cp. iii. 4. 3 note.

ξεναγούς: Spartan officers, whose duty it was to collect and command the contingents from the allied states: cp. iv. 2. 19; v. 2. 7; Ages. 2. 10; Resp. Laced. 13. 4; Thuc. ii. 75 and Appendix, p. 349. λέγοντας: for the present instead of the future participle cp. ii. 4. 37.

§ 8. ώς ψηφισαμένων: for ώς with the genitive absolute cp. iii. 4. 1; vi. 5. 10. For the fact cp. ii. 2. 19.

καθήμενος in the assembly of the Peloponnesian allies.

έπὶ τὸν Πειραιά: cp. ii. 4. 30.

μ) συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖε. Curiously enough the Theban orator XEN. HELL,

is made by Xenophon to say nothing of the great services the Thebans rendered to Thrasybulus and the other Athenian democrats in exile at the time: cp. Plut. Lys. 27.

§ 9. raw in doren: the oligarchs in the city of Athens as opposed to the democrats in Peiraeus.

αφικόμενοι: cp. ii. 4. 28 ff.

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πολλή δυνάμει, the so-called military dative; cp. v. 2. 4. παρέδοσαν: cp. Thrasybulus' speech, ii. 4. 41.

τὸ . . . εἶναι, 'as far as they were concerned': infinitive absolute; cp. Anab. i. 6. 9 σχολή ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι τοὺε ἐβίλοντας φίλους εἶ ποιεῖν; Anab. vi. 6. 23 αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτφ ἀπολώλαμεν; Goodwin, M.T. 781. The perfect indicative ἀπολώλατε expresses the certainty of the result.

§ 10. εἰκὸς γενέσθαι: the aorist instead of the future and without ἄν expresses more immediate probability; cp. § 14, and Anab. iv. 6. 9 ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θυρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

ότι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, 'because they rule many'; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 377.

§ 11. 'Apyeio: for the hostility of Argos towards Sparta cp. Thuc. ii. 9; v. 28, 41, 69; and ii. 4. 1 note.

§ 12. 'Ηλείοι: cp. iii. 2. 30.

τί φῶμεν. The meaning is obvious: the construction requires some infinitive (e. g. γιγνώσκειν) to be supplied.

είλωτας άρμοστάς. Perhaps an oratorical exaggeration: no instance is known.

§ 13. εξηπατηκότες. The freedom of Hellas had been the Spartan watchword in the Peloponnesian War: cp. Thuc. ii. 8; iv. 85, 108, 121; v. 9.

άρμοστῶν... δέκα ἀνδρῶν. In Asia Lysander's decarchies seem all to have disappeared (cp. iii. 4. 2 note), although many of the harmosts still continued in power supported by Lacedaemonian garrisons; cp. iv. 8. 5. Moreover in Europe, Demosthenes (xviii. 96, quoted § 16) says, the Spartans at this time maintained harmosts and garrisons in the towns of Euboea, Boeotia, and Megara, and upon Aegina and other islands of the Aegean.

§ 14. ¶δη μεγίστους: ¶δη like δή strengthens the superlative; cp. Thuc. vi. 31 μέγιστος ¶δη διάπλους.

τῶν πώποτε, sc. γενομένων, which is usually expressed: cp. v. 4. I.

τῷ παντί strengthens the comparative έρρωμενεστέρως: cp. ii. 3. 22 πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα;

§ 15. Λακιδαιμονίων πλεονεξία: the abstract substantive is more emphatic than e. g. ὑβριστικὴ ἀρχή.

roμίζομεν . . . ήμετέρα, 'we think that we are inviting you to benefits far greater for your state than for ours'; for the position of μ είζω ἀγαθὰ . . . $\tau \hat{\eta}$ πόλει cp. § 3 ἀμφισβητησίμου.

§ 16. έψηφίσαντο βοηθείν. For the treaty cp. CIA. ii. 6; Lysias xvi. 13: it was made in the name of the Boeotians, the other Boeotian states acknowledging at the time the supremacy of Thebes. About the same time Athens concluded a treaty with the Opuntian Locrians: cp. CIA. ii. 7.

Θρασύβουλος, last mentioned ii. 4. 40-43.

ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα, i. e. communicating the decree to the Thebans by way of answer.

ἀταχίστου . . . Πειραιῶς: Dem. xviii. 96, alluding to the same event, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόστων καὶ τὰ κύκλφ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς κατεχόστων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εύβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς ʿΑλίαρτον.

§ 17. τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων, 'of the places in those parts': repeated, v. 1. 7.

έφθη τον Παυσανίαν: cp. Paus. iii. 5. 4.

§ 18. οὐκέτι . . ἔχων ἀνέμενε. The participial clause and verb form one notion, and thus are both negatived by οὐκέτι: 'he no longer waited quietly for': cp. Thuc. i. 141 ὅταν μήτε βουλευτηρίφ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι.

ineiθεν: 'tried to persuade.'.

§ 19. of Θηβαῖοι ... ἐβοήβουν: Plut. (Lys. 28) gives a rather different account. The Thebans had obtained information of his advance from a letter, addressed to Pausanias, to hasten his arrival, which had accidently fallen into their hands. Thereupon they marched to the aid of the town, part of their forces however remaining some distance outside. Lysander, after waiting the best part of the day for Pausanias, with his army posted on a hill in front of the town, at last advanced towards the wall. While the Thebans outside fell upon his rear, those within together with the Haliartians

suddenly threw open the gates, fell upon Lysander and slew him, and routed the rest with great loss.

οί τε δπλίται και ol Ιππείς: in apposition to ol Θηβαίοι.

όπότερα . . . εἶτε . . . εἴτε. The double interrogative is introduced by the usual ὁπότερα, which however is not followed by η, but the two clauses are separately expressed by εἶτε . . . εἶτε : cp. Isocr. xii. 76 ὁπότερον δ' εἶθ' ὑπὸ πάντων αἰρεθεὶς εἶτ' αὐτὸς κτησάμενος, οὐκ ἔχω λέγεω.

πρὸς τὰς πύλας: the accusative because of the idea of motion implied in ἔστηκε, 'has been stood at the gates.'

dποθανόντος: he was slain by Neochorus, a native of Haliartus; Plut. Lys. 29; de Pyth. orac. p. 408 b: cp. Paus. iii. 5. 5.

τὸ ὅρος: the Libethrion, a northern spur of Mount Helicon: cp. Paus. ix. 34. 4.

§ 20. ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτόνε: according to Diod. xiv. 81 the main body of the Boeotians halted at the foot of the hill and only two hundred of them continued the pursuit up its steep sides.

οί όπλιται: the Lacedaemonians.

αὐτῶν: the Boeotians.

πλείους ἡ διακόσιοι: Plut. (Lys. 28) says 300, who were thus in the forefront of the fight to clear themselves from the charge of Laconizing, which had been brought against them.

§ 21. drepairero: Plut. Lys. 29 ek Ilharaior els Georias nopevoulro.

έφασα», 'people said,' 'it was said': cp. vi. 2. 6; 4. 12; 5. 26.

§ 22. of Aθηναίοι: under Thrasybulus, to whom the Thebans on advancing to Haliartus had entrusted the defence of their city: Plut. Lys. 28.

τὸ ... μεῖζον φρόνημα ἐγένετο: notwithstanding the order of the words, τὸ φρόνημα must be subject, and μεῖζον predicate.

πολεμάρχους και πεντηκοντήρας: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

§ 23. λογιζόμενος . . . ελογίζοντο δι . . . διά πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς. An anacoluthon: the participial clause is resumed with an independent sentence ελογίζοντο δί.

(ol) dν τέλει: the officers previously mentioned, not the Ephors.

εῖη...ἀποκεχωρήκοι...ἡκολούθουν...στρατεύοιστο...εῖη...ἔκειυτο. The imperfect indicatives are inserted in these dependent clauses because they refer to definite and continuing facts, earlier in time than that expressed by $\lambda oylfoperos$ and $\ell \lambda oylforro$, which in oratio recta could themselves only be expressed by the imperfect tense.

rd δε αύτων όλίγον: for the weakness of the Lacedaemonian cavalry cp. vi. 4. 10.

τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. iii. I. 22 note.

ράδιον είη: the optative after δοτε because it is in oratio obliqua: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 605.

§ 24. ¿ψ ψτε ἀπιίται. The infinitive is used in its general signification so that no definite subject is added. In 424 B.C. after the battle of Delium the Thebans also refused to deliver up the Athenian corpses except under the like conditions. The Athenians asserted that such a condition was an act of impiety, and successfully maintained their point: Thuc, iv. 98.

dθύμως dπῆσαν: dπῆσαν is not idly repeated, because in the second sentence the chief idea is the contrast between dθύμως and ὑθριστικῶς.

el κal... ἐπιβalη, 'if any (Lacedaemonian) trespassed ever so little upon any of the lands by the wayside, they chased him back with blows into the roads.'

§ 25. ὑστερήσεων... ἐπειρᾶτο. The change of mood is not easily explicable: perhaps Xenophon wished to express that the first charge was more open to doubt; cp. v. 3. 12.

ύποσπόνδους άλλ' οὐ μάχη: not σπονδαῖς άλλ' οὐ μάχη, because ὑποσπόνδους ἀναιρεῖσθαι is the ordinary technical phrase.

λαβών, 'though he had them in his power.' According to Paus. iii. 5. 6 the king was tried on this charge immediately after his return from Athens, and only acquitted by a narrow majority of votes: cp. ii. 4. 39.

els Teyéar: cp. Plut. Lys. 30 κάκει κατεβίωσεν Ικέτης εν τώ τεμένει της 'Αθηνάς.

έτελεύτησε: not before 385 B. C.: cp. v. 2. 3.

ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη: for the events which Xenophon here omits to narrate cp. Introd. p. xxix; Diod. xiv. 82.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

\$\$1-14. Agesilaus ravaged Phrygia, winning many cities over to his side and entered Paphlagonia, where at the instigation of Spithridates he formed an alliance with its hing, Olys. He also arranged a marriage between Otys and Spithridates' daughter. \$\$ 15-98. Agesilaus wintered at Dascyleum. His foragers were worsted in a shirmish with Pharnabasus. Herippidas, informed by Spithridates that the satrap was encamped at Caue, successfully surprised the camp; but a quarrel over the booty led to the desertion of Spithridates and the Paphlagonians to Sardis—much to the vexation of Agesilaus. \$\$ 29-41. An interview was arranged between Agesilaus and Pharnabasus, from which, though Pharnabasus declined Agesilaus' offers, they parted mutual friends, the hing promising to leave the satrap's territory. Agesilaus also formed a warm attachment to Pharnabasus' son.

- § 1. διμα μετοπώρφ. The narrative broken off in iii. 4. 29 is here resumed.
 - § 2. Σπιθριδάτου: cp. iii. 4. 10.

τούτου . . . τοῦ ἀφιστάναι. The infinitival clause stands in apposition to and explains τούτου.

§ 3. *Orvs. The name of the king of the Paphlagonians is given as Cotys in Ages. 3. 4 and by Plut. Ages. 9; as Thys by Theopomp. fr. 198; and as Thyus by Cor. Nep. Dat. 2.

καλούμενος . . . οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. It appears from Anab. v. 6. 8 that this must have happened before the summer of 400 B.C.

Ιππέας: Ιππείαν, ήν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι κρείττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλέως ἱππείας, Anab. l. C.

- § 4. φυγάδος ἀνδρός, sc. τὴν θυγατέρα: Spithridates by joining Agesilaus had become φυγάς.
 - § 5. τῶν τριάκοντα, i.e. τῶν περὶ Ἡριππίδαν: cp. iii. 4. 20.
- § 6. τί δ' οὐ μέλλω, sc. ἐορακέναι, 'why should I not have seen him?' i.e. 'to be sure I have seen him': cp. πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλει; Plat. Phaed. 78 b.

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§ 7. οὖ: the antecedent is τὸ ἄγεσθαι γυναίκα καλλίστην οὖσαν.
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§ 11. βουλομένφ. The dative of the person after εἶναι and γίγνεσθαι is followed by the participles βουλομένφ, ἡδομένφ, ἀσμένφ, ἀχθομένφ instead of a clause with a finite verb: ἐκείνφ βουλομένφ ἐστί= ἐκεῖνος βούλεται. Cp. v. 3. 13 ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ ᾿Αγησιλάφ ἀχθομένφ ταῦτα.

& 'Hριππίδα: cp. § 5 note.

- § 12. καὶ ἡμεῖε: in opposition to the thirty.
- § 13. rélos: adverbial: 'in fine,' 'in short.'
- § 14. τύχη ἀγαθη, 'cum bona fortuna.'

ήρος: the spring of 394.

#δη, 'at once': cp. Anab. i. 4. 16 ἐγὼ μέν, & ἄνδρες, #δη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ,

§ 15. ἐπὶ τούτοις, 'having shaken hands upon it,' i. e. to seal the compact.

Kaλλίαν, also mentioned in Ages. 8. 3.

Δασκυλείου: cp. iii. 4. 13.

θῆραι: the Persian grandees carefully preserved their game: cp. Anab. i. 2. 7; Cyrop. i. 4. 11.

§ 16. παρέρρει: the imperfect carries the reader back to the time of which the author is speaking: cp. ii. i. 21.

σὺν προνομαῖε, i.e. with regularly organized plundering expeditions. σύν is used in an almost instrumental sense, because προνομαί denotes the troops employed on the expeditions as well as the expeditions themselves: cp. Anab. v. 1. 7 ἀλλά μοι δοκεί σὺν προνομαῖε λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλωε δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὡε σψίησθε; Polyb. iv. 73. 4 τὰε μὲν προνομὰε ἐπαφῆκε κατὰ τῆε χώρας.

§ 17. ἐσπαρμένοις: cp. iii. 4. 22.

άρματα . . . δρεπανηφόρα: cp. Anab. i. 8. 10 είχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτφ ἐντυγχάνοιεν: Cyrop. vi. 1. 30.

- § 18. is els: instead of els: cp. § 19; v. 2. 40.
- § 19. τὸ ἀθροόν, 'the compact mass,' Dakyns.
- § 20. τρίτη ή τετάρτη: for the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.
- § 21. δλλους, i.e. other than hoplites: cp. ii. 4. 9. τοσούτους, i. e. as numerous as the hoplites.
- § 22. ἐθύετο, SC. ὁ Ἡριππίδας.
- § 23. ol δλλοι τριάκοντα: cp. iii. 4. 8, 20. Herippidas was himself one of the commissioners.

§ 24. ἐπιπεσῶν . . . πολλοὶ ἔπεσον. The nom. absolute ἐπιπεσῶν is probably to be explained as an anacoluthon. Xenophon might have written πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε instead of πολλοὶ ἔπεσον: cp. ii. 2. 3.

στρατοπεδεία: this form instead of the usual στρατοπέδφ is never used by Xenophon elsewhere.

airoi: the men in the camp as opposed to the προφυλακή.

δλλα δη ola, 'other gear such as a man like Pharnabazus would have,' Dakyns: cp. iv. 5. 4.

- § 25. δίλοτε δίλη: cp. Plut. Ages. 11 [ό Φαρνάβαζος] ἔχων del τὰ πλείστα σὺν ἐαυτῷ τῶν τιμίων καὶ ἀγαπητῶν ἐξεχώρει καὶ ὑπέφευγεν δίλοτε δίλαχόσε τῆς χώρας μεθιδρύμενος.
- § 26. ὑποστήσας, as distinguished from ἐπιστήσας, implies not only 'to post,' but 'to post in order to intercept': cp. Anab. iv. 1. 14 ὑποστήσαντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἶ τι εὑρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον.

λαφυροπώλαις: Spartan officials: cp. Resp. Lac. 13. 11 $\hbar \nu$ δε ληίδα άγων [τις έλθη], πρὸς λαφυροπώλας [τοῦτον δ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει].

§ 27. 'Αριαΐον: Anab. i. 8. 5; ii. 1. 4; 4. 1: Ariaeus, δ Κύρου ὅπαρχος, commanded the Asiatic troops stationed on the left wing at the battle of Cunaxa. After the death of Cyrus, the Greek generals offered to place him on the Persian throne; but he preferred to make his peace with Artaxerxes.

miorevocarres, i. e. trusting that he could make their peace with the king, because he too had once been guilty of the same crime of rebellion.

- § 28. Μεγαβάτου: son of Spithridates and favourite of Agesilaus: cp. Ages. 5. 4 ff.; Plut. Ages. 11.
 - § 30. ¶κουσεν, sc. Agesilaus.

παρην, sc. Apollophanes.

δένδρα, the latter to οἰκήματα.

Someρ είχε, 'just as he was': 'without further ceremony,' Dakyns.

§ 32. φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος: cp. i. 6, 24 for the history of the event alluded to.

δοπερ Τισσαφέρνους: cp. i. 1. 31; 5. 9.

§ 33. ώς . . . ἔχω for ὧστε . . . ἔχω: cp. iv. 4. 16, &c.
κατακεκομμένα . . . κατακεκαυμένα, chiastic: the former refers to

όπως... ἀποδιδόναι: 'how this can be the conduct of men who know the meaning of gratitude.' ἀποδιδόναι is dependent upon όπισταμένων.

§ 34. ἐπροχύνθησαν αὐτόν, never used elsewhere with an accusative of the person.

nal rois eferepérois, 'go to war even with their guest-friends.'

§ 35. συνεβούλευον: sc. to make this exchange.

γενομένφ...προσκυνοῦντα... ἔχοντα. The transition from the dative to the accusative is explained by the difference of meaning: γενομένφ expresses a condition, προσκυνοῦντα... ἔχοντα together with ζῆν its results.

§ 36. δμοδούλους: cp. iii. 1. 26 note.

ύπηκόους: used as a substantive: cp. § 37; Cyrop. v. 5. 27.

μ) οἰχί: the double negative is due to the notion of hindrance implied in τίνος δν δέοις: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 807.

§ 37. τοιοῦτόν τι... ἐστίν: a parenthesis: 'so strong, it seems, is the force of honour,' Grote ix. 101.

§ 39. καλὸς ἔτι ἄν: cp. Anab. ii. 6. 28 ἔτι ώραῖος ἄν.

Méμνησό νυν: νυν is rarely used in prose: for another instance after an imperative cp. v. 1. 32 Tre νυν.

⁷χοντος . . . 'Ιδαίου: genitive absolute: Plut. Ages. 13 calls the secretary Adaeus.

§ 40. Φαρναβάζου ἀποδημία. Pharnabazus was absent from his satrapy a considerable time after the battle of Cnidus in 394-393 (iv. 8. 1-9), and again during the negotiations before the peace of Antalcidas (v. 1. 28) in 388-387: cp. Plutarch (Ages. 13) χρόνφ περιόντι τὸν οἶκον ἀποστερηθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεμιλείτο.

έρασθέντος αὐτοῦ: genitive absolute.

όπως όν: for the optative with όν in a final sentence cp. iv. 8. 16; Goodwin, M. T., App. iv.

δι' ἐκεῖνον, i. e. the Persian.

τὸ στάδιον: accusative of respect after εγκριθείη.

μέγιστος...τῶν παίδων. Xenophon evidently means that the boy, although he was too young, was desirous of competing with the men in the stadium race. Plutarch (Ages. 13), mistaking Xenophon's meaning, represents that the boy was so μέγας καὶ

σκληρός, that he was in danger of being excluded from the boys' contest.

894-898 B.C.

§ 41. els Θήβης πεδίον: S. of Mt. Ida in the Troad: cp. Anab. vii. 8. 7; Her. vii. 42.

'Αστυρηνης: 70 stades to the W. of Thebe; cp. Strabo, xiii. 613.

παρεσκευενάζετο... πορευσόμετος: without is, as in Thuc. ii. 91 παρεσκευάζοττο άμυτούμετοι. In all other passages Xenophon uses is with the fut. part. after παρασκευάζεσθαι.

ανωτάτω. The march of the Ten Thousand through the enemy's country and his own successes filled Agesilaus with the ambitious dreams of an Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER II

- §§ 1-8. The Spartans recalled Agesilaus, who with much regret prepared to obey the summons. He left Euxenus behind him with 4,000 men, and set out across the Hellespont at the head of a large and well-appointed army. §§ 9-15. Aristodemus commanded the Spartan army. The enemy assembled at Corinth, and following the advice of Timolaus resolved to advance upon Sparta. But when they had marched as far as the Nemea, the Lacedaemonians were already at Sicyon, and continued their advance till they were only ten stades distant from the enemy. §§ 16, 17. The Lacedaemonians numbered 13,500 foot and 600 horse besides light troops: the enemy mustered 24,000 foot, 1,550 horse, besides a considerable body of light troops. §§ 18-23. Battle of the Nemea—In engaging both armies swerved towards the right. The Lacedaemonians on the right wing far outflanked the Athenians opposed to them and easily defeated them, though all their allies were fairly beaten. The Lacedaemonians, however, successively routed the Argives, Corinthians, and some of the Thebans, as they returned from their pursuit, and thus finally gained the victory.
- § 1. ol δε Λακεδαιμόνιοι. At this point Xenophon resumes his narrative of events in Greece, interrupted at iii. 5. 25.
 - τὰ χρήματα: cp. iii. 5. I.

τάς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας: cp. iii. 5. 2 συνίστασαν καὶ τάς μεγίστας πόλεις πρός άλλήλας.

- § 2. 'Emurvõiõar: if Schneider's conjecture in v. 4. 39 be right, he was afterwards slain by the Theban cavalry not far from Thespiae in 378 B.C. during Agesilaus' first invasion of Boeotia. Plutarch's account (Ages. 15) of the message of Epicydidas and the ready obedience of the king is worthy of study.
- § 3. ἀναγκαῖον . . . τῆ πατρίδι: Plut. (Apo. Lacon. 41) quotes from Agesilaus' letter to the Ephors—ἄρχω γὰρ οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἀρχάν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πόλει καὶ τοῖε συμμάχοιε.

οὐ μή: an emphatic negative, the fear expressed by μ) ἐπιλάθωμαι being denied by οὐ: cp. Cyrop. iii. 2. 8 οἱ ᾿Αρμένιοι οὐ μὴ δέξωνται τοὺς πολεμίους: Goodwin, M. T. 296.

§ 5. Εθξενον άρμοστήν: cp. iii. 1. 4 Θίβρωνα άρμοστήν; iv. 8. 1, 3; and Appendix, p. 348. No further mention is made of Euxenus and his troops.

ol πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Although the representatives of the Asiatic allies had voted βοηθεῖν τῆ Λακεδαίμον, the majority of the soldiers themselves, i.e. the Asiatic contingents and mercenaries, preferred to stay in Asia.

προείπε ἀς . . . δώσων: instead of a direct object, e. g. ἀθλα, after προείπε, the participial clause is added for the sake of clearness.

- § 6. εδκρινεῖν does not occur elsewhere, though the compound διευκρινεῖν, in the sense of 'to keep in good order,' is common: cp. Oecon. 8. 6 διευκρινημένους ὁπλίτας. If the reading be retained, the passage must be translated 'that it was their duty to keep their men on the march in good order.' Of the conjectures, for which cp. Critical Note, Kurz's gives the most satisfactory meaning: δοτις τοὺς στρατευομένους διευκρινεῖ.
- § 7. έλαττον: adverbial for ἀπ' έλάττονος, like πλέον, iii. 4. 13. ἀπό: cp. Anab. i. 1. 9 στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων.
- τοσούτων . . . κατεσκευάσθη. 'However, though so large a sum was expended, arms worth a great deal of money were obtained for the expedition.' Dindorf's conjecture χρημάτων, πάμπολλα δπλα would make the meaning much clearer, which evidently is that the weapons so obtained were worth a great deal more than the cost of the prizes: cp. Critical Note.
 - § 8. διέβη: according to Paus. iii. 9. 12, from Abydos to Sestos. Μένασκος . . . "Ορσιππος: nothing more is known of them.

'Ηριππίδας: cp. iv. 1. 11-20.

els ἀπὸ πόλεως: distributive like ένα ἀπὸ φυλής, ii. 4. 23.

βασιλεύε, i.e. Xerxes in 480 B.C.: cp. Ages. 2. 1 ην δειαυσίαν δδόν δ βάρβαρος εποιήσατο, ταύτην μείον η έν μηνὶ κατήνυσεν δ Αγησίλασε.

§ 9. ἐν δὲ τούτφ, 'meanwhile': Xenophon here returns to events in Greece, which he had left in § 1.

'Αγησίπολιs: the son of the exiled king, Pausanias: cp. Paus. iii. 5. 7.

τοῦ γένους: of the royal family: cp. iii. 3. 3.

πρόδικον: cp. Plut. Lyc. 3 τους δε των δρφανών βασιλέων επιτρόπους Λακεδαιμόγιοι προδίκους ώνόμαζον.

§ 10. συνειλεγμένοι: in Corinth, Diod. xiv. 82.

έβουλεύοντο: sc. ol έναντίοι.

§ 11. Τιμόλασ: one of the demagogues, who had received the Persian gold through Timocrates, iii. 5. 1.

δμοιον . . . ολόνπερ: the same correlative particles are used Cyrop. i. 4. 11; 5. 10.

ἰσχυρότερον: without τοσούτψ, as ii. 2. 2.

§ 12. ἔνθεν = ἐκεῖ ἔνθεν.

τὸ πῦρ: the article expresses the well-known means of destruction.

§ 13. περὶ ἡγεμονίας: cp. the compromise between the Thebans and the Athenians as to the battle array, § 18.

els δπόσους, 'how many deep': cp. els δύο, iii. 1. 22.

την ἀμφίαλος: cp. Critical Note. The text seems hopelessly corrupt: ἀμφίαλος is a poetic word, meaning 'sea-girt.' To supply δδός with Leonclavius is not in accordance with the facts; for the Lacedaemonians evidently marched by the straight inland road through Tegea and Mantinea to Sicyon. No conjecture hitherto made gives a satisfactory meaning: cp. Grote ix. 130.

§ 14. ἐν τῆ Νεμέα... ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνε, ' în the district near the Nemea... in the district of Sicyon': cp. iv. 4. 15 εἰς Φλιοῦντα ἐμβαλών; v. 2. 25 ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. The Nemea is the brook flowing between Corinth and Sicyon.

αὐτῶν, i.e. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

'Eπιείκειαν: its situation is doubtful; in iv. 4. 13 Xen. says that it was fortified by Praxitas (in 392?) Για φρούριον εῖη πρὸ τῆς φίλιας

τοῖε συμμάχοιε. It must have been on some high ground near the Nemea, not far from the sea.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων, ' from above': cp. vii. 4. 13 ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου. αὐτούς, i. e. τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

§ 15. κατέβησαν: supply οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

ol έτεροι = ol ἀντίπαλοι: so vii. 5. 8.

dπελθόντες: Grote (ix. 129) very properly defends this, the MSS. reading, against the vulgate ἐπελθόντες. After a general advance towards Sicyon, keeping to the high ground, where their light-armed troops came into conflict with the enemy, the Corinthian allies seem now to have retired (ἀπελθόντες), and encamped near the Nemea, some five or six miles from Corinth, still on rough and rocky ground.

την χαράδραν: cp. Diod. xiv. 83 γενομένης δε παρατάξεως παρά τον Νεμέαν ποταμόν: Aeschines ii. 168 την Νεμέαα καλουμένην χαράδραν.

§ 16. 'HAelwr... Aassuriws. Hence it appears that the arrangements made at the end of the Elean War, 397 B.C., still continued: cp. iii. 2. 30, 31.

Κρήτες τοξόται, mercenaries: cp. Thuc. ii. 9; vii. 57.

Μαργανέων . . . Λετρίνων . . . 'Αμφιδόλων : cp. iii. 2. 30 note.

desceptas, i. e. a holy truce during a festival; from iv. 4. 15 it appears that the governing party at Phlius were not very well disposed towards Sparta, so that the truce was probably a mere excuse, as so often in the case of the Argives: cp. iv. 7. 2.

§ 17. 'Ορχομένιοι: cp. iii. 5. 6 note.

πλεον $\hat{\eta}_{\nu}$: cp. Critical Note. Some words seem to have dropped out: for ψιλῶν or ψιλῶν without the article can scarcely mean that the light-armed troops together with those of the Corinthians were more numerous than those of the Lacedaemonians. Of hoplites Xenophon's items give a total to the Lacedaemonians of 13,500, and to the enemy of 24,000. But on the Lacedaemonian side the contingents of some of the states do not seem to be mentioned: for he has not included the Tegeate and Mantinean contingents of which he himself speaks in § 13, nor again the Achaean over against whom the Athenians were at first posted, § 18. Diodorus (xiv. 82) does not help us to solve the difficulty: he estimates the Lacedaemonian infantry at 23,000, and the Corinthian and their allies at only 15,000.

'Akaprâres: Wachsmuth's conjecture Alriâres is made extremely

probable by the fact that in the list of allies (iv. 3. 15) who fought at Coronea all these names reappear except the Acarnanians, in whose place stand the Aenianes. In iii. 5. 6 the Aenianes are mentioned in connexion with the Melians.

§ 18. ἔως μὸν . . . εἶχον: cp. Introd. p. xxx. Xenophon's narrative is so bald, that the motive of the Thebans is by no means clear. Either the Thebans were afraid of the Lacedaemonians, or the holding of the right wing may have implied the commandership-inchief for the day (cp. § 13 περὶ ἡγεμονίας διεπράττοντο): against the first hypothesis may be urged the bravery of the Thebans a few weeks later at Coronea in fighting the Spartans hand to hand. Against the second nothing much can be said, except that in the time of Epaminondas at any rate the Thebans peculiarly affected the left wing.

τοῦ els ἐκκαίδεκα, to be taken as a substantive: 'the formation into sixteen deep.' This apparently was the depth agreed upon in § 13 ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αὶ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν. The ordinary depth of the Greek phalanx was eight only: cp. Thuc. v. 68.

βαθείαν παντελώς: for the position of the adverb cp. v. 3. 2 δλίγην παντελώς.

την φάλαγγα: their own division or phalanx.

inl τὰ δεξιά: Thucydides (v. 71) notices this tendency of all Greek armies, due to the soldiers' desire to keep the right or unshielded side out of reach of the enemy.

τῶν πολεμίων: the genitive depends on ὑπερέχοιεν.

§ 19. ἐπαιάνισαν, SC. οἱ πολέμιοι.

ξεναγοί: cp. iii. 5. 7; Appendix, p. 349.

τῷ ἡγουμάτφ, neuter: 'the leading company'; cp. Anab. ii. 2. 4.

al μὶν ἐξ ψυλαὶ... al δὲ τέτταρες. The Athenian military organization was based on their political division into ten tribes, cp. Thuc. ii. 4.4; vi. 98. For the article cp. i. 1. 18. Lysias (xvi. 15) tells how specially ill his own tribe fared in this encounter.

§ 20. τῆ ᾿Αγροτέρᾳ: a name of Artemis. Cp. Resp. Lac. 13. 8 δταν γὰρ δρώντων ήδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζηται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον είναι. $\tau \eta \nu \chi l \mu a \iota \rho a \nu$: the article expresses the customary nature of the sacrifice.

έκατέρων: the partitive genitive stands as subject to ἐπιπτον, as as if it were ἐκατέρων τινές.

§ 21. δσον... τῶν 'Αθηναίων: i. e. the six Athenian tribes opposite to them: the partitive genitive depends on δσον.

ἐπορεύοντο, i. e. towards the left.

αὐτῶν, i.e. of the Athenians in the four tribes: the partitive genitive is helped out by the following εἶ τις. For εἶ τις cp. Anab. v. 3. 3 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπό τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χιόνος καὶ εἶ τις νόσφ.

§ 22. παρεῖται, from παρίημ: 'Some one, it is said, shouted, 'Let their front ranks pass," Dakyns.

els τὰ γυμνά: their right or unshielded side.

§ 23. τὰ τείχη, i. e. of Corinth, as appears from what follows. Xenophon by ἔπειτα δέ after τὸ μὲν πρῶτον seems to imply that the first fugitives were admitted, but that soon afterwards the gates were shut. Demosthenes (xx. 53) says that at first the philo-Laconian party refused to open the gates, but that afterwards their opponents ἀνέφξαν τὰς πύλας ἡμῖν βία τῶν πολλῶν.

CHAPTER III

\$\$ 1, 2. At Amphipolis Dercylidas met Agesilaus with the news of the victory and was sent by the king to Asia to encourage the allies with these \$\frac{1}{3}-9. As he marched across Thessaly, Agesilaus was much annoyed by the Thessalian cavalry hanging on his rear. At last he ordered his own cavalry to charge them: they were completely routed, and he then continued his march without hindrance as far as Bosotia. \$\$ 10-14. On the frontiers Agesilaus heard of the defeat and death of the admiral Pisander at Cnidus. To heep up the heart of his soldiers he announced that Pisander had been killed in the moment of victory. §§ 15-20. Battle of Coronea. The hostile forces met on the plain of Coronea. The Argives fled before Agesilaus, who commanded the right wing, without a blow. Herippidas and the Asiaticallies were victorious in the centre: but on the left the Thebans cut completely through the Orchomenians. Then they tried to make their way to their allies, who had fled to the slopes of Helicon, Agestians intercepted them so that only a portion fought their way through. \$\$ 21-23. Next day Agesilaus ordered a trophy to be set up, and the Thebaus sent heralds to recover their dead. Then Agesilaus dedicated a tithe of his spoils at Delphi, while Gylis, the polemarch, led the army through Phocis into Locris. The Locriaus attached his rear, and slew him and many of his staff.

§ 1. 'Ο δὲ' Αγησίλους; Xenophon here takes up the narrative interrupted at iv. 2. 8.

σπεύδων ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας. According to Plutarch (Ages. 16) the king marched without opposition as far as the country of the Trallians, whose feeble resistance he overcame without difficulty.

Δερκυλίδαs, last mentioned as one of Agesilaus' envoys to Tissaphernes in 396 B.C. (iii. 4. 6). In the interval he must have returned to Sparta.

μικών, 'are victorious': present tense as in § 13.

διτώ . . . παμπληθείε: Ages. 7. 5 διτώ μεν Λακεθαιμονίων, έγγὺε δὲ μύριοι τῶν πολεμίων. Diod. xiv. 83 estimates the loss of the Lacedaemonians and their allies at 1,100, and of their opponents at 2,800. According to the Ages. l. c. the king exclaimed on hearing the news, φεῦ, δ Ἑλλάε, ὁπότε οἱ νῦν τεθνηκότες ἰκανοὶ ἦσαν ζῶντες νικῶν μαχόμενοι πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους.

- § 2. συμπέμπουσαι: for the fact cp. iv. 2. 4.
 elkôs . . . elvaι: for the present infinitive cp. iii. 5. 10 note.
 Εὐθυμοτέρους: κατὰ σύνεσιν, as if πολίτας had preceded.
 ἔφαμεν: cp. iv. 2. 3.
- § 3. Gerralia: cp. Introd. p. xxix. Xenophon has omitted altogether to record the expedition of Ismenias the Theban northwards in the winter months, 395-394. From Diod. (xiv. 82) it appears that Ismenias at the head of 2,000 Boeotians and Argives first helped Medius, the tyrant of Larisa, to expel the Lacedaemonian garrison from Pharsalus, and then marching southwards seized Heraclea, slew all the Lacedaemonians in it, drove out the Peloponnesian colonists and restored the city to the Trachinians (cp. iii. 5. 6 note). Shortly afterwards Ismenias persuaded the Aenianes and Athamanes to revolt from Sparta, and defeated the Phocians under the command of the Lacedaemonian Alcisthenes at Naryx in Locris.

From this section it seems that the appearance of Ismenias in Thessaly had even been more far reaching in its effects than Diodorus records: for the Crannonians and Scotussians as well as the Larisaeans and Pharsalians are called $\sigma i \mu \mu \alpha \chi \alpha \sigma$ Bourois, and

all the Thessalians, except the exiles, united to harass Agesilaus on his march.

§ 4. ἐν πλαισίφ: in a hollow square, the van of which was called στόμα and the rear οὐρά. This was the usual marching order adopted by the Greeks, when they were exposed on all sides to attacks from the enemy. Cp. Anab. iii. 4. 43.

τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. Probably not the select body of 300 horsemen, who usually formed the body-guard of the king (Her. viii. 124; Thuc. v. 72) but τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν μάλα εὐρώστους, whom Agesilaus had enlisted in Asia: cp. § 6; iii. 4. 15; iv. 2. 5.

- § 5. μάλα σωφρόνως: for the expression cp. Ages. 6. 7 ήσύχως δὲ [ἦγε ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος] Εσπερ αν παρθίνος ή σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνοι.
 - § 6. τοίς άλλοις, SC. ίππεθσι.

παραγγέλλει»: διώκει» has to be supplied from the following clause.

- § 8. τῷ Ναρθακίφ: in Thessaly Phthiotis.
- § 9. Προντός: Steph. Byz. Πράς πόλις Περρουβική: it lay to the north of Narthacium.
- rà 'Αχαῖκὰ . . . ὅρη: Mount Othrys. Plutarch (Ages. 16, 17) here follows some different authority. At this point, he says, Diphridas the ephor met Agesilaus with orders to march immediately into Boeotia. The king at once obeyed, although rather reluctant as he wished for larger reinforcements, passed through Thermopylae, crossed the friendly territory of the Phocians, and finally encamped near Chaeronea. This route agrees with Xenophon.

μέχρι πρός: for the double preposition cp. Anab. vi. 4. 26 μέχρι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

§ 10. ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ: the march round the Aegean coast was accomplished μεῖον ἡ ἐν μηνί according to Ages. 2. I.

μηνοειδής: cp. Introd. p. xlv. Xenophon doubtless means to connect the ill omen with the naval defeat.

τη ναυμαχία. The article is noticeable: it seems to imply that the sea-fight off Cnidus is already well known to the reader, although Xenophon has related none of the circumstances that led up to it. In fact not a word has been said about the Lacedaemonian fleet, since Agesilaus appointed his brother-in-law Pisander as its admiral in the summer of 395 (iii. 4. 29). Pisander apparently

(if we follow Diod. xiv. 79, 81, 83) during the next twelve months accomplished absolutely nothing either against Rhodes or against Conon: Conon too was prevented from continuing his successes for want of supplies, until-probably in the winter six months 395-394—he himself undertook a journey to lay his case in person before Artaxerxes at Babylon. His mission was completely successful. The Persian king promised him the necessary money and supplies, and more important still, allowed him to choose whom he would among the Persian officials to collect them. Conon's choice fell upon Pharnabazus, who was at the time smarting under the invasion of Agesilaus. Accordingly next summer Conon and Pharnabazus put to sea with a fleet of more than 90 vessels, and cruised about Loryma in the Cnidian Chersonese, where, on hearing that the enemy's fleet was at Cnidus, they prepared for battle. The Spartan admiral sailed out of Cnidus at the head of 85 vessels and put in to Physcus in the same peninsula. Just outside the two fleets met in battle; Conon was victorious and Pisander himself was slain. Cp. iv. 8, 1; Isocr. v. 61-64; ix. 52-57; Cor. Nep. Con. 3, 4; Justin vi. 3; Ctesias, fr. 62, 63; Paus. iii. 9. 2; vi. 3. 16.

§ 11. ταίς Φοινίσσαις: cp. iii. 4. 1.

Kópwwa: this is the first mention of Conon since Xenophon (ii. 1. 29) recorded his flight to Salamis after the battle of Aegospotami.

τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, sc. ναυτικόν. Plato (Menex. 245 a) calls these Greeks φυγάδας καὶ ἐθελοντάς. Isocrates (ix. 56) speaks of Evagoras of Salamis as supplying τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν πλείστην. Cp. Dem. xx. 68.

ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. Diodorus also (xiv. 83) speaks of Pisander as at first successfully engaging with ταῖε προπλεούσαιε ναυσῖ: but, when the Persian triremes came up, he goes on to say, the Peloponnesian allies fled to land, and Pisander, left alone, fell fighting bravely. Conon pursued the Lacedaemonians to the shore and captured 50 triremes and 500 men. But most of the crews and the rest of the triremes escaped in safety to Cnidus.

§ 12. ελαττόνων . . . Έλληνικου. Once more the question of numbers presents hopeless difficulties. While Diodorus represents the difference between the two fleets as one of about five ships

only, Xenophon apparently means that Conon's Greek fleet alone, without the Phoenician ships of Pharnabazus, far outnumbered the Lacedaemonian fleet.

αὐτφ φεύγει»: a kind of dativus incommodi.

ἐμβολὸς . . . τριήρει, i.e. with his trireme staved in by the charges of the enemy's ships.

§ 13. οδον . . . μετέχειν : οδον = τοιούτον διστε : cp. ii. 3. 45 οδος . . . μεταβάλλεσθαι,

οδκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι... αὐτοῖs: the infinitive, the construction being changed, depends on ἐνεθυμήθη, 'that there was no necessity for them to share it.' The dative αὐτοῖs depends on ἀνάγκην.

μεταβαλών, sc. τὰ ἡγγελμένα: cp. Plut. Ages. 17 τἀναντία λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ῆκοντας.

§ 14. δμα . . . λέγων: δμα goes with the participle as in iii. 1. 20.

εὐαγγελια: neut. plur. accusative after εβουθύτει: cp. i. 6. 37 εθυε τὰ εὐαγγελια.

τῶν τεθυμένων: partitive genitive, serving as object to δώπεμπε: cp. iii. 1. 4.

rφ λόγφ: 'in consequence of the report,' Dakyns.

ώς . . . νικώντων: for the participial construction cp. iii. 4. I.

§ 15. Boword... Aospol. All these allies fought at the battle of Corinth except the Aenianes, unless indeed Alvidres is to be read for 'Assapsares in iv. 2. 17 (cp. note). The Melians too did not fight at Coronea, probably because Agesilaus had just marched through their territory.

διαβάσα, i. e. over the Corinth gulf, because the Isthmus was held by the enemy; cp. iv. 4. 1.

'Ορχομενοῦ: cp. iii. 5. 6. Lysander had induced Orchomenus to revolt from Thebes, whereupon the Lacedaemonians must have garrisoned the town.

νεοδημώδεις, i.e. the survivors of the two thousand, who had crossed with Agesilaus to Asia in 396: iii. 4. 2.

οδ . . . ξενικοῦ: cp. Ages. 2. 11 βσαν δ' οὖτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἶκου αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινες: cp. iii. 4. 20.

ἀπὸ τῶν . . . Ἑλληνίδων: cp. iv. 2. 4-8.

aὐrόθεν, i.e. from the immediate neighbourhood.

§ 16. διηγήσομαι. Xenophon, according to Plutarch (Ages. 18), was himself present at Coronea: καὶ παρῆν αὐτὸς τῷ ᾿Αγησιλάφ συναγωνιζόμενος ἐξ ᾿Ασίας διαβεβηκώς. He makes no attempt, it is to be remarked, to give the exact numbers of the opposing forces: in Ages. 2. 7, 9 we are told that the two armies were about equal.

δεξιόν: without the article: cp. v. 2. 40 εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχων.

τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, SC. στρατεύματος.

- § 17. ώς . . . τριῶν: to be taken together, 'about three.'
- § 18. ¿felifas, 'having deployed': cp. Cyrop. viii. 5. 15.

πρὸς Ἑλικῶν: the dative expresses that they had not only fled to the mountain, but had come to a halt there.

§ 19. παρέντι . . . τοὺς ὅπισθεν: cp. Plut. Ages. 18 παlειν ἐπόμενος παραλλάξαντας,

δωθούντο . . . ἀπέθνησκον: for the asyndeton cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 38 προσπεσόντες δμάχοντο, δώθουν, δωθούντο, δπαίοντο.

διαπίπτουσι: cp. Plut. l. c. διίστησαν . . . αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διίσχον.

§ 20. τετρωμένος: According to Plutarch (l. c.), his body-guard (cp. § 4) άγωνιζόμενοι ἐκθύμως καὶ προκινδυνεύοντες ἄτρωτον μὲν αὐτὸν οἰκ ἐδυνήθησαν φυλάξαι, πολλὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων δεξάμενον εἰς τὸ σῶμα πληγὰς δόρασι καὶ ξίφεσι μόλις ἀνήρπασαν ζῶντα.

πρός τὴν φάλαγγα: Plut. Ages. 19 οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἀπῆλθεν ἡ φοράθην ἐνεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ίδεῖν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων συγκεκομισμένους.

τῷ κῷ: Plut. Ages. 19 πλησίον γὰρ ὁ κώς ἐστιν ὁ τῆς 'Ιτωνίας 'Αθηνᾶς. The article—the well-known temple, famous as the place of meeting for the Boeotian League (Paus. ix. 34. 1) and for the trophy erected there by the Boeotians after their victory over the Athenians under Tolmides (Plut. Ages. 19).

§ 21. παρατάξαι . . . τὸ στράτευμα. According to Plut. l. c. βουλόμενος εξελέγξαι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὁ Αγησίλαος, because the victory of the day before had not been decisive. Cp. Polyaenus ii. 1. 23 ἢν ἀμφίρροπος ἡ νίκη νὸξ γὰρ διέλυσε τὴν μάχην: he makes out (doubtless incorrectly) that Agesilaus' order to remove the Lacedaemonian dead within the lines was a stratagem, whereby the Thebans were deceived into believing that their own dead were

much greater in proportion to the Lacedaemonian than they really were, and next morning in this belief acknowledged themselves beaten by sending envoys to recover their dead.

τφ θεφ: probably Apollo: cp. infr.

els Δελφούs: Plutarch (Ages. 19) adds Πυθίων ἀγομένων. Most authorities are now agreed that the Pythian festival was held in August every third Olympic Year: cp. v. 2. 29 note, and Dict. Antiq. ii. 528.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας . . . ἀπέθυσεν: Plut. l. c. τῶν ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας λαφύρων. For ἀπέθυσεν cp. iii. 3. 1 note.

Tύλις: Diodorus (xiv. 84) says that at Delphi the wounded Agesilaus τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. The indecisive victory at Coronea did not justify any further attack upon Boeotia (cp. § 9 note), so that Gylis now led the army through the friendly district of Phocis into Locris to punish the Ozolian Locrians for siding with the Thebans at Coronea (§ 15), and at the same time to secure a port of embarkation as the Isthmus was occupied by the enemy.

§ 22. τελευταίων, i. e. bringing up the rear, the allies marching in front as being less reliable troops.

§ 23. παραστατών, 'of his comrades in arms.' Cp. vi. 5. 43.

δειπτοῦντες: cp. § 22 note: the allies in front must in the meantime have pitched the camp for the night.

CHAPTER IV

§§ 1-3. The army was disbanded and Agesilaus sailed home. When the war was renewed, the Bosotians and their allies made Corinth, the Lacedae-monians Sicyon, their headquarters. To prevent the oligarchical party from joining the Lacedaemonians the Corinthian democrats massacred many of them during the Eucleia. §§ 4-14. The younger oligarchs mostly escaped. Two of their number secretly admitted Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch at Sicyon, within the Long Walls of Corinth. The democrats and their allies tried in vain to disloge him. After his victory Praxitas pulled down portions of the Long Walls, put garrisons in Sidus, Crommyon and Epiecia, and then returned to Sparta. All further operations on a large scale ceased, though the garrisons of the contending parties in Corinth and Sicyon carried on the war vigorously. §§ 15-17. To protect themselves

from the ravagus of Iphicrates' peltasts the Phliasians admitted a Lacedaemonian garrison within their walls. These peltasts spread terror everywhere among the Lacedaemonian allies, only the Spartans themselves daring to meet them. §§ 18, 19. The Athenians repaired the Corinthian Long Walls: whereupon Agesilaus, having first ravaged the Argolis, retook them at the same time that his brother Teleutias captured the docks.

§ 1. μετά τοῦτο, i.e. August or September, 394.

dφείθη. Neither Xenophon nor any other authority state what became of the Cyreians or Agesilaus' Asiatic allies.

έκ δὲ τούτου: cp. Introd. p. xlvii.

ek Kopisθov. Lysias (xvi. 16) tells us that after the battle of Corinth the strongholds in the Corinthian territory were occupied by the Corinthians and their allies δοτε τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δύσασθαι προσύεται, and that when the main body of the allies marched northwards to meet Agesilaus in Boeotia, they left detachments behind them to act as garrison: cp. iv. 4. 7.

 $d\kappa$ Σικυῶνος. In iv. 2. 23 Xenophon said nothing of what became of Aristodemus' army after the battle of Corinth. From iv. 3. 15 it appears that one regiment of it $(\mu\delta\rho\alpha)$ joined Agesilaus in Boeotia: probably therefore when it was disbanded, a strong force was left at Sicyon.

ἀποθερσκονταs: Stephanus inserts πολλούς before ἀποθερσκοντας; but if πολλούς be omitted (cp. Critical Note), ἐαυτῶν must be taken in the second clause as a kind of partitive genitive, to which τινάς must be supplied to agree with ἀποθερσκοντας: cp. iv. 2. 20. The parallel sentence following with αὐτοὺς . . . αὐτῶν makes it more probable that some word like πολλούς has fallen out.

893-392 B.C.

ol πλείστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι resumes the subject of the sentence, ol Κορίσθιοι, but is only a part instead of the whole. βέλτιστοι is used, as the sequel shows, in its political significance of aristocrats, and Xenophon here claims that they formed the majority of the citizens.

§ 2. ol... μετεσχηκότες. In iii. 5. I Xenophon has narrated how Timolaus and Polyanthes in Corinth shared in Timocrates' Persian gold: but it also appears from iv. 8. 8 that in the spring of 393 Pharnabazus and Conon visited the isthmus and left behind

them a fresh supply of money. In this passage therefore, oi... μετεσχηκότες, if the chronology proposed (cp. Introd. p. xlvii) be right, can equally well be referred to both occasions.

πάλω. The reference is probably general, i.e. to the part played by Corinth at the time of the Peloponnesian War, and not to the division of opinion just after the battle of Corinth, when some wished to treat with the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 2. 23; Dem. xx. 52.

πρῶτον μὲν... ὡς δί (§ 3). The first enormity was the scheme itself; the second the manner of carrying it out.

Eὐκλείων. Pausanias speaks of a temple of Eucleia at Athens (i. 14. 5) and of Artemis Eucleia at Thebes (ix. 17. 1). Plutarch (Aristid. 20) speaks of the identification of Artemis with Eucleia as disputed. Nothing is known as to the date of this festival at Corinth: cp. Introd. p. xlvii.

§ 3. τὸν μέν τινα...τὸν δέ τινα: τις is added to ὁ μέν, ὁ δέ, to show that the person is indeterminate.

συνεστηκότα ἐν κύκλφ, 'standing talking with a group': cp. Anab. v. 7. 2 σύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι συνίσταντο.

κριτήν, i. e. a judge of the contests going on in the theatre: cp. Diod. xiv. 86 αγώνων δντων έν τῷ θεάτρφ φόνον ἐποίησαν.

- § 4. Κρανείφ: cp. Paus. ii. 2. 4 ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον (from Cenchreae) πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλσος δνομαζόμενον Κράνειον.
- § 5. του κίσνος: του is Schneider's correction for τοῦ: cp. Critical Note. The MSS. all read τοῦ, but no authority throws any light on what famous column Xenophon could have meant, so that he should have used the article.

loυσαι: for the participle in the sense of 'coming one after the other' cp. iv. 8. 5 τοὺς μὲν lόντας άρμοστάς.

§ 6. τοὺε τυραντεύοντας: cp. Critical Note, Appendix, p. 360, and iii. 1. 5 note.

τὴν πόλιν, i. e. Corinth as an independent sovereign community.
"Αργος . . . ὀνομάζεσθαι: cp. Diod. xiv. 92 'Αργεῖοι . . . τὴν πόλιν (i. e. Corinth) ἐξιδιοποιησάμενοι τὴν Κορινθίων χώραν 'Αργείαν ἐποίησαν. Argos was a thoroughly democratical state (Thuc. v. 31), and the Corinthian democrats, now victorious, apparently hoped to secure their position by a kind of συνοίκισιε with Argos. No details

about the interpolitical arrangement between the two cities are known.

πειρωμένους... ποιῆσαι... ἀποδείξαι... ἄξιον εἶναι... γενέσθαι... τυχεῖν. The infinitives ποιῆσαι and ἀποδείξαι depend on the participle πειρωμένους; ἄξιον εἶναι is the infinitive after ἐνόμισαν: the infinitives γενέσθαι and τυχεῖν depend on ἄξιον εἶναι, and the participle πειρωμένους is in agreement with their subject.

9892-891 B.C.

§ 7. Λέχαιον: the seaport of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf was connected with the city by two Long Walls, twelve stades in length, like Piraeus with Athens, and Nisaea with Megara.

διαπραξάμενος ώστε . . . καταμεῖναι: usually constructed with the infinitive alone without ώστε: cp. v. 1. 25; 2. 6.

έπραττε, i. e. began making preparations for.

§ 8. τὸ τροπαίον: set up by the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 2. 23.

ούτως ἀπλῶς, 'in so straightforward a manner.'

§§ 9-11. The difficulties in understanding the fight between the Long Walls of Corinth are due to Xenophon's carelessness of writing, or, it may be, to lacunae in the text. He has omitted to state whether the Lacedaemonians drew up in front or behind their stockade. He says nothing as to how the Corinthians from the city, who were posted opposite the Lacedaemonians, fared at their hands. He leaves us to infer that the mercenaries of Iphicrates after their defeat by the Corinthian exiles made good their escape within the city walls. He does not state whether the ladders, whereby the Argives, hemmed in by the Lacedaemonians on one side and the Corinthian exiles on the other, attempted to escape, were laid against the Eastern Long Wall or the city Wall. Finally he does not explain how so many of the Boeotian garrison at Lechaeum came to be killed.

The solution of all these difficulties is hardly possible, and in any case must involve several assumptions. The Long Walls, it is to be remembered, ran North and South, being about one mile and a quarter in length, and there being a considerable distance between them. To strengthen their position, the Lacedaemonians had hastily built up a stockade with a trench in front, i.e. facing south,

and it is therefore to be assumed that on the day of battle, when owing to the reinforcements received by the enemy the odds were still greater against them than at first, they posted themselves behind the stockade, with their front towards Corinth, the Lacedaemonians themselves being on the right, the Sicyonians in the centre, and the Corinthian exiles by the Eastern Wall on the left, Pasimelus and his handful of horse being probably in the rear on the right. The enemy took up their position opposite, the Corinthians on the West, opposite the Lacedaemonians, the Argives in the centre, and Iphicrates and his mercenaries on the East. At the first onset the Argives easily overwhelmed the Sicyonians, broke through the stockade and pursued their opponents down to the sea. At the same time, the Corinthian exiles repelled the attack of Iphicrates, and coming out of the stockade (at least so it is to be supposed) pursued him and his mercenaries almost up to the walls of Corinth. The Lacedaemonians meanwhile, we must assume, these Corinthians not being mentioned again after § 9, had easily defeated the Corinthians opposed to them, but had not gone outside the stockade to pursue them. They preferred to wait for the Argives; and accordingly before their return left the stockade (έξελθόντες), which was broken in the centre, and formed anew just outside it with their front facing East εν αριστερά έχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα. The Argives, having overcome the opposition of Pasimelus and his dismounted horsemen, hastened back southwards έκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, and thus exposed their unshielded side to the Lacedaemonians stationed on their flank. Naturally they swerved in the opposite direction, i.e. eastwards under the Long Wall, and thus met the Corinthian exiles returning from the pursuit of Iphicrates' mercenaries. Their position was now, as Xenophon describes, hopeless, their only means of escape being the ladders leading to the top of the Long Wall (for the battle took place, it is to be remembered, inside the walls). Those who were fortunate enough to climb on to the wall were no better off than those in the mêlée below; for they perished in the attempt to jump down the other side.

Diodorus (xiv. 86) gives a totally different account of the attack of the Corinthian exiles and their Lacedaemonian allies, which cannot in any particular be reconciled with Xenophon's

narrative. Its result, he says, was the capture of Lechaeum and the docks.

§ 9. πρὸ αὐτῶν, i.e. facing Corinth towards the south.

inl τῷ δεξεῷ ἐσυτῶν. The reflexive pronoun (however grammatically impossible) can here only be referred to the Lacedaemonians themselves: for from what follows it is plain that they were posted near the Western Long Wall, fronting southwards.

'Ιφικράτη». For the restoration of this name in the text instead of the MSS. Φιλοκράτη, Schneider relies upon Diod. xiv. 86 and Polyaen. i. 9. 45. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 10. ἐκράτησαν, 8C. οἱ ᾿Αργεῖοι.

kπαρμοστής: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, i.e. of the Sicyonian fugitives: horse-soldiers, as a rule, were not armed with shields: cp. ii. 4. 24.

τὰ σίγμα: σίγμα in the best authors is indeclinable. Cp. Critical Note. For similar devices upon shields cp. ii. 4. 25; iii. 4. 17; vii. 5. 20; and for the mistake made by the Argives cp. Arist. Nic. Eth. iii. 8. 16.

σιώ: Doric for θεώ, the two Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

ὑμέ: Doric for ὑμᾶς.

χωρείν: infinitive dependent on λέγεται.

§ 11. τοὺς καθ' αὐτούς, i. e. Iphicrates and his mercenaries.

arω: southwards towards Corinth.

τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλου, the city wall: often, as in v. 3. 22, κύκλος means a line of circumvallation.

κρατούμενα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σικιωνίους. The correctness of this reading, although it involves the interpretation of κατά in quite a different sense from what it bears two lines above, seems to be proved by the following βοηθοῦσιν; this word is otiose, if Breitenbach's conjecture κρατοῦντα be adopted, although he is thereby enabled to translate κατά, 'opposite to,' 'over against.' Reading κρατούμενα, we must translate τὰ κατὰ κ.τ.λ. 'the part of the army near the Sicyonians': cp. Anab. iv. 8. 18 οἱ κατὰ τὸ 'Αρκαδικὸν πελτασταί; Plat. Rep. 435 e οἱ κατὰ Θράκην.

ἐξελθόντες, i. e. ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, so that they marched probably through the gap made by the Argives southwards towards the city, and then reformed with their front towards the Eastern Long Wall—ἐν ἀριστερῷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα.

Sauser because the new movement on the part of the Lacedaemonians was evidently meant to cut off the retreat, which had previously been open to the Argives.

ểκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, i.e. through the gap which they themselves had made: cp. ἐξελθόντες said of the Lacedaemonians just above.

τὰ γυμνά: the right and unshielded side.

πρός τῷ τείχει: the Eastern Long Wall.

τοῦς φυγάσι τῶν Κορυθίων: returning from the pursuit of Iphicrates' mercenaries.

dπέκλωσω πάλω, 'they turned back again,' being hemmed in by the Long Wall on the East, the stockade on the North, the Corinthian exiles on the South, and the Lacedaemonians on the West.

κλίμακας . . . τείχους. It is evident from the context that Xenophon must mean the ordinary ladders or steps leading to the top of the Eastern Long Wall, and not ladders let down by the citizens from the city wall to rescue the fugitives: else why should they have jumped down the other side and been killed thereby? Such headlong haste is only explicable, supposing τοῦ τείχους to mean the Long Wall.

§ 12. οὐδένα τρεπόμενον . . . πάντας . . . ὑπηρετοῦντας : accusatives in a sort of loose apposition to πλήθος.

ούτως belongs to πολλοί: cp. ii. 4. 17 note.

ol èν τῷ λιμένι φύλακες. Andocides (iii. 18-20) says that the result of this victory was the capture of Lechaeum, and Diodorus also in his confused version of these events (xiv. 86) speaks of the capture of both τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον. Xenophon himself in this same chapter § 17 represents the Lacedaemonians ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου ὁρμώμενοι σὺν μόρα καὶ τοῦς τῶν Κορινθίων φυγάσι, although he does not relate the capture of τὰ νεώρια till § 19. Again in iv. 8. 10, when he is bringing up the naval events of the war to the same date, he speaks of the Corinthians as masters ἐν τῷ περὶ 'Αχαίαν καὶ Λέχαιον κάλπφ, until Teleutias appeared upon the scene. We must assume (cp. Introd. p. xlix) that it was Teleutias' capture of τὰ νεώρια that made the Lacedaemonians once more masters of the Gulf. There are two ways of reconciling these conflicting statements. Either we may suppose that after the victory of Praxitas the Lacedaemonians occupied Lechaeum

(into the heart of which they certainly penetrated even according to Xenophon's story) σύν μόρα και τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων φυγάσι, but were subsequently expelled in some manner unrecorded; for they cannot have been in Lechaeum, whilst the Athenians were repairing the Long Walls § 18, or before Teleutias captured 7à κώρια § 19. Or we may suppose that Diodorus and Andocides are wrong, and that Praxitas withdrew the whole of his forces after his victory both from the Long Walls and from Lechaeum. This second hypothesis necessitates the supposition that Xenophon has related (§ 18) the sally of the Lacedaemonians ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου out of its chronological order, and grouped it with his story about the Mantineans on account of the close connexion of subject; but that the event really occurred after Teleutias' capture of τὰ νεώρια § 19. Parallel cases for such grouping can be found in vii. chaps. 2, 3 and 4, and this permanent Lacedaemonian garrison of Lechaeum reappears iv. 5. 7, 11, 18. Xenophon's narrative and the confusion of Diodorus at this point seem on the whole to favour the second hypothesis.

Breitenbach's theory that the Lacedaemonians retained their mastery over the town of Lechaeum, but lost the docks, seems to be negatived by geographical considerations. For it appears from Paus. ii. 2. 3 and Strab. viii. 551 that practically there was no town of Lechaeum apart from the docks.

§ 13. ol σύμμαχοι ... ἐβοήθουν: as expected before the battle § 9.
τῶν τειχῶν: for the partitive genitive without τι used as the object cp. iii. 1. 4.

Σιδοῦντα . . . Κρομμυῶνα , on the S. coast of the Isthmus on the road to Megara.

'Επιείκειαν: cp. iv. 2. 14.

φιλίας: sc. χώρας.

§ 14. στρατιαί... μεγάλαι... φρουρούς... μισθοφόρους: στρατιαί, armies of citizen troops, are here opposed to μισθοφόροι, and στρατιαί μεγάλαι to φρουροί, small contingents of citizen troops sent as garrisons. The money to pay the mercenaries was doubtless furnished on the Lacedaemonian side by Agesilaus' Asiatic booty, and on the Corinthian side by the Persian gold of Pharnabazus and Conon (cp. iv. 8. 8). The numbers of men willing to serve as mercenaries were continuously on the increase, not only because

the long wars had interrupted trade and commerce, but because the endless political revolutions were always followed by the exile of citizens, who were thus deprived of all other employment. Cp. iii. 1. 13 note.

§ 15. Ἰφικράτης. Demosthenes had been the first Athenian general to discover the value of light-armed troops in his Aetolian and Acarnanian campaigns of 426 (Thuc. iii. 94 sqq.), and Cleon brought him some peltasts among the light-armed troops as reinforcements for the attack upon the Lacedaemonians in Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 28). Brasidas in his Thracian campaign had some peltasts in his army (Thuc. iv. 111). Their accoutrement seems to have been of Thracian origin (Her. vii. 75; Xen. Mem. iii. 9. 2; Aristoph. Achar. 159), consisting of javelins (akórrea), targets or small shields (πέλται), and dirks (έγχειρίδια σμικρά). Iphicrates increased their efficiency by lengthening the javelin by one half, doubling the length of the dirk, and perhaps in some way modifying the shape or size of the target (Diod. xv. 44; Corn. Nep. lphic. 1). They were thus enabled to attack not only by throwing the javelin, but with the sword at close quarters, if necessary, and at the same time they could move with as much activity as the ψιλοί, who were armed only with missile weapons and carried no shield. The πέλτη, from which the name πελταστής was derived, seems thus to have been described by Aristotle (frag. 456)—ellos domidos, ήτις ίτυν οὐκ ἔχει οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐπίχαλκος οὐδὲ βοὸς ἀλλ' αίγὸς δέρματι Arrian (Tac. 3) concisely contrasts the peltasts περιτεταμένη. with the hoplites and light-armed troops: τὸ πελταστικὸν δὲ κουφότερον μέν τύγχανει δυ τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ-ή γάρ πέλτη σμικροτέρα τῆς άσπίδος καὶ έλαφροτέρα, καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια τῶν δοράτων καὶ σαρισῶν λειπόμενα-βαρύτερον δε τοῦ ψιλοῦ.

Φλειοῦντα: on the upper Asopus, some 10 miles S. of Sicyon. Polyaenus (iii. 9. 54) gives rather a different version of this exploit of lphicrates.

τοσούτους: Diodorus (xiv. 91) says 300. οδ δεχόμενοι: cp. iv. 2. 16 and note. κατάγοιεν, sc. οί Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

φυλάττει, infin. of purpose; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

οΐανπερ: in agreement only with τὴν πόλιν, both because ἡ πόλις is the principal idea of the sentence and because the word παρέ-

λαβον is only appropriate to πόλις. According to Diod. xiv. 91 Iphicrates immediately afterwards attacked Sicyon, defeated the Sicyonians and slew 500 of them: cp. Polyaen. iii. 9. 24.

§ 16. ως=ωστε: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 608.

έκ τοσούτου, 'from so great a distance,' i. e. έντὸς ἀκοντίσματος.

ol νεώτεροι: cp. iv. 5. 14 and Appendix, p. 347.

§ 17. ἐπεκδραμόντες πελτασταῖς, 'having sallied out against the peltasts.'

έκ τοῦ ... τείχους: cp. §§ 7 and 13. Probably one of the Long Walls is meant.

δοπερ μορμόνας: cp. Plat. Crito 46 c δοπερ παίδας ήμας μορμολύττηται.

έκ τοῦ Λεχαίου όρμώμενοι: cp. § 12 note.

έστρατεύοντο. This, the MSS. reading, seems better than Schneider's έστρατοπεδεύοντο, because Xenophon evidently means mere marches round the walls of Corinth which were intended to show that the Lacedaemonians still remained masters of the country.

§ 18. διήρητο: cp. § 13.

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ελθοιεν έπὶ σφάς. The Long Walls blocked the road across the isthmus. Cp. Ages. 2. 17, where Agesilaus, when he took these walls, is described as άναπετάσας της Πελοποννήσου τας πύλας.

9 391-390 B.C.

§ 19. 'Aργείους . . . τῷ πολέμφ. Similarly Andocides (iii. 27) says of the Argives, apparently just before Agesilaus' invasion, that autol ίδια εἰρήνην ποιησάμενοι τὴν χώραν οὐ παρέχουσιν ἐμπολεμεῖν∶ cp § 1.

'Aynoilaos. No exploits of Agesilaus have been recorded since his return to Sparta after the battle of Coronea in the autumn of 394: cp. Ages. 2. 16, 17; and Plutarch (Ages. 19, 20), who says that in Sparta προσφιλής μεν ην εύθύς τοις πολίταις και περίβλεπτος από τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς διαίτης, and that he discovered among the papers of Lysander evidence of a conspiracy against himself, which however he refused to publish.

ὑπερβαλών, i.e. across the mountains separating the Argolis from Corinth. The same word is similarly used without an object expressed in v. 4. 41.

κατά Τενέαν: cp. Ages. 2. 17 κατά τὰ στενά είς Κόρινθον.

Τελευτίας: cp. Plut. Ages. 21 μέγιστον οὖν δυνάμενος ἐν τῷ πόλει διαπράττεται Τελευτίαν τὸν όμομήτριον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ γενέσθαι. This victory seems to be the event alluded to in Xenophon's chronicle of maritime affairs, iv. 8. 11.

τὰ νεώρια: cp. § 12 note.

τὸ πολιτικύν: opposed to the μισθοφόροι of § 14.

οίκαδε ἀπήγαγεν: Ages. 2. 17 οίκαδε ἀπελθών εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια όπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παιῶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει. This festival was celebrated about midsummer.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1-5. On an expedition to Piraeum Agesilaus surprised the Argives celebrating the Isthmian games. By a ruse he captured much booty and many prisoners in Piraeum. § 6-10. Puffed up with pride he refused to notice some Theban envoys, who had come to ask for peace: just at the moment news was brought him of the annihilation of the Spartan mora. The envoys said no more about peace. Next day Agesilaus marched up to the gates of Corinth and encamped round Lechaeum. \$\$ 11-17. This Spartan mora was returning to Lechaeum from escorting the Amyclaeans on their homeward march to take part in the Hyacinthia, when it was suddenly attacked by Iphicrates and his peltasts. The hoplites were no match in speed for the light-armed troops, and their resistance to the onset grew feebler until their discomfiture was completed by the arrival of Callias and the Athenian hoplites. Only a remnant escaped to Lechaeum. §§ 18, 19. Agesilaus retired hastily to Sparta. Iphicrates further succeeded in capturing Sidus, Crommyon, and Oenoe: but the Lacedaemonians held Lechaeum.

9 890-389 B. C.

§ 1. ek de rourou: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

(οl) ἐν τῆ πόλει, i.e. Corinth.

dν τῷ Πειραίῳ. This τὸ Πείραιον must not be confused with ὁ Πειραιός of Thuc. viii. 10. As appears from the context and from Strabo viii. 380, Xenophon means the district on the NW. side of the Isthmus terminating in the promontory of the Heraeum. Ages. (2. 18) gives as an additional motive for the expedition δτι Βοιωτοί ταύτη ἐκ Κρεύσιος ὁρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγίγροντο.

ο μην εν φ "Ισθμια γίγνεται. The Isthmian games were celebrated every two years, about April in the first and third Olympic years: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

"Αργους της Κορίνθου: cp. iv. 4. 6 note and Diod. xiv. 92 'Αργείοι . . . τήν τε dκρόπολιν κατελάβοντο καὶ την πόλιν εξιδιοποιησάμενοι την Κορινθίων χώραν 'Αργείαν εποίησαν.

§ 2. ἐν τῷ leρῷ, i. e. of Posidon.

περιέμενεν. The Corinthian exiles had asked Agesilaus to offer the sacrifice himself, but this he had refused to do, Plut. Ages. 21.

ἔστι μὰν å ... ἐκηρύχθησαν. Tr. 'for some prizes (å accus. of respect after ἐνικήθη) the same competitor was twice vanquished, while for others the same competitors were twice proclaimed the winners.'

§ 3. τη τετάρτη ἡμέρα: the exact details of time and place are noticeable throughout the whole of this expedition.

τὸ ἄστυ, i.e. Corinth.

μετεπέμψαντο: from Piraeum, as appears from Ages. 2. 19 βεβοηθηκότας έκ τοῦ Πειραίου els τὴν πόλιν πασσυδία.

τὰ θερμά. These hot springs are close to the sea near the modern village of Lutraki at the foot of a SW. spur of Mt. Geranea.

§ 4. μικρφ καιρίφ δέ: for the absence of μέν cp. Anab. iv. 8. 9 δρος μέγα προσβατὸν δέ.

πάνυ qualifies ύψηλοῦ: cp. μάλα § 1.

καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν . . . σπειρία: parenthetical.

άθύμως πρὸς τὸ δείπνον έχόντων, i.e. they had no appetite for their supper.

ηλείφοντο. Similarly the Cyreians, caught in a snowstorm on the Armenian mountains, πῦρ ἔκαον καὶ ἐχρίοντο, Anab. iv. 4. 12.

δ νεώς τοῦ Ποσειδώνος. Either the celebrated temple on the Isthmus near which the Isthmian games were held, or a small temple in the Piraeum not far from the Heraean promontory, which Curtius (Peloponnesos ii. 553) suggests may have been dedicated to Posidon.

§ 5. τὸ "Ηραιον: a temple of Hera Acraea on the headland formed by the westernmost spur of Mount Geranea.

Olvon: a fortress on the north side of the Isthmus which protected the Corinthian frontier towards Megara.

dντετειχισμένον, i.e. in the district of Piraeum: cp. Ages. 2. 19 τὰ τείχη & δνετετείχιστο.

τῶν σφαγίων: for the massacre cp. iv. 4. 2-4.

τοῖε φυγάσι, i.e. the Corinthian oligarchs: cp. § 2.

πραθήναι: according to the practice of Greek warfare. Contrast Agesilaus' reply to those same Corinthian oligarchs, when they wished on some other occasion to enslave their own city, δτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν, Ages. 7. 6.

§ 6. πρεσβεῖαι . . . πολλαί. It appears from Andocides' speech De Pace, the probable date of which (cp. Introd. p. xlviii) is 392-391 winter, that there had already been many but fruitless negotiations for peace: cp. iv. 8. 15 note.

οὐδ' όρῶν ἐδόκει: cp. Plut. Ages. 22 ὁ δὲ μισῶν μὲν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν (Thebes), οἰόμενος δὲ τότε καὶ συμφέρειν ἐνυβρίσαι, προσεποιείτο μήτε ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀκούειν ἐντυγχανόντων.

Φάρακοs: perhaps the same Lacedaemonian as the Pharax who had been admiral in 397: cp. iii. 2. 12, 14.

τὴν λίμνην. There is a lake, now called Buliasmeni, just eastward of the Heraeum: where it adjoins the temple, there are considerable ruins.

dπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, 'from the camp': cp. ii. 4. 6.

§ 7. $\tau \delta$. . . $\pi \delta \theta o s$: the article seems to presuppose the reader's previous knowledge of the disaster: cp. iv. 3. 10 and Introd. p. xxx. The details of the event are given in §§ 11–17.

της έν Λεχαίφ μόρας: cp. iv. 4. 12 note.

πολεμάρχους . . . ξεναγούς: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

§ 8. τοίς περὶ δαμοσίαν, sc. σκηνήν: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 4 δπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλείς ἔξω σκηνοίεν, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπάδειξε. The σύσκηνοι of the king were the Polemarchs and three Spartiatae, ibid. 13. 1: cp. iv. 7. 4; vi. 4. 14.

δορυφόροι: cp. iii. 3. 9 and Appendix, p. 347.

τοῦ μέν: Agesilaus.

τῶν δὲ: οί περὶ δαμοσίαν.

τὰ θερμά: § 3 note.

ανηρημένοι είησαν, i.e. υπόσπουδοι: cp. iii. 5. 24, 25.

διετίθετο, i. e. sold them.

§ 9. εἰς ἄστυ, i. e. to Corinth.

§ 10. τὸ τροπαίον. Trophies were held sacred.

XEN, HELL,

Κρεῦσω: the nearest seaport to Thebes on the Corinthian Gulf.

«ν χώρα, 'on the spot,' i. e. in battle.

λαμπροί . . . περιήσων: cp. the reception at Sparta of the news of the battle of Leuctra, vi. 4. 16.

§ 11. rà Yakhola. 'This festival the Dorian conquerors [of Laconia] took over from the Amyclaeans. It was celebrated at the end of the month Hecatombaeon (July) and lasted three days. On the first day the offering of the dead was brought to Hyacinthus. His urn was opened, and the ashes drenched with wine and milk. The funeral feast was then eaten in solemn silence. On the next day, which was sacred to Apollo, the rites were more cheerful. The day began with a great procession in which all the Amyclaeans, a large portion of the Spartans, and many of the neighbouring population, took part. The procession was accompanied by a poem in anapaestic measures, and ended with the presentation to the god of the robe woven by the Spartan women. The remainder of the day was occupied with a sacrifice and feast and various kinds of amusements. The third day was devoted to games, of which the throwing of quoits formed a large part.' Abbott, Hist. of Greece, I. vi. 22: cp. Her. ix. 7; Thuc. v. 23; Paus. iii. 19. 3; 16. 2; Athenaeus iv. 139.

έπὶ τὸν παιῶνα: on the second day of the festival.
κατέλιπε, i.e. before the march to the Isthmus and Piraeum.
τἢ τῶν ἐππέων μόρα: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

§ 12. κατεφρόνουν: the accusative and infinitive expresses the opinion that they contemptuously held. 'They arrogantly presumed that no one would attack them,' Dakyns: cp. v. 4. 45 μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπείξειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις; Her. i. 66 καταφρονήσαντες 'Αρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι.

§ 13. Kaλλlas reappears as the Athenian orator at the Congress in Sparta in 371 B.C., vi. 3. 2. He is one of the interlocutors in Plato's Protagoras: he owned the most splendid house in Athens, and had spent more money on the Sophists than all the rest of the world: Plat. Prot. 337 d; Apol. 20 a.

τῆ ὁδῷ, 'if [the Lacedaemonians] marched along the road.' els τὰ γυμνά: the right unshielded side: cp. iv. 4. 11. ἀποφυγεῖν: subject, Callias and Iphicrates.

§ 14. δ μέν τις . . . δ δέ: cp. iv. 4. 3 note.

τοὺε ὑπασκιστάs: shield-bearers, mostly slaves, who followed the hoplites even on the field of battle: cp. iv. 8. 39; Anab. iv. 2. 20.

τή ἀληθεία ἐσώθησον, i.e. with honour untarnished according to Spartan notions: cp. § 17.

τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ήβης: cp. ii. 4. 32 note and Appendix, p. 347.

§ 15. #pour: better #pour, 'caught,' 'overtook': cp. Appendix, p. 360.

if describe βολης, i.e. the hoplites could not come within a spear's throw of the peltasts. The prep. in is used to denote the distance the pursuers were from the pursued.

καὶ γὰρ . . . ἀκέλευε. This seems to give the reason why the hoplites could not come up with the peltasts, so that the subject to ἀκέλευε must be ὁ Ἰφικράτης and αὐτούς must mean τοὺς πελταστάς. Breitenbach, however, understands the subject to be ὁ πολέμαρχος, αὐτούς to be the Lacedaemonian hoplites, and τοὺς ὁπλίτας to be the Athenian hoplites—an interpretation which seems to involve greater difficulties both of translation and meaning. Moreover, Callias and his hoplites were at the time of the first attack a long way off: cp. §§ 14 and 17.

ώς τάχους: the genitive depends on ώς: cp. ii. 1. 14; iii. 4.16 note. ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου: the prep. ἐκ is accounted for by the following verb ἡκόντιζου: cp. iii. 1. 22.

§ 16. τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης: men between thirty and thirty-five years old.

ol lππει̂s, i.e. the escort to the Amyclaeans, § 12.

τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις, i. e. the hoplites sent out to skirmish. τούτοις, neuter: the things already described.

καὶ αὐθις, 'again and again.'

§ 17. of dnd row Asxalov must mean Lacedaemonians or their allies forming part of the garrison at Lechaeum, who were not sufficiently numerous to force their way by land past Callias' hoplites to the assistance of the distressed mora, and therefore attempted to help them by sea.

τούς όπλίτας: commanded by Callias, § 14.

περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους: the smallness of these numbers is suspicious, as Xenophon in § 12 estimated the total strength of the mora at 600, and apparently very few escaped alive.

§ 18. οὖτως ἐπέπρακτο. Iphicrates received extraordinary honours from the Athenians for this victory: cp. Dem. xxiii. 198; Corn. Nep. Iphic. 2 moram Lacedaemoniorum interfecit quod maxime tota celebratum est Graecia.

διιών, i.e. through the towns, as appears from els ταs πόλεις.

δρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος: the difficulty of this passage is that the distance of Orchomenus from Mantinea is seven or eight English miles, in other words two hours' march. If then Agesilaus started at dawn, how could he have passed Mantinea ἔτι σκοταῖος? Büchsenschütz's conjecture πρὸ δρθρου solves the difficulty. Campe's alteration of the order of the words into ἔτι σκοταῖος ἀναστὰς δρθρου is not so good, because, as Büchsenschütz remarks, the point emphasized is that Agesilaus marched past Mantinea, not at daybreak, but ἔτι σκοταῖος: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σκοταῖος: for the adjective in place of an adverb cp. Anab. ii. 2. 17 σκοταῖοι προσιόντες.

χαλεπῶς ἄν: to be taken with θεάσασθαι.

rovs Marriráas. Not only had there been old causes of hostility between the Spartans and Mantineans (cp. iii. 2. 21), but recently the Spartans had taunted them with fearing Iphicrates' peltasts δοπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια, iv. 4. 17.

§ 19. ὑπὸ Πραξίτου: cp. iv. 4. 13. ὑπὸ ᾿Αγησιλάου: cp. § 5.

elle: for Iphicrates' departure from Corinth cp. iv. 8. 34 and note.

παραπλέοντες και έντεῦθεν δρμώμενοι, i.e. sailing along the coast to Lechaeum and sallying forth from thence: cp. Critical Note.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1-12. At the entreaty of the Achaeans, who wished to secure Calydon against the attacks of the Acarnanians and their allies, Agesilaus led an expedition into Acarnania. By a long march into the heart of the country he captured rich booty, but on his return extricated his army with great difficulty from the mountains, inflicting however considerable loss upon the Acarnanians. §§ 13, 14. Discontented at these results the Achaeans entreated Agesilaus to stay longer in the country. Promising a second invasion he retired through Aetolia to Rhium and thence homewards.

2889-888 B.C.

§ 1. Μετά δὲ τοῦτο: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

τὸ παλαιὸν Alruhías: acc. to Thuc. iii. 102 the ancient name of this district, including Calydon and Pleuron, was Aeolis.

πολίτας πεποιημένοι, i.e. admitted to membership of the Achaean League; cp. Thuc. iii. 63, the Thebans said to the Plataeans, εγύνεσθε... 'Αθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολίται.

ol 'Akaprâres: cp. iv. 2. 17. In the Peloponnesian War they were allies of Athens (Thuc. ii. 9, 68; iii. 105, 114), and sent a contingent to the Athenian expedition against Syracuse (Thuc. vii. 57).

συμμάχους είναι; for the alliance cp. iii. 5. 2 note.

- § 2. ἐπόμιβα: cp. iii. 2. 26 against Elis, and iv. 4. 17 at the battle of Corinth.
 - § 3. τοις τ' έφόροις και τη έκκλησία: cp. Appendix, p. 341.

τὸ μ'eροs, i. e. proportionate contingents from the Spartan allies : cp. vi. 1. 1.

§ 4. ol ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν: Diodorus (xix. 67) represents Cassander as advising the Acarnanians in 314 B.C. ἐκ τῶν ὀχυρῶν καὶ μικρῶν χωρίων εἰς ὀλίγας πόλεις μετοικῆσαι.

els Στράτου: situated upon the Achelous, the largest city of the Acarnanians. From this passage it appears to have been the place of meeting of the Acarnanian League: cp. Thuc. ii. 80, 82, 102.

έαυτούς, i. e. the Lacedaemonians: cp. iii. I. 3.

- § 5. † . . · f, 'either . . · or': σταδίων is the genitive dependent on πλέον: cp. Hipparch. 8. 25 καταλιπών † τέτταρας † πέντε τῶν κρατίστων ἵππων.
- § 6. την λίμνην: Xenophon seems here as elsewhere (cp. iv. 5. 7 note) to assume in the reader a previous acquaintance with the facts. Reckoning the distance of Agesilaus' marches, we may perhaps assume that Xenophon means the largest lake in Acarnania, some seven miles long, to the NW. of Stratus.

διεπώλει, i. e. to the λαφυροπώλαι: cp. iv. I. 26 note.

§ 7. πελτασταί: cp. Thuc. ii. 81 δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ 'Ακαρνάνες κράτιστοι εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν (i. c. σφενδονᾶν); ibid. vii. 31 ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν 'Ακαρνανίαν χωρίων σφενδονήτας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς ξυναγείρων.

κατεβίβασαν δέ, i.e. compelled the Lacedaemonian army to come down to the level ground.

στρατιώται, i. e. the Lacedaemonian soldiers.

§ 8. καταλαβόντες, sc. τὰ κύκλφ περιέχοντα δρη.

§ 9. πρὸς τοῖς Ισχυροῖς, i.e. places inaccessible to hoplites and horsemen.

ຂ້າງການ ປີເພ່ແຄະນາ, for the infin. cp. iii. 1. 12.

τοὺς...προσκειμένους, i.e. the Acarnanians who attacked him on the left.

§ 10. μάλα κατείχου, 'were pressing him very hard': cp. Thuc. v. 5 αὐτοὺς κατείχευ δ . . . πόλεμος; ibid. i. 103 αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς δρων πολέμω κατείχου.

та пентекавовка аф' Авп : ср. іч. 5. 14, 16.

§ 11. ἡφίσσε: imperfect with double augment from ἀφίημι.

roîs δόρασιν: generally used to thrust, not as missile weapons: cp. ii. 4. 15.

§ 12. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου: adverbial='afterwards': cp. vii. 1. 44 τὸ μέχρι τούτου.

τὸ μετόπωρον: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

- § 14. Ναύπακτον... ἀπολαβεῖν. According to Paus. x. 38. 10, at the end of the Peloponnesian War the Locrians regained possession of the town, which had originally belonged to the Aetolians (cp. Thuc. i. 103). In 367 B.C. it was in the hands of the Achaeans (cp. Diod. xv. 75) as well as Calydon and Dyme; when however they seized the place, is unknown.
- τὸ 'Pior: at the narrowest point of the Corinthian Gulf, less than two miles from Antirrhium on the Achaean coast.
- ol 'Aθηναίοι: nothing more is known of the presence of an Athenian squadron in these waters at this time, i.e. about 389, when they were showing great naval activity in the Aegean: cp. iv. 8. 31; v. 1. 1-9.

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. The threat of a second invasion speedily induced the Acarmanians to make peace with the Achaeans and to enter the Spartan League. §§ 2-7. Agesipolis headed a second invasion of the Argolis. Before entering the country he consulted the gods in Olympia and Delphi, whether he might

lawfully refuse to acknowledge the Sacred Truce, which on similar occasions the Argives had fraudulently pleaded. Assured that he might, he entered the country and advanced to the very gates of Argos, doing great damage.

9 388-387 B. C.

§ 1. той ўров: ср. Introd. p. xlix.

έφαινεν, sc. δ Άγησίλασε: elsewhere the phrase is used only of the Ephors or the Assembly; cp. Appendix, pp. 337, 342.

er μεσογεία . . . τὰς πόλεις: so that no supplies could reach them by sea.

συμμαχίαν: Ages. 2. 20 'Αχαιοίς μεν φίλους έποίησεν 'Ακαρνάνας και Αλτωλούς και 'Αργείους, έαυτφ δε και συμμάχους, i.e. the Amphilochian Argives.

§ 2. ek be routou, cp. Introd. p. xlix.

'Aγησίπολιε: cp. iv. 2. 9 and note.

eyépero, 'were favourable': cp. iii. 1. 17 note; iii. 4. 3.

τον θεόν: Zeus.

δσίως ... δχοι = δσιον ... εἶη: cp. four lines lower. For the fact cp. iii. 2. 22 note.

ούχ δπότε . . . τοὺς μῆνας. Pausanias (iii. 5. 8) in narrating the same incident speaks of πατρφούς δή τινας σπονδάς έκ παλαιοῦ καθεστώσας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. We may therefore infer that at the time of the Carnean and other such festivals (the plural τοὺς μῆνας shows that there were more than one) the various Dorian states felt themselves bound to respect the Holy Truce during their celebration, when it was duly proclaimed. The Argives apparently availed themselves of the chaos of the Greek Calendars, which were reckoned differently in different states. to proclaim such a truce, whenever it suited their convenience (cp. ωσπερ εἰώθεσαν § 3), even when they did not resort to tricks still more disreputable, like that practised in 419, when they invaded the territory of Epidaurus only a few days before the Carnean festival. On that occasion, according to Thucydides (v. 54), instead of keeping the month Carnea, they pretended that they were continuing to keep the 27th day of the preceding month, until they withdrew their forces.

ἐμβάλλειν . . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι. No such instances are recorded. Xenophon mentions no such attempt to hinder either of Agesilaus' invasions: cp. iv. 4. 19.

υπέφερον, 'pretended': cp. Thuc. v. 54 τον μῆνα προυφασίσαντο.

έπεσήμαινεν, i. e. indicated by signs observed in the sacrificial victim. On the other hand, Apollo at Delphi spoke through the mouth of the Pythoness, ἀπεκρίνατο.

κατά ταὐτά: cp. Arist. Rhet. ii. 23. 12 Ἡγήσιππος (᾿Αγησίπολις) ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπηρώτα τόν θεον, πρότερον κεχρημένος ᾿Ολυμπίασιν, εἰ αὐτῷ ταὐτὰ δοκεί ἄπερ τῷ πατρί, ὡς αἰσχρὸν δν τάναντία εἰπεῖν.

§ 4. σπονδών: for the custom of pouring libations at the end of a meal cp. Sympos. 2. I ἀφηρέθησαν αλ τράπεζαι καλ ἔσπεισαν καλ ἐπαιάνισαν.

ό θεός, i. e. Posidon.

τών ἀπὸ δαμοσίας: cp. iv. 5. 8 note.

forro datieral, 'thought that they ought to retire.'

⁷Ayıs: cp. iii. 2, 24.

ordore: the optative is used, because a general principle is enunciated.

έπικελεύει»: ἐπί in composition denotes assent or encouragement: cp. § 2 ἐπεσήμαινεν.

§ 5. ov. The MSS. ov seems hardly consistent with the context, since it was Agesipolis' ambition to advance farther than Agesilaus had done before him. If it be retained, the statement must be taken to refer strictly to the shortness of that particular day's march. Tillmann's simple conjecture av removes all difficulty.

νεωστί: 391 B.C.: Cp. iv. 4. 19.

δοπερ πένταθλος. The comparison applies to πάντη: just as the πένταθλος strives to distance his competitor in every one of the five contests, so Agesipolis tried to surpass Agesilaus in every respect. There is no need to discover in this rather comical rivalry traces of political jealousy, as some commentators have done, relying on v. 3. 20.

§ 6. κal . . . wore introduces one of the instances in which Agesipolis tried to advance farther than Agesilaus: $\kappa al \gamma d\rho$ is more usual. Xenophon means that on one occasion Agesipolis had come so near to the walls that he was exposed to the fire of missiles from the towers, which compelled him to retreat.

Λακωνικήν: for geographical reasons Madvig conjectures Σαρωνικήν.

προσαραρέναι: a poetical word, never elsewhere used in Attic prose.

ol Κρῆτεs: Cretan archers fought on the Lacedaemonian side at the battle of Corinth: cp. iv. 2. 16.

Naυπλίαν:, a coast town, six miles SE. of Argos.

§ 7. τὰς εἰρκτάς. What this inclosed space was is entirely unknown. Pausanias (iii. 5. 9) says the thunderbolt fell when the king ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κατεστρατοπεθεύετο ἥδη τὸ ᾿Αργείων.

πληγέντες ἐμβροντηθέντες : cp. Paus. l. c. καί τινες καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεραυνωθέντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονας ἐποίησαν αἰ βρονταί.

παρὰ Κηλοῦσαν. The MSS. of Strabo (viii. 328) have Κηλῶσσα, for which Κοίλωσσα and Κοιλοῦσσα have been conjectured. It was a mountain in the territory of Phlius.

āλοβa: cp. iii. 4. 15 note.

CHAPTER VIII

§§ 1-4. Meanwhile after their victory Pharnabasus and Conon expelled the Spartan harmosts from the islands and coast cities. At Ephesus Pharnabasus gave Conon 40 ships and bade him meet him at Sestos, because Dercylidas kept fast hold of Abydos. §§ 5, 6. Dercylidas further secured Sestos, so that Pharnabasus found these two cities unassailable. The satrap left Conon in the Hellespont with orders to collect a large fleet for the next campaign. §§ 7, 8. In the spring Pharnabasus and Conon crossed to Melos, ravaged the Spartan coasts, garrisoned Cythera, and supplied the allies at Corinth with money. §§ 9-11. Pharnabasus returned home, but allowed Conon to remain with the fleet to help the Athenians rebuild their Long Walls and the Wall of Piraeus. This was successfully accomplished. With the Persian gold the Corinthians fitted out a fleet, and it was not until the appointment of Teleutias that the Spartans could regain the mastery of the Corinthian Gulf. §§ 12-15. Alarmed at Conon's successes the Spartans sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus, at the same time that the Athenians and their allies sent envoys to counteract his influence. The terms that he proposed to the Satrap were for various reasons rejected by all the \$\forall 16-19. Tiribasus, having supplied Antalcidas with other envoys. money and arrested Conon, went up to the Persian King. His place was taken by Struthas, who vigorously supported the Athenians. The Spartans despatched Thibron to make war upon him: but he soon contrived to surprise

\$5 20-22. Alarmed last the and slay Thibron and to scatter his forces. Athenians should win over Rhodes, the Lacedoconomiens at the entreaty of the Rhodian oligarchs sent out Ecdicus with 8 ships, and at the same time despatched Diphrides to replace Thibron. Diphrides was more successful against Struthes; but Ecdicus, finding the Rhedian democrats too strong, \$\$ 23, 24. Telephies was best to separate remained inactive at Creidses. Ecdicus, On his way to Rhodes he captured on Athenius aquadron sending to the help of Evagores in Cyprus. He brought back his speeds to \$\$ 25-30. Horndon the Cniches, and then proceeded to Rhodes. Athenians despatched Throsybulus with 40 ships. First he persuaded Medocus, hing of the Odrysee, and Southes to become allies of Athens. Then he sailed to Eventium, sold the tolls, and set up a democracy. Next he made friends with the Chalcedonians. Arrived in Lesbos, where only the Mytherians were friendly, he collected an army, attached Mathymma, defeated and slow the Spartan harmost, and raised a large sum of money, ba using over some of the other cities. Before sealing for Rhodes he exterted money both from other cities and from Aspandus. In resenge the Aspandiens slee him. §§ 31-39. The Athenians sent out Agyrrhics to replace Throughbulus, The Ephors despatched Ameribias to supercede Dercylides at Abydos, where he did much damage to Athenian interests. The Athenians accordingly sent out Iphicrates and his poltasts to the Hollespoot. Iphicrates surprised and sleer Anaxibius as he was returning from Antandras.

394-393 B.C.

§ 1. ἐν ῷ δὲ . . . δυγγένομα. Nenophon groups together all the most important events that happened by sea between 394 and 387 in iv. & 1-v. 1, 30: cp. Introd. pp. xvii, l.

prime . . . service : cp. Introd. p. xxix.

ry suspension, i.e. at Chidus in 394: cp. iv. 5. 11 and notes ad los.

via viewer a.r.h. According to Diod. xiv. & Pharmahazus and Conon first caused Cos, Nisyros, and Teos to revolt: then Chios expelled the Lacedaemonian garrison and the like was done by Mynlene, Ephesus and Erythrae—all of which joined the victors. Of the rest some similarly expelled the Lacedaemonian garrisons and asserted their independence, whilst others went further and actively supported Conon: so that the Lacedaemonians and reviewers gained vip supported Conon: so that the Lacedaemonians and reviewers gained vip supported Conon: so that the Lacedaemonians and reviewers gained vip supported Conon: so that the Envelopment of Hicks, 70 records the honours paid by the Erythraeans to Conon, and another (CIA, ii. 11) treaties between Athens and Chios and Phaselis.

τούς . . . άρμοστάς: cp. iii. 5. 13 note.

αὐτονόμους: cp. Tithraustes' offer to Agesilaus in 395 τὰς ἐν τῷ 'Ασία πόλεις αὐτονόμους οθσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὰν αὐτῷ (βασιλεῖ) ἀποφέρει», iii. 4. 25.

§ 2. of de, i.e. the inhabitants of the wokers.

§ 3. τετταράκοντα τριήρειs: cp. Diod. xiv. 83. The combined fleet at Cnidus numbered 90 triremes: cp. iv. 3. 11 note.

Σηστόν. This city had been captured by the Lacedaemonians after Aegospotami (cp. ii. 1. 28 note), and still remained in their hands: cp. infr. §§ 5, 6.

Δερκυλίδας . . . πολέμιος: Agesilaus had in the summer of 394 sent Dercylidas to the Hellespont to announce the Lacedae-monian victory at Corinth to his Asiatic allies. The cause of Dercylidas' personal enmity against Pharnabasus is narrated iii. 1. 9.

τὴν "Αβυδον . . . φίλην: cp. Dem. xxiii. 158 'Αβύδου τῆς τὸν ἄπανθ' ὑμῶν (i.e. the Athenians) χρόνον έχθρᾶς.

§ 4. ὑμῶν . . . φίλοις οδοι . . . εδεργέτας. As in iv. 1. 35, the participial clause in the dative agreeing with ὑμῶν expresses the condition, the accusative with the infinitive its result.

ਫੌστι . . . ਫੌχον : cp. Anab. iv. I. 3 καὶ ਫੌστιν οὖτως ͼੌχον.

el . . . ἐκρατήθημεν: el with the indicative (instead of δτι) expresses Dercylidas' unwillingness to recognize the undoubted fact. δτιως: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

Έλληνικόν... ραυτικόν: Xenophon (cp. iv. 3. 11 and note), calls Conon's division of the fleet τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, so that Dercylidas must here mean by Ἑλληνικόν a fleet from Greece proper, as indeed appears from ἡ Ἑλλάs in the context.

§ 5. lórras . . . ἐδέχοντο . . . μετεπέμποντο: the pres. part. and imperf. tenses express repeated action.

διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους: Dercylidas in 398 had secured the Greeks in the Chersonese against the Thracians by rebuilding the wall across the Isthmus: cp. iii. 2. 10.

'Ασία . . . βασιλέως. So iii. 5. 13.

Tημνος; West of Magnesia on the Hermus.

Alyaisis. This place is unknown. Valckenaer's conjecture is exceedingly probable—Alyai elos, Aegae being a place ten miles north of Temnos: cp. Critical Note.

δ...πολιορκηθήσεσθαι, i.e. both land and sea forces are necessary for the blockade of the place.

at, i. e. as he had already done at Abydos.

ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι, 'kept them from being panic-stricken.' For the genitive cp. Aristoph. Lys. 380 σχήσω σ' ἐγὼ τῆς νῦν βοῆς.

§ 6. ἐπ' οἴκου: to Dascyleum: cp. iii. 4. 13.

del &ν ἐπεπόνθει: from Dercylidas (iii. 1. 9 ff.) and from Agesilaus (iii. 4. 12 ff.; iv. 1. 1 ff.).

898-392 B.C.

§ 7. aua de re lapi: 393 B.C.

διὰ νήσων: the islands of the Aegean, without the article as in vi. 2. 12: cp. Diod. xiv. 84 τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους προσαγαγόμενοι.

καταπλεύσας, SC. δ Φαρνάβαζος.

• papás: at the head of the Messenian Gulf, the modern Kalamas.

τὰ τῆς βοηθείας, i.e. the danger of a Spartan force coming to the rescue.

§ 8. ἀρμοστήν. This term, usually restricted to Spartan, Xenophon also uses of Theban governors in vii. 1. 43; 3. 4, 9.

τοῖε συμμάχοιε, 'the confederates,' as § 13. There is no trace in Xenophon of any formal alliance either as already existing or concluded at this time between Persia and the anti-Lacedae-monian confederacy (cp. iii. 5. 1, 2), so that Diodorus (xiv. 84) must be incorrect in representing Pharnabazus and Conon at Corinth συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι.

§ 9. λέγοντος . . . καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη . . . ὁ δὲ φαρνάβαζος : an easily intelligible anacoluthon.

τὰ μακρὰ τείχη: destroyed by Lysander in 404: cp. ii. 2. 23.

oδ . . . βαρύτερον: for the importance of these walls to Athens cp. Thuc. i. 69, 93.

χρήματα: cp. Cor. Nep. Con. 4 Conon... muros dirutos a Lysandro utrosque et Piraei et Athenarum reficiendos curat pecuniaeque quinquaginta talenta, quae a Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

§ 10. δρθωσε: CIA. ii. 830, 831, cp. 161; iv. 2, 830 b.; Diod. xiv. 85. The first inscription proves that the rebuilding of the Athenian fortifications by Conon was begun in the archorship of

Eubulides (July 394 to July 393) Αλγείδος τειχοπ[οιολ...] ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου αἰρ[εθέττες]...μισ[θωτής] Κόνων: the second shows that the work went on for some time—at least to the archonship of Philocles, 391–390. Similarly Diodorus (l. c.) under the year of Eubulides states—ό δ' οὖν Κόνων μισθωσάμενος πλήθος τεχνιτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν πληρωμάτων ὅχλον εἰς ὑπερεσίαν παραδούς, ταχέως τὸ πλείστον μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνφκοδόμησε.

Bourroi. Contrast their conduct eleven years previously: ii. 2. 19. § 11. ἐπιστολεύε: cp. i. 1. 23; 5. 1; ii. 1. 7.

'Ηριππίδας: last mentioned as a xenagus at the battle of Coronea; iv. 3. 17: cp. iii. 4. 20 note.

'Píor: cp. iv. 6. 14 note.

892-891 B.C.

Televrias, brother of Agesilaus: iv. 4. 19.

αδ . . . πάλιν: αδ to be joined with οδτος, i.e. Teleutias as opposed to the other admirals; πάλιν goes with ἐκράτει.

§ 12. Tipiβaζov. Tiribazus, satrap of Western Armenia during the retreat of the Ten Thousand (Anab. iv. 4. 4) and one of the royal benefactors (Diod. xv. 10), seems to have succeeded Tithraustes (iii. 5. 1) as satrap of Ionia (v. 1. 28), and as commander of the Persian forces in Asia Minor (cp. § 17 with i. 4. 3).

'Arraλκίδαr, son of Leon, is represented by Plutarch (Ages. 23: cp. Artax. 21) as the personal and political enemy of Agesilaus.

τἢ πόλει ποιεῖσθα. The middle is used in its reflexive force 'to make peace for their own state': εἰρήνην ποιεῖν would mean 'to bring about a peace in general': cp. Andoc. iii. 24, 41.

§ 13. μετὰ Κόνωνος. Conon must therefore have remained about a year at Athens. Not only had he rebuilt the Long Walls, but he had given his fellow-citizens fifty talents (Cor. Nep. Con. 4), feasted them at his own expense (Athenaeus i. 5) and erected a temple to Aphrodite at Peiraeus to commemorate his victory at Cnidus (Paus. i. 1. 4). The Athenians in gratitude conferred ἀτέλεια upon him and erected a bronze statue in his honour like those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, with the inscription ἡλευθέρωσε τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίων συμμάχους (Dem. xx 70; Isoc. ix. 57; Paus. i. 3. 2).

§ 14. ekei: at Sardis.

τῶν . . . ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία . . . πόλεων. Tithraustes, the successor of

Tissaphernes, had offered similar terms to Agesilaus in 395: cp. iii. 4. 25.

§ 15. Λήμνου κ.τ.λ. These three islands, among the earliest Athenian possesions won by Miltiades (Her. vi. 40) and Cimon (Thuc. i. 98) and the last to be given up at the end of the Peloponnesian War (cp. ii. 2. 15 note), must have recently been recovered through the influence of Conon.

ol Θηβαίοι κ.τ.λ. Supremacy over the other Boeotian states, the constant aim of the policy of Thebes (cp. Thuc. iii. 65, 66), was only realized for a few years under the leadership of Epaminondas: cp. Appendix, p. 357.

ol 'Αργείοι: cp. iv. 4. 6.

ή ελρήνη . . . ἀτελής. It would appear from Andocides' speech De Pace that Sparta shortly afterwards-probably in the winter of 392-391—made another effort to bring about a general peace in Greece, this time without any appeal to Persia. Andocides, one of the Athenian envoys, strongly advocated the peace, the terms of which were according to him peculiarly favourable to Athens. Notwithstanding a general clause to make τας πόλεις αυτονόμους. the Athenians were to retain possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros and to keep their newly built Long Walls and triremes without interference. The Boeotians were to recognize the independence of Orchomenos and the Argives to give up their hold upon Corinth. Andocides represents the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians as eager for the peace, the Argives and Corinthians as opposed to it. The historian Philochorus (fr. ap. Andoc. de Pace ύπόθ.) stated that the Lacedaemonian envoys ἀπράκτους ἀνελθείν μή πείσαντος τοῦ ᾿Ανδοκίδου: cp. iv. 5. 6 note.

§ 16. $\lambda \dot{a}\theta \rho q$. . . $\chi \rho \dot{\eta} \mu \alpha \tau a$. Doubtless because his neighbour Pharnabazus was, with the approval of the king, supporting the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians.

όπως δυ... προσδέουντο: πληρωθένντος ναυτικοῦ stands as protasis to προσδέουντο δυ: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 330.

Κόνωνα . . . εἶρξε: cp. Diod. xiv. 85 πρόφασιν μὲν λαβὰν ὅτι ταῖε βασιλικαῖε δυνάμεσι τὰε πόλειε 'Αθηναίοιε κατακτάται, προσαγαγόμενος δ' αὐτὸν εἰε Σάρδειε συνέλαβε καὶ δήσαε εἰε φυλακὴν κατέθετο. This was the end of Conon's public career. Lysias (xix. 39-41) speaks of his dying of disease in Cyprus. Nepos (Conon, 5) mentions

a conflict of testimony, one story being that he was carried up to Susa and put to death, the other that he escaped from Tiribazus. Isocrates (iv. 154), like Diodorus, only mentions his arrest, ἐπὶ θανάτφ συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησαν.

? 891-390 B.C.

§ 17. των κατά θάλατταν, i.e. as κάρανος of Asia Minor; cp. i. 4. 3 ἄρξων πάντων των έπὶ θαλάττη; Diod. xiv. 99 Αρταξέρξης μὰν Στρούθαν στρατηγόν καταστήσας ἔπεμψεν έπὶ θάλατταν μετά δυνάμεως Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμήσοντα.

Θίβρωνα. Apparently the same Thibron who had been superseded in his command by Dercylidas in 399, recalled to Sparta and punished with exile for his misconduct towards the Asiatic allies (iii. 1. 8).

 $\delta\omega\beta\dot{a}s$: this was the first Lacedaemonian squadron to cross the Aegean since the battle of Cnidus.

Πριήνης . . . Λευκόφρυος . . . 'Αχιλλείου : cp. iii. 2. 17, 19 notes.

§ 18. περιβαλλομένους . . . δύναυντο, 'to surround and carry off whatever they could '—a hunting metaphor, taken from driving wild animals into a confined space.

διοσκηνών. The verb is used of soldiers leaving their mess and retiring each to his own quarters: cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 38 διασκηνούντων μετὰ τὸ δείπγον.

 $\pi\lambda$ elovs . . . β on β elas. However the lacuna be supplied, the meaning must be that still more escaped with their lives, because they heard of the engagement too late to take any part in it: cp. Critical Note.

§ 20. 'Poδίων. Xenophon has made no previous mention of Rhodian affairs, and the antecedent events can only imperfectly be put together out of Diod. xiv. 79, 97. The revolt of the island from Sparta and the admission of Conon to the harbour (cp. iii. 4. 28 note) in 395 implied, it would seem, the supremacy of the democratic party. But in 391 the oligarchs rose against the democrats, expelled them from the city, and defeated them in a pitched battle. Then further to secure their position they sent envoys to Sparta περὶ βοηθείας, εὐλαβούμενοι μή τινες τῶν πολιτῶν νεωτερίσωσι.

This story of Diodorus explains the small number of the ships which the Spartans sent to aid the Rhodian oligarchs, but it is inconsistent with Xenophon's of ἐκπεπτωκότες 'Ροδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου and with § 25 τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας (where τεῖχος can only mean a fort, not the acropolis, as Breitenbach suggests, of Rhodes) and τοὺς σφετέρους (Athenian) φίλους . . . τάς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὅντας καὶ μάχη κεκρατηκότας. In fact Diodorus seems just to reverse the position of the two parties and in ch. 99 speaks of the democrats as having seized φρούριον τι and as fighting πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

συνθιμένους, i.e. 'to allow the Athenians to subjugate Rhodes and unite so great a power with their own.'

ναθε όκτώ: Diod. xiv. 97 έπτα τριήρειε.

Εκδικον . . . Διφρίδαν. Diodorus gives the names of τρεῖε ἄνδρας, Εὐδύκιμον, Φιλόδοκον καὶ Διφρίδαν.

§ 22. εγχειρητικώτερος: Επαξ λεγόμενον.

§ 23. του Τελευτίαν σύν ταῖε δώδεκα ναυσίν: cp. iv. 4. 19; 8. 11 notes, and Introd. p. liv.

els τὴν Σάμον. For the hostility of Samos to Sparta cp. iii. 5. I note. According to Diod. xiv. 97, Eudocimus and his colleagues πρώτον εἰς Σάμον κομισθέντες ἀπέστησαν τὴν πόλιν ᾿Αθηναίων.

§ 24. Φιλοκράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτου. There is no reason beyond the name and date for identifying this Philocrates with the Philocrates accused in Lysias' Oration xxix.

inl συμμαχία τῆ Εὐαγόρου: cp. iii. 4. I note. Evagoras had supplied Conon with a large portion of his fleet at the battle of Cnidus in 394 and on Conon's arrival at Athens had been decreed public honours: cp. CIA. ii. 397; Isoc. ix. 57. Not content with the kingship of Salamis, he had attempted to win supremacy over the other states of Cyprus, three of which—Amathus, Soli, and Citium—appealed to Persia for aid. The king charged the Carian prince Hecatomnus and the Lydian satrap Autophradates with the task of checking his ambitious schemes. Evagoras thus finding himself involved in a war with Persia sought help from the Athenians, who out of gratitude and forgetful of their own need of Persian support against Sparta, first despatched this squadron of ten triremes under Philocrates and, again in 388 a second squadron under Chabrias: v. 1. 10; cp. Diod. xiv. 98; Isocr. ix. passim.

άμφότεροι . . . πράττοντες: a kind of nominative absolute, the meaning of which is plain from the context: cp. i. 1. 10.

συμμαχίαν = auxiliaries: the abstract for the concrete. So vi. 1. 13.

ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμφ = ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς ἐκεῦνον πολέμφ. So iii. 2. 22. διαθέμενος, i. e. disposed of by sale. So iv. 5. 8. αὐτῶν, i. e. the Lacedaemonians: cp. Critical Note.

9390-389 B.C.

§ 25. πάλιν, i. e. since the battle of Cnidus in 394.

Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα: last mentioned iii. 5. 16. The name of his deme is here for the first time added to distinguish him from Thrasybulus δ Κολλυτεύς mentioned in v. 1, 26.

σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσίν. The first fleet of any considerable dimensions sent out by Athens since the Peloponnesian war.

τείχος: cp. § 20 note.

§ 26. els τον Έλλήσκοντον. According to Diod. xiv. 94, he went first to Ionia where he raised money παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων.

οὐδενὸς . . . παρόντος. Dercylidas was still at Abydos, but had no fleet: cp. §§ 5 and 32.

'Aμήδοκον... Σεύθην. Seuthes as a boy had on the death of his father found refuge with Amedocus: cp. iii. 2. 9; Anab. vii. 2. 32.

τὰς ὑπὸ τἢ Θράκη: the usual expression is τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης (ii. 2. 5 and Thuc. passim) or simply Θράκη (i. 3. 10; 4. 9; iii. 2. 9); ὑπό is to be understood in its local sense of 'under.' Demosthenes (xx. 59) represents as mainly instrumental in τοῦ γενέσθαι σύμμαχον τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον the surrender of Thasos to Thrasybulus by the party of Ecphantus, who expelled the Lacedaemonian garrison.

§ 27. Βυζάντιον: Dem. l. c. relates that Archebius and Heraclides delivered over Byzantium to Thrasybulus, which made the Athenians κυρίους τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἄστε τὴν δικάτην ἀποδόσθαι. Since Aegospotami Byzantium seems always to have remained under Spartan influence: cp. ii. 2. I; Anab. i. I. 9; ii. 6. 4; Diod. xiv. 12.

dπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην: cp. Alcibiades' conduct after his victory at Cyzicus, i. 1. 22. Thrasybulus' ambition evidently was to reestablish the Athenian Empire on its old footing: cp. iii. 5. 10.

§ 28. Καλχηδονίους: cp. ii. 2. 2.

ểν τἢ Λέσβφ: Mytilene had revolted from Sparta immediately after the battle of Cnidus; cp. iv. 8. 1 note.

πρὶν . . . συντάξας . . . προσλαβών . . . iποθεὶς . . . ταῦτα δέ: an anacoluthon, due to the interposition of the long participial clauses; the particle πρίν is never used with participles.

rerpaxorious. The small number of hoplites is perhaps to be explained by Diodorus' story (xiv. 94) that Thrasybulus lost 23 triremes in a storm off Eresus on the west coast of the island. However, if this had really been the case, Xenophon would hardly have omitted to mention the loss of more than half the fleet. Moreover Diodorus seems mistaken in representing the other Lesbian states, except Mytilene, as having recently revolted from Athens.

προστάται πάσης Λέσβου. Cp. the accusation brought against the Mytilenaeans just before their revolt from Athens in 428 B.C., (Thuc. iii. 2) δτι ξυνοικίζουσι τὴν Λέσβου ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίφ.

§ 29. ἀπήντων: the plural instead of the singular, κατὰ σύνισυ; cp. i. 1. 10.

389-388 B.C.

§ 30. τὰς μέν . . . τῶν πόλεων: cp. Diod.l.c. τὴν μέν τῶν Μηθυμυαίων χώραν ἔφθειρε τὴν δ' Ερεσον καὶ τὴν "Αντισσαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρέλαβε.

δπως (δ') ἀν...ποιήσαιτο: cp. Diod. l. c. παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων συμμάχων άθροίσας ναῦς, and iv. 8. 1 note. For ὅπως ἄν with the optative cp. Goodwin, M. T. 330.

if δλλων το πόλεων: Halicarnassus especially suffered and Thrasybulus' colleague Ergocles was afterwards condemned to death for the part that he had played in these marauding expeditions. Lys. xxviii. 8, 12; xxix. 2.

"Aonerdor: in Pamphylia,

άδικησάντων . . . άγρῶν: cp. Diod. xiv. 99 χρήματα δ' είληφότος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν 'Ασπενδίων, δμως τινές τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐδήωσαν τὴν χώραν.

§ 31. μάλα . . . dyabór. On the results of Thrasybulus' attempt to restore the Athenian Empire cp. Appendix, p. 355.

'Ayúppior: not again mentioned by Xenophon. He first appears

as γραμματεὺε τῆς βουλῆς in 403-402 B.C., CIA. ii. I b. Andocides (i. 133) in 399 accuses him of conspiracy with others to contract for the 2 per cent. customs dues for less than they were worth. Demosthenes (xxiv. 134) states that he was imprisoned for many years for embezzling the public money, but does not specify the occasion. He restored the θεωρικά and was the first to introduce payment of one obol for attendance at the Ecclesia—probably after Conon's arrival at Athens—and this he further increased to three obols (Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 41 and Aristoph. Eccles. 183-300, exhibited c. 391). Hereby he seems to have gained great influence (cp. Aristoph. Plut. 176, exhibited 389-8), was elected στρατηγός and sent out to succeed Thrasybulus: Plat. Com. fr. 185. Harpocration (s. v.) calls him δημαγωγών οὐκ ἀφανής, and Suidas adds στρατηγός ἢν θηλυδριώδης, ἄρξας ἐν Λέμνω (?), δε τὸν μισθὸν τῶν ποιητῶν συνέτεμεν.

रंगी रवेड ναῦς. After Thrasybulus' death the Athenian fleet sailed to Rhodes to help the Rhodian democrats, Diod. xiv. 99.

πεπραμένη: cp. § 27.

ξχουσι, sc. 'Αθηναίοιs: participle dependent on eð ξχουεν, for which Madvig proposes to read εὐνοοῖεν.

§ 32. Δερκυλίδα. Since the battle of Cnidus he had with very insufficient forces gallantly maintained himself in Abydos: cp. §§ 3, 26.

'Aναξίβιος. Xenophon himself had had bitter experience of Anaxibius' duplicity and intrigues, when the latter was ναύαρχος in 400 B.C.; cp. Anab. vii. 1 and 2.

διεπράξατο δστε: cp. iv. 4. 7 note.

καὶ πολεμήστεν, i.e. would not only hold Abydos, as Dercylidas had done, but would also fight.

- § 33. κατῆγεν, 'he brought into port from the high seas': so v. 1. 28.
 τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων: ἐκείνων is gen. dependent on συμμάχων; cp. vii. 1. 13.
- § 34. 'Ιφικράτην: cp. iv. 5. 19, where Xenophon records his further successes against the Lacedaemonians after the destruction of the mora.

τῶν ἀργολιζόντων. Diodorus (xiv. 92) agrees with Xenophon, adding, however, that Iphicrates wanted to seize Corinth on behalf of Athens as ἐπιτήδειον οδσαν εἰε τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν, but that the Athenians refused to support him.

dπιλθών: he resigned his command and was succeeded by Chabrias: cp. Diod. l. c.

§ 35. αδ . . . πάλιν: cp. § 11 note.

έπανελθών: in a pregnant sense, 'having gone to the mountains and up them'—ἐπί, of the object aimed at, and ἀνά, upwards; cp. infra, ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι.

της άνω, sc. όδοῦ, i. e. towards Proconnesus, § 36. This genitive instead of acc. with verbs of motion is rare even in Attic poetry (cp. Aesch. Choeph. 710; Soph. O.T. 1478) and extremely rare in prose; cp. Thuc. iv. 47 ἐπετάχυνον τῆς όδοῦ τοὺς σχολαίτερον προσιόντας; Anab. i. 3. 1 ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω.

§ 36. ωs μέν: without any corresponding δέ.

οὐδὲ . . . γεγενημένων, 'the victims having proved unfavourable': cp. iii. I. 17 note.

της έπὶ Προκοννήσου, sc. όδοῦ.

§ 37. ἀφηγούμενοι, 'in the van.'

Κρεμαστήν: on the river Rhodius, about nine miles south-east of Abydos. The gold mines were at Astyra in the mountains still further to the south-east; Strabo xiii. 591; xiv. 680.

§ 38. δπὶ πολύ τε . . . δκτεταμένον, 'extended over a long and narrow way.'

καλὸν ἀποθανεῖν. The admiration with which Xenophon relates the story of the noble death of his old enemy Anaxibius (cp. Anab. vii. 1) is good evidence of the historian's truthfulness and impartiality.

§ 39. ὑπασπιστοῦ: cp. iv. 5. 14 note.

ểν χώρα αὐτοῦ: cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 23 αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρα, 'there on the spot.'

τὰ παιδικά: cp. Resp. Lac. 2. 13.

άρμοστήρων. This Ionic form for άρμοστῶν is only used by Xenophon in this passage. These harmosts had taken refuge with Dercylidas at Abydos, § 5.

BOOK V

CHAPTER I

- §§ 1-5. In revenge for acts of piracy encouraged by the Spartans, the Athenians blockaded the Arginetans and fortified a post upon the island. Teleutias raised the blockade. Hierax, his successor, sailed to Rhodes leaving his secretary Gorgopas at Aegina, who forced the Athenians to abandon their post. The Aeginetans then renewed their depredations. \$\$ 6-9. Antalcidas sailed to Ephesus to replace Hierax, and sent his secretary Nicolochus to the Hellespont. Gorgopas surprised an Athenian squadron off the Attic coast, capturing 4 ships. §§ 10-12. Chabrias on his way to Cyprus to help Evagoras defeated and slew Gorgopas, whereupon the Aeginetans stopped their depredations. §§ 13-24. Teleutias was reappointed admiral, much to the joy of the Peloponnesian sailors at Aegina. He made a sudden descent on Piraeus, and with the rich booty taken thence, and the capture of many cornships and merchantmen amply provided for his sailors. 28. Antalcidas came down with Tiribasus, bringing terms of peace from the king. He went to Abydos to relieve Nicolochus, who was blockaded there by the Athenians, surprised an Athenian squadron, and being joined by Syracusan and Italian ships gained full command over the sea. \$\$ 29-31. The Greek states, all for various reasons eager for peace, gladly obeyed the summons of Tiribasus to listen to the terms dictated by the king, vis. that the Greek states in Asia should belong to Persia, and that the Greek states in Europe should all be autonomous, except the Athenian possessions, Lemnos, \$\$ 32-36. All the states agreed to the terms except Imbros, and Scyros. the Thebans; but on the threat of an invasion they submitted. Agesilaus also compelled the Corinthians to dismiss their Argive garrison. All armed forces were disbanded. Sparta reaped great advantages as champion of the King's Peace.
- § I. πάλιν. Xenophon has told us nothing of any previous visit of Eteonicus, the omission is probably due to carelessness, cp. vii. I. 41 αὐθις ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδης and Introd. p. xxix.
 - δ Έτεδνικος. Possibly the same as the Eteonicus, who was,

harmost of Thasos in 410 B.C. (i. 1. 32), who was stationed at Mytilene at the time of the battle of Arginusae in 406 (i. 6. 35-38), did good service in Chios in 405, and after Aegospotami reorganized the coast towns of Thrace on Lacedaemonian principles (ii. 1. 1-6; 2. 5).

καί = καίπερ.

έπιμειξία . . . τῶν Αλγινητῶν: for the old hostility between Athens and Aegina cp. ii. 2. 3 note.

τον πρόσθεν χρόνον, as the context stands, is ambiguous. It may either mean before the arrival of Eteonicus, or before the assumption of open hostilities at sea (ἐπεί, κ.τ.λ.).

έπει ... ἐπολεμεῖτο: states the reason for the sudden change of attitude on the part of the Aeginetans.

συνδόξαν: accus. absol.: cp. iii. 2. 19 note; Goodwin, M. T. 851. λήζεσθαι: for the distinction between πολεμεῖν and λήζεσθαι cp. Thuc. v. 115 Δακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς οὐδ' Δε ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἶ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν 'Αθηναίους λήζεσθαι.

§ 2. Πάμφιλον. Probably the same as the Pamphilus alluded to by Aristophanes (Plut. 174, date c. Feb. 388), δ Πάμφιλος δ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτον (τὸν πλοῦτον) κλαίστται; he is closely coupled in this passage with Agyrrhius: cp. iv. 8, 31.

éπετείχισαν: cp. iii. 2. I note: the verb is similarly used without an accusative in vii. 2. 20.

Televiias: last mentioned as sailing to Rhodes—probably in the autumn of 391: cp. iv. 8. 24.

τυχών dφιγμένος. If the reading be correct (cp. Critical Note), the meaning must be, 'having chanced to arrive at one of the islands.' ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι = ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων τινός: for the supplementary participle with τυχών cp. Goodwin, M. T. 887.

κατά χρημάτων πόρον: cp. i. I. 8 ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν.

dπήλασε, i.e. Teleutias drove away the Athenian blockading squadron.

§ 3. oùdels . . . de oùe, i. e. every one without exception.

έστεφάνωσεν . . . έταινίωσεν : cp. the honours paid to Brasidas by the Scionaeans, Thuc. iv. 121 δημοσία μέν χρυσφ στεφάνφ ἀνέδησαν ώς έλευθεροῦντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ίδία δὲ ἐταινίουν τε καὶ προσήρχοντο δσπερ ἀθλητῆ.

δμως καὶ = δμως καίπερ. The particle δμως is similarly placed before the limiting clause in vi. 4. 14.

dvayoμένου: gen. abs., sc. αὐτοῦ: cp. i. 1. 26.

§ 4. γιγνώσκω: for Xenophon's comment cp. Introd. p. xxvi.

§ 5. aδ...πάλω: cp. iv. 8. 11, 35: aδ is to be taken with 'lspaß, as opposed to Teleutias: πάλω means simply 'back again to Rhodes,' which had previously been Teleutias' headquarters (iv. 8. 25).

Γοργώπα: ... ἀρμοστήν. Xenophon does not state what was the relation of Gorgopas to Eteonicus, who reappears after the death of the former, § 13. For ἐπιστολέα cp. i. 1. 23 note.

ol έν τῆ πόλει, i. e. the Aeginetans.

πέμπτφ μηνί: in the fifth month since the building of the ἐπιτείχισμα, § 2. For the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.

τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου: for the preposition cp. iii. 1. 22 note.

πάλω αὖ : αὖ here simply strengthens πάλω: contrast supr. αὖ . . . πάλω.

Efropor: possibly the same as the Eunomus mentioned by Lysias (xix. 19) as a friend of Dionysius of Syracuse, and sent by Conon as an envoy to that monarch.

rαύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς: the same phrase is used of Teleutias, § 13: for ἐπί cp. iii. 4. 20. Xenophon here and apparently in i. 6. 29 and perhaps too infr. § 13 uses rαύαρχος in its generic sense: usually he limits the term to the Spartan admiral.

388-387 B.C.

§ 6. 'Ανταλκίδαν . . . Τιριβάζφ: cp. iv. 8. 12 note.

els Eperon. It first appears from § 25 that from Ephesus Antalcidas went to Sardis to meet Tiribazus, and that the two then travelled together up to Susa.

ἐπὶ ταῖε ἄλλαις: 25 in number, § 7: ἐπί is here used with the
dative, but in ii. 1. 12 ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε.

'Αβυδηνοῖς: threatened by Iphicrates and the Athenians, cp. iv. 8. 39; v. 1. 7, 25.

§ 7. ol . . . στρατηγοί: including Iphicrates and Diotimus, § 25.

Σαμοθρήκης ... χωρίων: cp. Appendix, p. 355, and iv. 8. 26 note: for κατ' ἐκείνα cp. iii. 5. 17.

ex Xeppornov. The Chersonese was the headquarters of

rowers.

Iphicrates and the other Athenian generals, iv. 8. 34-39. Iphicrates made many successful raids upon the Thracians and Odrysae (Polyaen. iii. 9. 4, 41, 46, 50, 60, 62) and replaced Seuthes (iv. 8. 26) on his throne: cp. Cor. Nep. Iphic. 2, 'bellum cum Thraecibus gessit, Seuthem, socium Atheniensium, in regnum restituit.' Xenophon resumes the story of Hellespontine affairs in § 25.

δύο, dative: here as often undeclined.

§ 8. δσπερ νομίζεται: 'as is usual': so ii. 4. 36.

 $\lambda i\theta \omega r \dots \phi \omega r \hat{\eta} s$. For the use of the voice cp. Sil. Ital. vi. 360:

'Mediae stat margine puppis Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus

Et remis dictet sonitum.'

For the use of stones cp. the Roman 'portisculus,' a hammer or truncheon, with which the boatswain marked the time for the

παραγωγή, i.e. making the oar strike the water at an angle instead of at right angles—a method known in rowing circles as 'slicing the oar.'

§ 9. Ζωστῆρα: a promontory on the west coast of Attica, now Cape Kayouras.

ol dé: as if ol pér had preceded.

πρός τὴν σελήνην: for the preposition cp. Oecon. 16. 13 δατὴν πρός τὸν ήλιον.

§ 10. Χαβρίας. On the recall of Iphicrates from Corinth (cp. iv. 5. 19; 8. 34) Chabrias had been despatched by the Athenians to succeed him (Diod. xiv. 92). It may therefore be conjectured that Corinth was the starting-point of his Cypriot expedition, as he is in this passage said to have received reinforcements καὶ ᾿Αθήνηθεν, which seems to imply that he was sailing from some port other than Piraeus: cp. Corn. Nep. Chab. 2, 'publice ab Atheniensibus Euagorae adiutor datus.' Xenophon says nothing of Chabrias' splendid achievements in Cyprus, for which cp. Dem. xx. 76; Corn. Nep. 1. c.

Εὐαγόρα: cp. iv. 8. 24 note.

kal 'Aθήνηθεν implies either that Chabrias put in to the Piraeus to get reinforcements, or that they joined him on his voyage to Aegina.

αὐτὸς . . . τοὺς πελταστάς, i. e. without the hoplites.

τοῦ 'Hρακλείου: the site has not as yet been identified.

Δημαινέτου: mentioned again, § 26.

iπίκεινα: 'beyond the Heracleum,' the distance being reckoned apparently from the town of Aegina.

ἔνθα . . . καλείται = ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἡ Τριπυργία καλουμένη: cp. Oec. 4. 6 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ σύλλογος καλείται. The position of the Tripyrgia—apparently some hill—is uncertain.

§ 11. μετά . . . σύν: μετά, as distinguished from σύν, here implies that the Aeginetans were the main force accompanying Gorgopas, in which the marines and eight Spartans were only small items.

Σπαρτιατών . . . δετώ, i.e. σύν δετώ, οἱ Σπαρτιατών ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρόντις.

από: similarly used v. 4. 15.

ελεύθεροι: cp. vii. 1. 12, where Cephisodotus says of the Lace-daemonian naval forces, of δε ναῦται δηλον δτι έσονται ή Είλωτες ή μισθοφόροι.

§ 12. ατε ... άθρόου διτος, 'as there was no close order': cp. iv. I. 19.

καταδεδραμηκότες means apparently—'who had hastily put in to shore and disembarked' in the manner above described: cp. iv. 7. 6.

§ 13. τφ Έττονίαφ. Xenophon has said nothing of the movements of Eteonicus since § 1.

έμβάλλειν: the full phrase is κώπη χείρας έμβάλλειν.

ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναΰς ναύσρχον: cp. Critical Note. The sphere of Teleutias' admiralship is limited to these ships in Aegina (cp. § 5 ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς). He had already once held the office of High Admiral, either in 392-1 or 390-89 (Introd. p. li), and at the present time Antalcidas was High Admiral, §§ 5, 25.

§ 14. ed d' lore without on is usually parenthetical as iii. 5. 11. But it is similarly used vi. 1. 15.

 η sai: for sai after a comparative with a negative cp. vi. 5. 39.

τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: object to ἔχειν. αὐτὸς... ὑμᾶς: cp. ii. I. 26 note.

eloiépat, infin. of purpose: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

§ 15. oleage saprepeir, 'think that you also must put up with': cp. iv. 7. 4; Appendix, p. 360.

§ 16. τάγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλά. A similar expression is used of the Spartans in Plat. Alcib. ii. 148 c Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἰδία καὶ δημοσία ἐκάστοτε παραπλησίαν εὐχὴν εύχονται τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοὺς θεοὺς διδόναι κελεύοντες αδ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

§ 17. κολακεύειν . . . ένεκα μισθοῦ: cp. the words of Callicratidas, i. 6. 7.

§ 18. δπερ καὶ δε ἐμέλλετε, 'as doubtless you were so minded already': for καὶ δε cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 17 ἡμεῖε μὲν γὰρ ἐπείπερ καὶ δε οἴκοθεν ἀποδημοῦμεν, φρουρήσειν ὑμῶν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία: cp. however Critical Note.

προπαμάσχεσθε δέ μοι, κ.π.λ., 'and next provide yourselves, please, with one day's food' (Dakyns). μοι is the ethical dative: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 19. κώπαις προσκομιζόμενος, sc. τοὺς ναύτας: i.e. 'setting the sailors to work at the oars.' Liddell and Scott seem to interpret the verb 'to approach the shore.' Madvig proposes προκομιζόμενος in the sense of 'advancing.'

δώδεκα: the original number left by Hierax in charge of Gorgopas, § 5.

देवी . . . κεκτημένους, 'against men who had many ships': the participle is used substantively in an indefinite sense: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 827.

§ 20. Δλοθι δίκα, i. e. ἐπὶ δίκα ἄλλοθι οῦσας: ἔξω, 'in a foreign harbour,' in the next sentence corresponds to ἄλλοθι.

κατὰ ναῖν...σκηνήσειν, 'the sailors would be quartered each on his own ship.'

§ 21. avémaver, SC. rovs ravras as in § 19.

υπέφαινεν: cp. iii. 4. 16 note.

ταῖε ἐαυτῶν ναυσίν: dat. of the instrument, constructed with both καταδύειν and λυμαίνεσθαι.

πειράσθαι: infinitive, as if ἐκέλευε had preceded: cp. Her. vii. 104 οὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῆ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἡ ἀπόλλυσθαι (SC. κελεύων).

έκ των μειζόνων, sc. πλοίων: to be connected with λημβάνειν.

Δείγμα: the quay on the west side of the harbour, where merchants set out their wares for sale.

§ 22. ἄστυ, i. e. Athens.

§ 23. ἀττ...πλίων: this clause explains why so many fishing and ferry boats were captured: they had no suspicion of Teleutias' ships, because they sailed out of Piraeus.

ἀπὸ νήσων: without the article, as in iv. 8. 7.

§ 24. προέδωκε, 'paid in advance': cp. i. 5. 7.

πλήρεις . . . ἔτρεφε, 'kept the ships fully manned': cp. i. 5. 5.

887-886 B.C.

§ 25. δ δὲ ᾿Ανταλκίδας: cp. § 6. According to Plutarch (Artax. 21, 22) Antalcidas had succeeded in personally ingratiating himself with Artaxerxes, notwithstanding that monarch's great dislike to the Spartans in general as ανθρώπων απάντων αναιδεστάτους (cp. iv. 8. 17). It was, moreover, obviously to the interest of Persia to make peace at this moment. For not only had the Athenians recovered their Hellespontine province and some of the islands (cp. Appendix, p. 355), but they had actively supported Evagoras in his revolt against the Great King (iv. 8. 24; v. i. 10). Evagoras had just reached the highest point of his success, having subjugated almost the whole of Cyprus, captured Tyre, ravaged Phoenicia, and raised a rebellion in Cilicia. He had too made alliances with and received reinforcements from Acoris, king of Egypt, Hecatomnus, a Carian chieftain, the king of the Arabians, and other rebellious princes, so that it was necessary for Artaxerxes to collect the whole force of the Empire against him: cp. Isocr. ix. 62; Diod. xiv. 110; xv. 2; Justin. vi. 6. 2.

συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα. Even Agesilaus, the opponent of Antalcidas, acquiesced: cp. Plutarch's story (Artax. 22) δ μὲν γὰρ ᾿Αγφσίλαος, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα' ἡΦεῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπου μηδίζουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ Λάκωνες.' 'Οὐ μᾶλλον,' εἶπεν, 'οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσι.

'Aθηναίοι: for the pre-eminent position of Athens cp. Appendix, p. 355.

τῦ εἰρήνη: the principal conditions are given § 31.

Νικόλοχον: cp. § 7.

ός μεταπεμπομένων: gen. absol. with ός: 'a report that (literal' as though') the Chalcedonians were inviting him': cp. iv. Goodwin, M. T. 917, 918. Thrasybulus had two or threbefore won the Chalcedonians over to the Athenian side

έν Περκώνη: on the south coast of the Hellespont, about eight miles north-east of Abydos.

§ 26. alaθόμετοι: Foucart (Rev. Archéol. xviii. p. 408) refers with great probability to this deception of the Athenian generals an inscription (CIA. ii. 38) recording an Athenian decree, whereby Phanocritus of Parium, on the Asiatic coast, some thirty miles east of Percote, was rewarded for certain information given to the Athenian generals, which εἰ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπίθοντο, ἐάλωσαν αν αἱ τριήρεις αἱ πολέμιαι.

Δημαίνετον κ.τ.λ.: cp. § 10: the other Athenian generals are not otherwise known, unless there be an allusion to this Dionysius as an injurer of the Athenian state in Dem. xix. 180. In 378-7 he was chosen as one of three envoys to Thebes, CIA. ii. 17.

την έπὶ Προκοννήσου, sc. όδον as in iv. 8. 36.

ràs ἀπὸ Συρακουσών: cp. § 28 note. Polyxenus was a kinsman and trusty counsellor of Dionysius the Elder: Diod. xiv. 8, 62.

Θρασύβουλος: ὁ Κολλυτεύς is added to distinguish him from his more famous namesake Θρασύβουλος ὁ Στειριεύς. This Thrasybulus seems to have been punished for the loss of his ships on this occasion: cp. Dem. xxiv. 134 Θρασύβουλον τον Κολλυτέα πάντες μέμνησθε δὶς δεθέντα καὶ κριθέντ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς κρίσεις ἐν τῷ δήμφ καίτοι τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς κἀπὸ Φυλῆς οὖτος ἦν.

§ 27. προσπληρώσασθαι . . . καταλειπομένων, 'having ordered them to make up any deficiency there might be in their crews from the ships left behind (at Abydos).'

† τῶν βραδυτέρων: cp. Critical Note.

§ 28. al τε λα Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἶκοσιν. This was the first occasion that Dionysius the Elder, the tyrant of Syracuse, sent help to the Lacedaemonians in return for their previous support. For other occasions cp. vi. 2. 33, vii. i. 20, 28. The Lacedaemonians had in 404 B.C. sent an envoy Ariston and shortly afterwards no less a person than Lysander himself to strengthen Dionysius on his newly won throne: ħλαιζον γὰρ συγκατασκευάζοντες τὴν ἀνχὴν ὑπήκοον ἔξειν τὸν Διονύσιον διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας (Diod. xiv. 10; Plut. Lys. 2). σαίn in 398-7 they had supplied him with mercenary soldiers to gainst Carthage (Diod. xiv. 44); and two years later the monian Pharacidas, the commander of 30 ships from his 'taly and Peloponnesus, had saved the tyrant, when he

was reduced to the last extremity by the Carthaginians without the walls and his rebellious subjects within (Diod. xiv. 63-70). at $\tau \epsilon \dots \delta \hat{\epsilon}$ kal al: this irregular combination of particles seems due to the repetition of $\hbar \lambda \theta o r$.

'Iωνίας, δοης . . . Τιρίβαζος: must mean the portion of Ionia recovered by the Persians after the battle of Cnidus, iv. 8. 1, 2. For Tiribazus cp. iv. 8. 12.

dκ τῆς 'Αριοβαρζάνους: Ariobarzanes was now, it would seem, in addition to his own districts, administering the satrapy of the absent Pharnabazus, which included Aeolis and the Lesser Phrygia; cp. iii. 1. 10; 2. 1. Xenophon has mentioned him once previously (i. 4. 7) as an official subordinate to Cyrus the Younger.

ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῖ. This explains the assistance now given to the Lacedaemonians from this satrapy; whereas Pharnabazus had been Sparta's bitterest enemy.

την βασιλέως θυγατέρα: Apame, cp. Plut. Artax. 27.

ό δὶ... ἐκράτει: an independent sentence, instead of an apodosis, due to the length of the parenthetical remarks between it and the original protasis introduced by ἐπεὶ δὶ ἢλθον.

ογδούκοντα: the largest fleet collected by the Spartans since the battle of Cnidus.

τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, κ.τ.λ.: especially cornships: cp. i. 1. 35. ἐαυτῶν: for the plural cp. iv. 6. 4.

κατῆγεν: i.e. compelled them to enter the harbours of the Lacedaemonian allies and there discharge their cargo.

§ 29. ol...'Aθηναίοι. Thus it was that with only 32 ships (§ 7) to meet Antalcidas' 80 the Athenians found themselves, for fear of a repetition of their disasters at Aegospotami and afterwards, obliged not only to give up all dreams of further extension of their empire, but to abandon the greater part of what they had already won back: cp. Appendix, p. 356.

ύπὸ τῶν ληστῶν: cp. § 24.

ol... Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Though the Lacedaemonians were now masters of the sea, they owed this supremacy chiefly to the aid given them by Artaxerxes and Dionysius; while on the other hand this paragraph plainly shows that by land in Greece proper they had made no progress since 390: cp. iv. 5. 19.

έν Λεχαίφ: cp. iv. 5. 18.

έν 'Ορχομενώ: in Boeotia: cp. iv. 3. 15.

πράγματα... Κόρινθον. This exact repetition of the language of iv. 5. 19 shows that no events of importance had occurred in the war in Greece between 390 and the present date, 387.

ol ... 'Αργείοι ... ὑποφορά. It thus appears that the invasion of the Argolis by King Agesipolis in 388 or 387 had led to no definite results: cp. iv. 7. 2-7.

§ 30. mapeyérorro: probably at Sardis.

σημεία: cp. i. 4. 3 ἐπιστολὴν . . . τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, and vii. 1. 39 δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγίδα.

elχε δὲ ώδε. It appears from the inscriptions (CIA. ii. 15, 17, 17 b) that Xenophon has not, as Grote and others have imagined, given the exact text of the 'Peace,' but only the more important conditions. These inscriptions seem to prove that the phrase used in the original was ελευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους and not merely αὐτονόμους.

§ 31. ἐσυτοῦ εἶναι. A similar clause had appeared in the third treaty of the year 412 between the Spartans and King Darius: (Thuc. viii. 58) χώραν τὴν βασιλέως, ὅση τῆς ᾿Ασίας ἐστί, βασιλέως εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐσυτοῦ βουλευέτω βασιλεὺς ὅπως βούλεται: and thus the Lacedaemonians were now obliged to take less than the terms offered to Agesilaus by Tithraustes in 395—(iii. 4. 25) τὰς ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία πόλεις αἰντονόμους οδσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον διισμὸν αἰντῷ ἀποφέρειν: and even less than the terms previously offered by Antalcidas to the king on his mission of 392 B. C., iv. 8. 12-15: cp. § 36 note.

Kλαζομενός: a little island between Smyrna and Erythrae. Shortly before this time a dissension had broken out among its citizens (Arist. Pol. v. 3. 13), in consequence of which some of them had migrated and settled at Chyton on the mainland. To strengthen their position, the remaining citizens entered into a treaty with Athens, wherein they agreed to pay ή ἐπὶ Θρασυ-βούλου εἰκοστή, on condition that the Athenians did not interfere with their internal affairs or occupy their city with a garrison against their will (CIA. ii. 14, 14 b). The date of the inscription is the archonship of Theodotus, 387-6, which proves that Antalcidas cannot have become master of the sea before July, 387. Cp. Swoboda, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit. vii. 174.

Κύπρον: cp. § 25 note.

πόλεις . . . αὐτονόμους : for the formula cp. Thuc. v. 77 τὰς δὲ πόλιας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννάσφ καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτοιόμους εἶμεν.

Λήμνου . . . τὸ ἀρχαῖον . . . 'Αθηναίων: cp. Appendix, p. 354.

όπότεροι, i. e. of the two contending parties in the Corinthian war. ἐγώ. It is curious that here there is the same change from the third to the first person as in the correspondence of Xcrxes and Pausanias; Thuc. i. 128, 129.

μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων. For the meaning cp. Diod. xiv. 110 τοῖς δὲ ἀπειθοῦσι καὶ μὴ προσδεχομένους τὰς συνθήκας διὰ τῶν εὐδοκούντων πολεμήσειν: 'with those who share my views' (Dakyna). For the advantages which the vague wording of this clause gave to Sparta cp. § 36 note.

§ 32. ὑπέρ πάντων Βοιωτών: cp. Appendix, p. 357. It had always been the Theban ambition to form a συνοικισμός of all the Boeotian states similar to that attributed to Theseus in Attica; but the scheme had never been successful. Plataea, supported by Athens, had always and obstinately maintained her independence: cp. Her. vi. 108; Thuc. ii. 2; esp. iii. 61 ημείς (the Thebans) δε αὐτοίς (the Plataeans) διάφοροι έγενόμεθα πρώτον ότι ήμων κτισάντων Πλάταιαν υστερον τής άλλης Βοιωτίας και άλλα χωρία μετ' αὐτης, ά ξυμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους έξελάσαντες ξσχομεν, οὐκ ἡξίουν οδτοι, δισπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ύφ' ήμων, έξω δε των άλλων Βοιωτών, παραβαίνοντες τά πάτρια, έπειδή προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρός 'Αθηναίους. Similarly the jealousy of her powerful rival Orchomenus had always hampered Thebes in Eastern Boeotia; cp. iii. 5. 6 note. The Thebans now wished to swear as if Thebes were ήγεμών of ξύμμαχοι ὑπήκοοι, whereas Sparta, although ἡγεμών of the Peloponnesian confederacy, always professedly recognized the liberty and autonomy of her allies (cp. Thuc. v. 79 ταὶ . . . πόλιες ταὶ έν Πελοποννάσφ κοινανεόντων ταν σπονδάν και ταν ξυμμαχιάν αυτόνομοι και αυτοπόλιες, κ.τ.λ.), and seriously consulted them on questions of peace or war: cp. ii. 2. 19 ff.; iii. 4. 2; v. 2. 11, 20, 37 κατά τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.

δ δὲ 'Αγησίλαυs. Notwithstanding that the peace proposals had emanated from his political opponent Antalcidas, and that by them his own efforts to liberate the Greeks of Asia Minor were deliberately abandoned, Agesilaus saw in the Peace an instrument whereby to humiliate the Thebans, the real cause of Sparta's troubles in Greece and of his own recall from Asia, and accordingly

showed himself foremost in enforcing its provisions: cp. §§ 25, 36 notes; Plut. Ages. 23.

δίξασθαι: for the acrist instead of the future cp. i. 6. 14 and Thuc. v. 22 οδκ ἄφασαν δίξασθαι: Goodwin, M. T. 127.

αὐτονόμους «ἶναι: the infin. present denotes the actual fact produced by the royal mandate: cp. i. 3. 9; vi. 5. 3. It is noticeable that Agesilaus does not quarrel with the Theban envoys for wishing to swear ὑπὶρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν—Sparta indeed had done the same in behalf of her allies—but for refusing to recognize them as ελεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι.

ol δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις: these words and the context seem to imply, as Grote and other historians assume, a second congress of Greek envoys at Sparta, summoned for the purpose of swearing to the Peace.

"ITE PUP: cp. iv. 1. 39 note.

§ 33. dôvero, i. e. the sacrifice preliminary to crossing the frontiers on a campaign against the Thebans.

έγένετο: cp. iii. 1. 17 note.

τῶν . . . lππέων: partitive genitive as iii. 1. 4.

ξεναγούς: cp. iii. 5. 7, where the manner of summoning the contingents is the same.

ol Θηβαίοι . . . αὐτονόμους. This seems to imply that the Thebans did indeed swear ὑπὶρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν, only that now they recognized them as ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι instead of σύμμαχοι ὑπήκυοι.

§ 34. τὴν τῶν ᾿Αργείων φρουράν: cp. iv. 4. 6; 5. 1 note: the Corinthian democrats are meant.

aὐτὴ ἐφ' aὑτῆs, i. e. the political union with Argos was given up: cp. iv. 4. 6.

ol ordayeis: for the massacre cp. iv. 4. 2-4. After capturing the Heraeum Agesilaus had delivered all among his prisoners, who were implicated in it, over to their political opponents, iv. 5. 5. The remainder now sought refuge at Athens, Dem. xx. 54.

αὐτοὶ γρόντες, 'of their own accord.'

ol δ' άλλοι πολίται έκόντες. This statement can only be harmonized with Ages. 2. 21 έπειδή δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οι πολέμωι ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ᾿Αγησίλαος ἀντεῖπε τῆ εἰρήνη, ἔως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἡνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἰκαδε

καταδέξασθα, by referring the latter to the time, when Agesilaus was bringing pressure to bear upon the Corinthians in general, before the withdrawal of the extreme democrats.

§ 35. διελύθη . . . διελύθη: for the anaphora cp. ii. 3. 55; vii. 1.2. Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . 'Αθηναίοις. This passage proves once more that the Peace of Antalcidas was primarily aimed against Athens: cp. Appendix, p. 355.

τῆς καθαιρέσεως: genitive dependent on ὕστερον: for the order of the words cp. iii. 2. 30.

§ 36. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ . . . πράττοντες, 'In the war the Lacedae-monians had rather been evenly matched with their opponents, but &c.' μᾶλλον, i. e. in comparison with the advantages of their diplomatic success.

ἐπικυδίστεροι. The direct advantages reaped by Sparta were (1) the check imposed upon the Athenian efforts to regain their maritime empire; (2) the separation of Corinth from Argos with the consequent weakening of both those states, Corinth once more entering her Confederacy; (3) the isolation of Thebes and the annihilation of her supremacy over the other Boeotian towns.

τῆς ἐπ' 'Ανταλκίδου εἰρήνης. This is the usual name given by the Greek historians to this Peace: ἐπί is temporal, 'in the time of.' For the date cp. Introd. p. h ii.

προστάται, 'champions,' rather than executors or guarantors. The term implies no legal or other right, but only a dignified position: cp. Holm, Greek History, iii. 451. The Spartans abused this championship to their own advantage: Polyb. iv. 27. 5 πάλω ἐκήρυττον ἀφιέναι τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμους κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ 'Ανταλκίδου γενομένην εἰρήνην, τοὺς δ' ἀρμοστὰς οὐκ ἐξῆγον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: cp. vi. 3. 8.

Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους: cp. iv. 8. 34.

CHAPTER II

\$\frac{9}{1}-7. Wishing now to punish her disaffected allies Sparta first sent Agesipolis against Mantinea. He compelled the Mantineans to surrender and to live for the future in villages. The lives of the democratical leaders were spared at Pausanias' intercession. Under the new aristocracy the Mantineans were more happy than heretofore. \quad \{ \frac{9}{6}} \quad \text{8-10.} Next the

Phliasian exiles asked the Spartans to procure their recall. This was accordingly effected, with the understanding that their goods should be restored to them. §§ 11-19. Envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia came to Sparta to seek help against the growing Olynthian Confederacy which threatened their independence. The Acanthian Cligenes addressed the Spartan assembly and allies. §§ 20-24. The Spartans and their allies voted to send an army of 10,000 men against Olynthus, but on the urgent representations of the envoys consented to despatch at once a small preliminary force. Eudamidas accordingly with 2,000 men hurried off to Thrace. \$\$ 25-31. Afterwards his brother Phoebidas set out with the rest of Eudamidas' troops. While he was encamped at Thebes, the Bosotarch Leontiades offered to betray the Cadmea. Phoebidas was accordingly introduced into the citadel during the Thesmophoria: whereon Leontiades announced the fact to the Council, arrested his colleague Ismenias, and on the flight of 300 of his opponents to Athens repaired to Sparta. §§ 32-36. Many at Sparta were opposed to Phoebidas' action, but Agesilaus maintained that the real question at issue was its utility. Leontsades then enlarged upon its advantages. The Spartans resolved to retain the Cadmea, and bring Ismenias to trial. He was condemned for Medism and put to death. §§ 37-43. The Spartans now pressed forward their Olynthian expedition. Teleutias, being appointed harmost, marched slowly forwards, collecting forces from every quarter (the Thebans being specially sealous), as far as Potidaea. He ended the campaign with an indecisive victory at the gates of Olynthus.

§ 1. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων. These words seem to cover nearly a year's interval between the acceptance of the Peace and the attack upon Mantinea: cp. Introd. p. lviii.

eπέκειντο, 'had been hostile': so vi. 5. 35; vii. 2. 10.

ώς μη δύναιντο: for this exceptional use of ώς cp. Goodwin, M. T. Append. iv.

 $d\pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon i \nu = d\pi \epsilon i \theta \epsilon \iota \nu$, 'to disobey.'

τὸ τεῖχος. The Mantineans originally dwelt in five villages in the northern plain of Arcadia, wherein they also held a stronghold on a hill known in later times as πτόλις. Afterwards a συνοικισμός took place at a date which cannot be determined, but which Bursian (Geogr. ii. 209) conjectures to have been just after the Persian wars, when at the instigation of the Argives the Mantineans built themselves a city on the banks of the Ophis just to the south of the πτόλις: Strab. viii. 337; Paus. viii. 8.7; 12.7.

περιαιρείν: cp. Diod. xv. 5 προσέταττον τὰ μὲν τείχη καθελείν,

αὐτοὺς δὲ μετοικῆσαι πάντας εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας πέντε κώμας, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν τὸ παλαιὸν συνψκησαν. Xenophon, more correctly, represents the second condition as an additional demand made by the Lacedaemonians when the town was on the point of being captured.

οὐκ ἄν πιστεύσειαν ... γενέσθαι, 'they could not otherwise trust them not to side with their enemies,' Dakyns.

§ 2. ἐκεχειρίαν, i. e. a holy truce during a festival: cp. the excuse of the Phliasians (iv. 2. 16) and of the Argives (iv. 7. 2).

δφηδομένους, e.g. after the destruction of the Lacedaemonian mora, iv. 5. 18.

al σπονδαί... έτα: for the chronology cp. Introd. p. lviii.

§ 3. r\(\tilde{\pi}\) \(\pi\arrapl.\) Archidamus: the war alluded to is the so-called Third Messenian War of c. 464 (Thuc. i. 101, 103; Diod. xi. 64), but the particular circumstances are unknown. The pretext going back to an event nearly eighty years before seems to point to some ulterior motive on the part of Agesilaus. But whether the motive was merely to avoid a thankless task, or to excite odium against his colleague Agesipolis, is a matter of mere conjecture. Xenophon seems to cite the similar difficulty felt by Agesipolis to show his own approbation of the latter's strict obedience to the commands of the Spartan government.

Παυσανίου: for his exile since 395 B. C. cp. iii. 5. 25; and for his democratical tendencies cp. ii. 4. 31.

προστάτας: cp. i. 7. 2 note.

385-384 B.C.

§ 4. πρῶτον μὲν... ἐδήου. Pausanias (viii. 8. 4; ix. 13. 1) and Plutarch (Pel. 4) speak of a pitched battle, of which Xenophon and Diodorus (xv. 5, 12) know nothing. But Plutarch's story (reproduced by Pausanias probably from the lost 'Life of Epaminondas') that on this occasion Epaminondas saved the life of Pelopidas, both being present as members of a Theban contingent on the Spartan side, will hardly stand criticism: cp. Stern, pp. 36, 37. Diodorus relates that the Mantineans sought aid from the Athenians, who, not wishing παραβαίνειν τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας, refused it.

τοῖς . . . προκαθημένοις . . . ἐργαζομίνοις : datives of the instrument (the so-called military dative) : cp. iii. 5. 9; Anab. vi. 4. 27 φυλαττόμενοι Ικανοῖς φύλαξι.

τῶν ταφρευόντων: genit. dependent on πρό in composition. τρύχειν . . . τὴν πόλιν, i. e. the Spartan state.

piorra...διά τῆς πόλεως. Xenophon here, as in § 6, conceives the success of Agesipolis' device to have depended on the river flowing through the town, but Diodorus (xv. 12) and Pausanias (viii. 8.7) on diverting the stream, which flowed past the town, and bringing it by canals against the sun-dried bricks of the walls. At the present day the river Ophis is at a considerable distance from the ruins of Mantinea, as it was rebuilt in 370 B.C. (vi. 5.5). The ancient authorities can be reconciled by supposing that in 385 the Ophis actually did flow through the city, but that the authority of Plutarch and Pausanias was only acquainted with Mantinea as it stood subsequently to 370 B.C., and hence made his account of the stratagem square with the then existing state of things.

§ 5. πλίνθων: cp. Paus. viii. 8. 7 τὸ τεῖχος ἀμῆς φικοδομημένον τῆς πλίνθου: bricks, Pausanias states, offered a better resistance to siege engines than stone.

ώς μὴ πίπτοι: cp. § I note.

δ πύργος, i. e. the tower in connexion with that part of the wall which was sinking.

§ 6. τῶν ἀργολιζόντων. As in 420-418 (Thuc. v. 29 ff.), the Mantinean democrats looked to democratical Argos for support: cp. § 2; iii. 5. 11-25.

δ πάτηρ: Pausanias: cp. § 3. ο βέλτιστοι: cp. iv. 4. 1 note.

§ 7. διφκίσθη... τετραχῆ. Ephorus (fr. 138), Diodorus (xv. 5), and Strabo (viii. p. 337) state that Mantinea was split up εἰς πέντε κώμας. Modern historians try to reconcile this statement with Xenophon by supposing that the latter has not reckoned in the fifth of the Mantineans, who were allowed to remain on the site of the city itself.

οί έχοντες τάς οὐπίας = οἱ βέλτιστοι.

ηθουτο τοις πεπραγμένοις: but after the battle of Leuctra, the Mantineans immediately rebuilt their city: cp. vi. 5. 3; Introd. p. lxvii.

οὐ καθ ἔν . . . ξεναγόν, 'not as a single state but four, one for each village': cp. § 16 τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ ἐν εῖη. For ξεναγόν cp. iii. 5. 7 note.

προθυμότερου: cp. the conduct of the Phliasian (§ 8) and Theban oligarchs (§ 37).

τὸ...ποιεῖσθαι, acc. of respect, 'not to conduct a river through city walls': for διὰ τειχῶν cp. § 4 note. For the contemporary feeling condemning the Spartan treatment of the Mantineans cp. Isocr. iv. 126; viii. 100.

§ 8. ol δ' da Φλειοῦρτος φεύγοντες. The Phliasians had refused to send a contingent to the Lacedaemonians at the battle of Corinth 394 (iv. 2. 16), but some two years later, after suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Iphicrates (iv. 4. 15), had invited a Lacedaemonian garrison which had in course of time been withdrawn without restoring the oligarchical exiles or in any other way interfering with the internal affairs of the city. Again c. 387, just before the Peace of Antalcidas, king Agesipolis (iv. 7. 3) had made Phlius the place of rendezvous for his army, with which he was about to invade the Argolis. Now, however, that Sparta appeared to be so much stronger, these exiles saw their opportunity for restoration.

§ 9. τῶν ἔνδοθεν = τῶν ἔνδον, cp. iii. I. 18 note.

εύμενείε, ΒC. τοίε φεύγουσι.

οία δή, 'as is usual.'

τὴν φυγήν = τοὺς φυγάδας, the abstract for the concrete, as συμμαχία iv. 8. 24; vi. I. 13.

§ 10. τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, 'undisputed property,' Dakyns.

ab: with reference to the Mantinean affair and the general policy of Sparta towards their allies cp. § 1.

382 B.C.

§ 11. 'Ακάνθου . . . 'Απολλωνίαs: both in Chalcidice: for the chronology cp. Introd. lix.

πρός . . . την έκκλησίαν: cp. Appendix, p. 342.

§ 12. ὅτι μέν: there is no corresponding δέ: cp. vi. 3. 15; 4. 20. "Ολυνθος. The pre-eminence of Olynthus, situated at the bottom of the Toronaean Gulf a little distance from the sea, had in the first instance been due to a συνοικισμός of the coast towns brought about by Perdiccas, king of Macedon, at the time of the revolt of Potidaea from the Athenian Confederacy 432 B.C. The Olynthians revolted at the same time, and never again acknowledged the supremacy of Athens (Thuc. i. 58; v. 18, 39). Shortly after the Peloponnesian war the Olynthians and some of the neighbouring Greek states formed a confederacy known as τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Χακιδόων, wherein

they enjoyed the same laws and shared in the same πολιτεία (cp. Corinth and Argos, iv. 5. 1; 8. 34) and in the rights of ἐπιγαμία and ἔγκτησιε (§ 19).

τῶν πόλεων: for the partitive genitive without τινόε cp. iii. 1. 4 note. Cp. Critical Note.

τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις... ἀπὸ ᾿Αμύντου. Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas' brother Arrhidaeus, had seized the Macedonian throne about 390 B.C. In order to maintain his position he had shortly afterwards entered into a defensive alliance with the Chalcidian League, whereby certain commercial advantages were to be secured by the contracting parties (Hicks, Insc. 74). Notwithstanding this alliance he was in 385 expelled by the Illyrians, who placed the pretender Argaeus upon the throne. Thereupon the Chalcidians took advantage of the confusion to secure—really for themselves, though nominally in the name of their ally Amyntas—τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις: and when two years later in 383 Amyntas was suddenly restored to his throne by the Thessalians, they refused to give up these towns, which had meanwhile entered their Confederacy. Cp. Isocr. vi. 46; Syncellus, p. 260 b; Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 223.

Diodorus (xiv. 84, 89, 92; xv. 19) follows a different and in many respects inconsistent tradition. The author of a recently discovered letter to? Alexander the Great (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i. 13) makes the exaggerated statement Θηβαῖοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ᾿Αμύνταν τὸν πατέρα τὸν Φιλίππου μετ ᾿Ολυνθίων ἐπεχείρησαν ἐκβαλείν μὲν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀποστερῆσαι δὲ τῆς βασιλείας: it is plain from Xenophon (§§ 13, 38) that the proposed alliance between the Olynthians and Thebans, if ever formally concluded, was never really effective.

- § 14. αὐτοπολίται εἶναι, opposed to συμπολιτεύειν of § 12, 'citizens of an independent state': cp. Thuc. v. 79 αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλιες.

† δκτακοσίων, evidently too small a number for so strong a confederacy: cp. Dem. xix. 263 (referring to this time) ἐκείνοι γὰρ (οἰ ᾿Ολύνθιοι) ἡνίκα μὲν τετρακοσίους ἱππέας ἐκέκτηντο μόνον, καὶ σύμπαντες οὐδὲν ἦσαν πλείους πεντακισχιλίων τὸν ἀριθμόν, οῦπω Χαλκιδέων πάντων

els έν συνφκισμένων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντων κ.τ.λ.; but no great reliance can be put on this statement of the orator, and there exist no other means of correcting this manifestly corrupt number: cp. § 24; Diod. xv. 21; and Critical Note.

§ 15. 'Αθηνείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν, against whom the Peace of Antalcidas had been especially directed.

δρᾶτε, 'take care' = φυλάττεσθε.

Horeidaiar, only six miles south of Olynthus: cp. § 24.

§ 16. καθ εν: cp. iii. 4. 27 note: for the breaking up of the Theban Confederacy cp. v. 1. 32, 33 notes.

ξύλα . . . ναυπηγήσιμα: cp. Hicks, Insc. 74 b (treaty between Amyntas III and the Chalcidian League) έξαγωγή δ' ἔστω πίσσης καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομιστηρίων πάντων, ναυπηγησίμων δὲ πλὴν έλατίνων.

γε μήν, stronger than a mere repetition of δέ: πολυανθρωπία is named last as the result of the other material advantages.

§ 17. Θράκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, as opposed to the Thracians in the NE. districts: cp. iii. 2. 9; iv. 8. 26. Similarly Thuc. ii. 29 ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὖτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος 'Οδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε' πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρακῶν.

πολλή . . . δύναμις the predicate, αὖτη being the subject.

τφ Παγγαίφ, in the territory of the Edones, NW. of Thasos.

χείρα... ὀρέγοι, 'would stretch out a helping hand': a curious metaphor with an inanimate subject.

§ 18. τῆς πολιτείας: cp. § 12 note.

§ 19. ταις τε ἐπιγαμίας καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι: ἐπιγαμία = jus connubii: ἐγκτήσες, i. e. γῆς καὶ οἰκίας, the right of possessing landed property and houses in the dominions of another state.

εύλυτα ἔσται : subject, τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, opposed to δυσπάλαιστός έστιν of \S 18.

§ 20. ἐδίδοσαν . . . λόγον, i. e. gave them permission to speak.

στρατιὰν ποιείν, 'to create an army,' an unusual expression for the more common στρατιὰν συλλέγειν οτ παρασκευάζεσθαι, οτ φρουρὰν φαίνειν.

χαρίζεσθαι. According to Diod. xv. 19 king Agesipolis and his supporters were steadily adverse to these efforts of Sparta to aggrandize herself at the expense of the other Greek states.

τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα . . . πόλιν, i. e. that each state should

send its proportional contingent necessary to make up the total of ten thousand men: cp. § 37 την είς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν.

§ 21. τριάβολον: three obols (i. e. half a drachma), on the Aeginetan standard, are equivalent to sixpence; so that twelve obols, or a didrachma or stater, would be equivalent to two shillings, reckoning silver at five shillings an ounce Troy. About 377 when Sparta reorganized the system on which she summoned contingents from her allies, this ratio of hoplites to horsemen was still maintained: Diod. xv. 31 ħν δ' αὐτοῖε ὁ μὲν ὁπλίτης πρὸς δύο ψιλοὺς τεταγμένος, ὁ δ' ἰππεὺς πρὸς τέτταρας ὁπλίτας ἰσαζόμενος: cp. v. 4. 37 note.

§ 23. στῆναι ἄν, 'would be brought to a standstill,' Dakyns. The metaphor is similar to that contained in προσκεχωρηκυίας.

382-381 B.C.

§ 24. reodaµώders: cp. i. 3. 15 note.

Σκιριτῶν. The men of the Sciritis, the frontier district between Lacedaemon and Arcadia. They always fought on the left wing of the Spartan army, and were specially charged to give assistance to any troops hard pressed in the fight: cp. v. 4. 52; Thuc. v. 67; Xen. Cyrop. iv. 2. 1; Diod. xv. 32; Appendix, p. 348.

τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία: cp. iv. 8. 26 note.

exciror, i. e. the Olynthians: cp. § 15.

§ 25. δ... Φοιβίδας. Diod. xv. 19, 20 erroneously represents him as the original commander of the expedition against the Olynthians, and as removed from his command after the capture of the Cadmea in favour of his brother Eudamidas.

ol ὑπολειφθέντες: from § 37 it appears that Xenophon means the remainder of the troops assigned to Eudamidas, not those required to make up the total of 10,000: cp. §§ 20, 24.

τὸ γυμνάσιον. Pausanias (ix. 11. 7 and 23. 1) speaks of two gymnasia at Thebes, the first near the Heracleum (τοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλείου γυμνάσιον ἔχεται καὶ στάδιον, ἀμφότερα ἐπώνυμα τοῦ θεοῦ), to the south of the Cadmea, the other outside the Proetidian gate (πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶ τῶν Προιτίδων καὶ τὸ Ἰολάου καλούμενον γυμνάσιον καὶ στάδιον). As Phoebidas was marching from the south, the former is the more probable site of his camp.

πολεμαρχούντες. The Polemarchs, the chief officials at Thebes both in peace and war, were in most, if not all, Boeotian states

three in number, assisted by a secretary (cp. v. 4. 2): whether in this year there was a third polemarch or not cannot be determined from the context: cp. Appendix, p. 358; Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 441.

'Ισμηνίαs, one of those who had received the Persian gold of Timocrates (iii. 5. 1), and who was famous for his wealth: Plat. Men. 90 a; Rep. 336 a.

Λεοντιάδης (called Λεοντίδης by Plut. Pel. 5) came of a family always closely connected with Sparta: Her. vii. 205, 233; Thuc. ii. 2; ps.-Dem. lix. 99.

τῶν ἐταιριῶν. These were political clubs or secret societies, organized for party purposes, ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς, and naturally were most active in times of στάσις: cp. Thuc. iii. 82; viii. 54; Plat. Rep. 365 d; Theat. 173 d; Laws 636; Arist. Pol. ii. 8. 2.

§ 27. ἀποκεκήρυκται: cp. § 15; this shows that the democratical party were in the ascendant.

τφ ἀδελφφ: Eudamidas.

§ 28. λογιστικόε . . . φρόνιμος : cp. Introd. p. xxxi. έκέλευσεν, sc. ό Λεοντιάδης.

§ 29. ἐν τῷ ἐν ἀγορῷ στοῷ: to the north of the Cadmea, the usual place of meeting.

θέρους . . . δντος: cp. Introd. p. lx.

ἀποστρέφει: from the course of his march.

 $\beta a \lambda a u d \gamma \rho a v$: the key or rather hook inserted through a hole in the door to take the bolt-pin out of the bar across it on the inside.

§ 30. λαμβάνω . . . 'Ισμηνίαν: cp. the similar procedure of Critias against Theramenes ii. 3. 51, 54.

ol λοχαγοί: nominative with the article, instead of the vocative. ἔνθα εἴρηται: cp. ii. 3. 55 οδ δεῖ.

§ 31. ἀπεχώρησαν. Diodorus (xv. 20), with rhetorical licence, represents these three hundred as formally banished by Phoebidas after that he had defeated them in a battle.

'Ανδροκλείδα: like Ismenias, he too had shared in the Persian gold: iii. 5. 1.

§ 32. πολίμαρχον... άλλον. Archias: cp. v. 4. 2; Plut. Pel. 6; Ages. 23.

οὐ προσταχθίντα. Whether Phoebidas acted in accordance with secret instructions from Sparta, as Diodorus represents (xv. 20

έν ἀπορρήτοις; cp. Oxyrh. Pap. i. 13 and § 12 note), or whether he yielded merely to the temptations of Leontiades, must of necessity remain an open question. Some commentators have urged against Xenophon's view of the circumstances, that the mere presence of Phoebidas at Thebes at all, which is out of the direct line of march towards Olynthus, is a sufficient evidence of the preconcerted nature of the affair: but Thebes is so short a distance out of the direct line, that the advantage of Phoebidas' appearing in person to receive the Theban contingent, evidently expected for the Olynthian campaign, is quite a sufficient motive to explain his delour. It is curious, however, that Xenophon should wholly have omitted the story of his punishment with a fine of 100,000 drachmae, which is too well attested by Plutarch (Pel. 6; Ages. 24), Diodorus (l. c.), and Nepos (Pel. 1) to admit of doubt. The punishment can have been little more than nominal: for in 378 he reappears as harmost of Thespiae (v. 4. 41).

§ 33. τοὺς ἐκκλήτους: cp. § 11 and ii. 4. 38.

δυσμενέσι: used as a substantive with the possessive pronoun: cp. iv. 1. 36; Apol. Socr. 27 τοῖς έμοῖς εὔνοις.

οὐκ ... οὐκ ἡθελησαν. The first οὐκ introduces the question, the second negatives ἡθελησαν: cp. Anab. vii. 6. 24 οὐκ ... οὐκ «ἴα ...; for the event in 403 cp. ii. 4. 30; iii. 5. 8.

Φωκεῦσι. In 395 Androclides and his party persuaded the Thebans to help the Locrians against the Phocians: iii. 5. 4.

§ 34. ἐποιοῦντο, imperfect of endeavour: for the alliance does not seem to have been actually formed: cp. § 12 note and § 15.

τότε μέν, i. e. before the seizure of the Cadmea, as is plain from νῦν δὲ . . . τάδε.

πότε ἀκούσεσθε: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σκυτάλη: cp. iii. 3. 8 note.

ereiθer: from Thebes.

§ 35. έδοξε... φυλάττει»: cp. Plut. Pel. 6 έπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Φοιβίδαν μὲν ἀφείλοντο τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δέκα δραχμῶν μυριάσων έζημίωσαν (cp. § 32 note), τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν οὐδὲν ἤττον φρουρῷ κατέσχον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Ἑλληνες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ἀτοπίαν, εὶ τὸν μὲν πράξαντα κολάζουσι, τὴν δὲ πρᾶξιν δοκιμάζουσι.

κρίσιν ποιήσαι, i.e. 'to bring Ismenias to trial.' In iv. 2. 6 την κρίσιν . . . ποιήσειν is used in a different sense.

πέμπουσι, i. e. to Thebes: whereas Plut. (Pel. 5) states that he was carried to Lacedaemon and condemned there.

καὶ μικράς καὶ μεγάλης: cp. Thuc. i. 125 ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἄπασιν ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἐξῆς, καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει.

βαρβαρίζοι ... ξένος τῷ Πέρση. This accusation, coming from the Spartans and the philo-Laconian Thebans, sounds strangely after the Peace of Antalcidas.

παρά βασιλέως χρημάτων: cp. iii. 5. I.

τῆς . . . ταραχῆς πάσης: this, the so-called Corinthian War, was doubtless the real cause of Ismenias' condemnation.

§ 36. τὸ μὴ οὐ . . . εἶναι. The infinitival phrase constitutes the object to ἔπειθε: the double negative μὴ οὐ is due to the negative οὐκ ἔπειθε: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 794, 814.

κατεψηφίσθη. At the same time, according to Plutarch (l. c.), Πελοπίδιις καὶ Φερένικος καὶ ᾿Ανδροκλείδας μετὰ συχνῶν ἄλλων φεύγοντες ἐξεκηρύχθησαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε τῷ καταφρονηθῆναι διὰ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ὡς ἀπράγμων, διὰ δὲ πενίαν ὡς ἀδύνατος.

elχου... τὴν πόλιν. In the winter 379-378 the Spartans had a garrison of 1,500 Lacedaemonians and allies in the Cadmea (Diod. xv. 25; Plut. Pel. 12, 13) under three harmosts.

§ 37. συναπίστελλον: for the date cp. Introd. p. lxi; the preposition σύν denotes that it was a joint expedition of the Spartans and their allies.

Teλevriar: last mentioned, when he led the attack upon Piraeus: v. i. 13 ff.

τὴν . . . σύνταξιν : cp. § 20.

dπarras: no satisfactory emendation for the MSS. dπarres has yet been proposed: cp. Critical Note. Breitenbach, adopting this reading, interprets it to mean that now the Spartans sent all their troops, required to make up their contingent towards the 10,000, in one body and not in detachments, as previously under Eudamidas and Phoebidas.

οὐκ ἀχάριστος: for the character of Teleutias cp. v. 1. 3, 13, 18 and Diod. xv. 21 θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' ἀρετῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

ἀδελφοῦ: cp. iv. 4. 19.

προθύμως: because of the debt of gratitude which the Theban oligarchs, now in power, owed to Agesilaus: cp. § 7.

§ 38. καὶ πρὸς 'Αμύνταν. Hence it appears that the efforts of the

Apolloniates and Acanthians had induced Amyntas to become an ally of the Lacedaemonians: cp. §§ 11, 12. Diodorus (xv. 19), who knows nothing of their embassy, represents the Lacedaemonians as persuaded to send the expedition solely by Amyntas.

is . . . eba: is with the infinitive here expresses purpose: cp. i. 6. 20; iii. 4. 27; Goodwin, M. T. 608.

'Ελιμίας: the district in the SW. of Macedonia on the borders of Epirus.

§ 39. τὴν ἐαυτῶν συμμαχίδα, sc. πόλιν: for the plural ἐαυτῶν (i.e. Lacedaemonians) cp. iv. 8. 24.

συνταξάμενοι. The συν in composition may imply a junction of Teleutias' forces with those of Eudamidas, who had made Potidaea his head quarters (§ 24); but in an analogous passage (Cyrop. ii. 4.32) Xenophon uses the term merely of marshalling soldiers in close marching order, ready for immediate action—αὐτὸς δὲ συνταξάμενος, ἢ ἄριστον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτειν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἶ τι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο. Diodorus (xv. 21) adds that Teleutias assumed the command of Eudamidas' troops and ravaged the country.

§ 40. εθετο τὰ δπλα: in order to prepare his troops for battle.

εὐώνυμον . . . αὐτὸς ἔχων : instead of the right wing, which was the traditional post of the Lacedaemonians in battle : cp. Her. ix. 28.

စ်း els : cp. iv. I. 18.

ώς ... παρείη, sc. ὁ Δέρδας, 'partly as a mark of courtesy to Derdas which should make him not regret his coming,' Dakyns.

§ 41. κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς: Obviously the Lacedaemonian and Boeotian cavalry are meant.

τδ . . . ἐππικόν, i. e. including the Macedonians.

τὸ ἐχόμενον . . . αὐτῶν : αὐτῶν depends on ἐχόμενον : cp. iii. 4. I.

§ 43. аны ёконте: ср. § 39.

τοῦτο . . . τὸ θέρος : cp. Introd. p. lxi.

CHAPTER III

\$\xi\$ 1-6. The next campaign opened with shirmishes: in one the Olynthian cavalry suffered considerably, in another they enticed Teleutias with his whole army close to the walls of the city. Teleutias was slain with many others, and the whole besieging forces were obliged to disperse. \\$ \gamma. Xenophon's comment on the disaster. \\$\xi\$ 8-9. The Spartans undismayed sent against

Olynthus an armament under Agesipolis still larger than before. §§ 10-17. The returned exiles at Phlius, unable to recover their goods, appealed to Sparta. The Ephors declared war upon the other Phliasians, and despatched Agesilaus against them. He met all their overtures for peace with the demand that they should surrender the citadel. On their refusal he laid siege §§ 18-20. After some small operations in Olynthian territory and the capture of Torone, Agesipolis died of fever, much to the grief of Agesilaus. He was replaced by Polybiades. §§ 21-25. After a prolonged siege the Phliasians at last applied to Agesilans for leave to send envoys to Sparta to arrange terms. Highly indignant he persuaded the Ephors to leave the matter to him: he set up a provisional government to draw up a constitution, and after leaving a garrison in the city disbanded his army. § 26. Polybiades starved the Olynthians into coming to terms: they agreed to enter the Spartan Confederacy. § 27. Thus everywhere Sparta seemed to be stronger than ever.

381-380 B.C.

§ 1. δμα . . . τφ βρι-: cp. Introd. p. lxi.

υποφαινομένη: elsewhere only used in the active in this sense: cp. iii. 4. 16.

dμβάταs: this, the Ionic and poetic form of ἀναβάταs, is Dindorf's correction: cp. Mem. iii. 3. 2 and Critical Note.

§ 2. ελέγετο: for the imperfect cp. iii. 5. 21.

όλίγην παντελώς, 'a very small part of their territory': for the position of the adverb cp. iv. 2. 18.

§ 3. ώς . . . φθείροι: for the final use of ώς cp. Goodwin, M. T. Append. iv.

τὸ έναντίον στράτευμα = τὸ τῶν έναντίων στράτευμα.

§ 4. φεύγουσι: dative of the participle after ἐπιδιέβαινον.

§ 5. μἐν οὖν: introduces a general observation applied by καὶ... δέ to the particular case.

τοῦ καιροῦ = \hbar ὁ καιρὸς $\hbar \nu$, genitive of comparison: cp. ii. 3. 24.

§ 6. τοὺς ἐππέας: they must therefore have retreated within the walls.

Σπαρτώλου, five miles due west of Olynthus.

οτιπερ δφελος ἢν, 'the serviceable part of the army': cp. vi. 2. 23. Diodorus (xv. 21) states that more than 1,200 Lacedaemonians were slain.

§ 7. ἀτάρ: emphatic: cp. v. 4. 17.

απρονόητον: for the neuter without ἐστί cp. De Re Equest. 6.

13 ἀπρονόητον γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, ὅστε πολλάκις ἐξεργάζεται ὧν μεταμέλειν ἀνάγκη.

§ 8. δοπερ 'Αγησιλάου: the preposition μετά is not repeated, because μετ' αὐτοῦ here precedes the object with which it is to be compared.

τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατών: cp. iii. 4. 2 note.

§ 9. ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων: strangers who, like Xenophon's own sons (Diog. Laert. ii. 54), went through the course of Spartan discipline.

νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, sons of Spartans by helot women; it is doubtful, whether they are to be identified with the μόθακες or μόθωνες: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. i. 446.

τῶν ἐν τῷ πόλει καλῶν, i. e. the course of Spartan discipline, and the rights and privileges assigned to men so trained: cp. v. 4. 32, 33.

ταῦτα πράττων, 'faring so,' 'under these favourable circumstances.'

§ 10. ἐπαινθεῖσα: for the friendly relations between Phlius and Agesipolis cp. iv. 7. 3.

 $\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau a$. The money was probably paid as a substitute for personal service under the regulation cited v. 2. 21.

ἀμφοτέρους... εξω Σπάρτης. There was nothing very unusual in the two kings being absent from Sparta at the same time: thus Pausanias in 395 marched into Boeotia, while Agesilaus was in Asia, iii. 5. 17: cp. Appendix, p. 338.

τῶν δικαίων: cp. the decree which the Phliasians had passed, c. 384, when they restored their oligarchical exiles, v. 2. 10.

ểν αὐτῆ τῆ πόλει, where the democrats still controlled the government and apparently nominated the judges. Later Agesilaus set up a court composed of fifty of the returned exiles and fifty democrats: cp. § 25.

δίκη: without the article as predicate: cp. v. 2. 17.

§ 11. τῶν οἴκοθεν: for the adverb in -θεν cp. iii. 1. 18.

§ 12. Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν: cp. v. 2. 8.

βιαζύμενοι μή ἀποδιδόναι, 'refused with violence to repay': for the inf. cp. Thuc. vii. 79 εβιάσαντο πρός τον λόφον έλθειν.

αὐτούς: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 13. φρουράν φαίνουσιν: cp. iii. 2. 23 note.

dχθομένψ: for dative cp. iv. 1. 11 note. For Agesilaus' conduct cp. Ages. 2. 21 el δέ τις άλλη πη ταῦτα μέμφεται, άλλ' οδν φιλε-

ταιρία γε πραχθέντα φανερά έστι; and Isocrates' remark (v. 87) on his desire τοὺς έταίρους εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν καταγαγεῖν κιὶ κυρίους ποιῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων. συνέβαινεν οὖν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πραγματείας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν έταίρων ἐν κακοῖς καὶ κινδύνοις εἶναι τοὺς Ελληνας.

'Αρχιδάμφ: cp. v. 2. 3 note.

αὐτφ̂: cp. v. 2. 9.

Προκλέα: cp. vi. 5. 38; Podanemus is not again mentioned.

§ 14. των διαβατηρίων: cp. iii. 1. 17; 4. 3 notes.

¿δίδοσαν: imperf., 'offered.'

§ 15. τὸ πρότεμον: v. 2. 10.

πρόσθεν . . . ποιήσαντες: cp. iv. 4. 15.

§ 16. ἐνέβαλε: Diodorus (xv. 19) compresses his account of the Phliasian affair into two lines: ἐτέραν δὲ δύναμιν ἐπὶ Φλειουντίους ἐκπέμψαντες καὶ μάχη νικήσαντες, ἡνάγκασαν ὑποταγῆναι τοὺς Φλειουντίους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

πολλών . . . Λακεδαιμονίων: cp. § 13 note.

πλέον: without #, cp. iv. 5. 4.

ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἔξω, 'in a place visible to the besiegers
outside the walls.'

δ μέντοι: an easy anacoluthon due to the intervening clauses ώς . . . ἐκκλησίαζον.

§ 17. εξίσεν: without a definite subject expressed: sc. των Φλεισσίων τινές.

ἐδίδασκε, sc. τοὺς φυγάδας, to which αὐτῶν must be referred. The meaning seems to be: 'The king instructed the exiles to form their kinsmen into messes with themselves (αὐτῶν) and to give such as were willing to undergo training, enough to provide necessaries.'

ἄριστα . . . ἔχοντας = ἀρίστους ὅντας: ἄριστα is adverbial, as appears from iii. 4. 16 ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι and Oecon. 21. 7 οὶ ἀν αὐτῶν ἄριστα τὸ σῶμα ἔχωσι—τὰ σώματα being the accusative of respect.

380-379 B.C.

§ 18. 'Αγησίπολιε: cp. § 9.

Τορώνην: on the SW.side of the peninsula of Sithonia: cp.ii.2.3.

§ 19. θέρους: cp. Introd. p. lxii.

'Aφύτει: on the east side of the peninsula of Pallene.

the του lepou, i. e. he was carried outside the temple that his dead body might not pollute the sacred precinct.

έν μέλιτι τεθείs: Diodorus (xv. 93) relates that the corpse of Agesilaus, who died in Cyrene, was embalmed in the same manner. τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς: cp. iii. 3. I note.

§ 20. ὡς ἀντιπάλφ: cp. Diod. xv. 19 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον (since 383) οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διεφέροντο ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν ᾿Αγησίπολις μὰν γάρ, εἰρηνικὸς ὧν καὶ δίκαιος, ἔτι δὲ συνέσει διαφέρων, ἔφη δεῖν ἐμμένειν τοῖς δρκοις καὶ παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας μὴ καταδουλοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἔλληνας . . . ὁ δ' ᾿Αγησίλαος, ὧν φύσει δραστικός, φιλοπόλεμος ἢν καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀντείχετο. For the more pleasant and social traits in the character of Agesilaus cp. Ages. 7. 2.

συσκηνοῦσι: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 4 and Plut. Ages. 20 συσσιτοῦσι γὰρ οl βασιλείε εἰε τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώντες φιδίτιον, δταν ἐπιδημώσι».

§ 21. δσου: genit. dependent on σίτος: cp. § 25 μισθὸν ἐξ μηνῶν; Thuc. ii. 23 χρόνον . . . δσου είχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

τοσοῦτον... διαφέρει, 'self-restraint is so superior to appetite': cp. Critical Note.

τελεῦ, 'to pay,' 'to serve out rations.'

τοῦ «ἰκότος: genit. of comparison: cp. § 5 τοῦ καιροῦ.

§ 22. els ràs φυλακàs . . . lévas, 'to go to their posts,' 'to mount guard.'

φυλακάς, 'posts of the enemy.'

τοῦ . . . κύκλου, 'of the line of circumvallation': genit. dependent on ἄλλη.

§ 23. ol ἐπίλεκτοι, i. e. 'the three hundred.'

σπείσασθαι πρεσβείαν... λοῦσι, 'to give pledges of safe conduct to those going on an embassy': cp. Critical Note and § 24 ἐσπείσατο τῆ πρεσβεία.

χρήσασθαι . . . βούλουτο: cp. ii. 4. 37.

§ 24. čevpov. Constitutionally the Phliasians were right, as appears from the instances of Agis and Lysander in the negotiations with the Athenians in 405-404; politically of course they made a mistake: cp. Appendix, p. 339.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: cp. iii. I. 18, 22 and v. I. 5 τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Φρουρίου.

στιγματίας, 'a branded slave'—a word used by Xenophon only in this passage.

§ 25. πεντήκοντα μέν: cp. the earlier demand of the returned oligarchical exiles, § 10.

าตัว olkođer: the democrats, as in § 11.

τοις φρουροίς: cp. the similar treatment of Athens in 404; ii.
 3. I-14. Phliasian exiles are mentioned (vii. 2. 5; 4. II, date 366-365) as unable to effect their return to the henceforth oligarchically governed state.

έν δκτώ μησὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ: cp. Introd. p. lxii.

§ 26. ό Πολυβιάδης: cp. § 20.

κακῶς ἔχοντας: cp. Diod. xv. 23 ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐημερῶν καὶ πλείοσι μάχαις νικήσας, συνέκλεισε τοὺς 'Ολυνθίους εἰς πολιορκίαν.

του αὐτου . . . Λακεδαιμονίοις, the regular formula sworn to by members of the Spartan Confederacy: cp. Diod. (l. c.) εγγραφίντων δὲ τῶν 'Ολυνθίων εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. Thus in 377 Olynthian horse served under Agesilaus in Boeotia: v. 4. 54.

§ 27. Προκεχωρηκότων. If the passage be genuine (cp. Hartman, ad loc.), Xenophon here sums up Sparta's successful championship of the Peace of Antalcidas; cp. v. 1. 36. For the genitive absolute without a subject cp. ii. 4. 29.

Θηβαίους . . . καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτούς: cp. v. 2. 36.

Κορινθίους: cp. v. 1. 34.

'Apyelous: cp. v. 1. 29, 34.

διὰ τὸ μηδὲν . . . ὑποφοράν Breitenbach, &c., condemn as an interpolation from v. 1. 29.

'Aθηναίους: cp. v. 1. 29, 35 notes, and Appendix, p. 355.

συμμάχων κεκολασμένων: Mantinea, v. 2. 1-7; Phlius, v. 2. 8-10 and 3 passim.

ή ἀρχή: cp. the parallel passage in Diod. xv. 23 διὸ καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς πλείστον Ισχυσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἔσχον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατὰ γῆν ἄμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Θηβαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρχον ἔμφρουροι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ 'Αργεῖοι διὰ τοὺς προγεγονότας πολέμους ὑπῆρχον τεταπεινωμένοι, 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν πολεμουμένων κληρουχίας ἡδόξουν ἐν τοῖς 'Ελλησιν... διόπερ οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν τότε δυναστῶν, λέγω δὲ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην Διονύσιον, ἐθεράπευον τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἔσπευδον συντίθεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. Similarly Isocrates (iv. 126, date c. 380) sums up the case: τὴν μέν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν εἰρήνης ήδη γεγενημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων Καδμείαν κατέλαβον, καὶ νῦν 'Ολυνθίους καὶ Φλειασίους πολιορκοῦσιν, 'Αμύντα δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βοσι-

λεί και Διονυσίφ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννφ και τῷ βαρβάρφ τῷ τῆς 'Aσίας κρατοῦντι συμπράττουσιν, δπως ὡς μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔξουσιν.

CHAPTER IV

§ I. Xenophon's comment on the story of Sparta's downfall. **66 s−o.** The scribe Phillidas conspired with the fugitive Melon at Athens to put down the Theban despots. Melon thereupon with six comrades entered Bosotia by night, passed the day in a deserted spot, and the next night and day in Charon's house in Thebes. By a stratagem they succeeded in killing the polemarchs; then they slew Leontiades. Next they released the prisoners from the gaol, armed them, proclaimed that Thebes was free, and sent the news to two Athenian generals on the frontier. \$\$ 10-12. The Spartan harmost in the Cadmea sent to Plataea and Thespiae for help, but in vain. He then agreed to evacuate the citadel on the promise of safety. The Thebans however cruelly massacred many of their political opponents. **§§** 13–18. The Spartans put their harmost to death and declared war against Thebes. Agesilaus declining to serve, the Ephors sent Cleombrotus at the head of the expedition. After a few desultory operations in Bosolia, he returned home, § 19. The Athenians in leaving Sphodrias with a garrison in Thespiae. alarm put to death their two generals, who had been privy to Melon's §§ 20-24. Sphodrias, persuaded by the Thebans, attempted conspiracy. to surprise Piraeus, but being overtaken by daylight at Thriae returned to Thespiae, committing sundry depredations on his march. The Athenians thereon arrested three Spartan envoys, who were in the city, but on their protesting their ignorance of the plan soon released them. Sphodrias was brought to trial for the outrage, but was acquitted. \$\$ 25-33. The real reason of Sphodrias' acquittal was the friendship of his son Cleonymus with Archidamus the son of Agesilaus: for Archidamus interceded with his §§ 34-41. The Athenians strengthened Piraeus, built father for his life. ships, and supported the Bosotians. The Spartans again collected an army against Thebes. Agesilaus, being overpersuaded to lead the expedition, having first secured Cithaeron, took up his quarters at Thespiae, and ravaged Bosotia with varying success. At last he fortified Thespiae, left Phosbidas as harmost, and returned home. §§ 42-46. After many skirmishes Phoebidas was slain and his troops routed. The Thebans regained their courage and attached the neighbouring cities. The Lacedaemonians sent a polemarch with a mora by sea to guard Thespiae. §§ 47-55. In the spring Agesilaus once more led an expedition against Thebes: though on one occasion he penetrated nearly to Thebes, no decisive action was fought. At the end of the campaign after ending a dissension at Thespiae, he retired homewards. \$4.56, 57. Hard pressed by these two invasions the Thebans bought corn

from Pagasae, which on its way fell into the hands of the Spartan commandant at Oreus. The crews of the cornships, being left unguarded, induced the city to revolt from Sparta, and so the Thebans recovered their corn. 61. Next spring the Lacedaemonians once more assembled an army against Thebes. Agesilaus being ill, Cleombrotus commanded the expedition, but being unable to cross Cithaeron, which was guarded by the Thebans and Athenians, he at once disbanded his army. Their allies being discontented at the length of the war and the growing power of Athens at sea, the Spartans manned a fleet of 60 triremes with their admiral Pollis at its head. Pollis cut off the Athenian corn supply, but was soon defeated by Chabrias. §§ 62-66. At the request of the Thebans, the Athenians sent Timothens with 60 ships round the Peloponnesus. The Thebans, being thus left at peace, recovered many of their neighbouring cities. Timotheus won Corcyra over to the Athenian side, and defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus at Alysia. Being further reinforced he became complete master of the sea, yet was obliged to send to Athens for money.

§ Ι. μέν οὖν . . . γε μήν: cp. v. 3. 5 note.

οί ομόσαντες : cp. v. I. 32.

αὐτῶν μόνων, ' single-handed,' Dakyns.

πρώτον = πρότερον: cp. Hiero, 4. 2 και τούτων πριν απάρχεσθαι τοις θεοίς, τοις διακόνους πρώτον κελεύουσιν απογεύσασθαι.

obd' ὑφ' ἐνός, stronger than ὑπ' οὐδενός: cp. ii. 2. 10 οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιὰ alriq. Cp. Appendix, p. 360.

έκολάσθησαν: cp. Diod. xv. 1 βιαίως και χαλεπώς χρώμενοι τοίς συμμάχοις, έτι δὲ πολέμους άδίκους και ὑπερηφάνους ένιστάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἀλόγως ἀπέβαλον τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὰς ίδιας άβουλίας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν τὸ μίσος τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἔλαβε καιρὸν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς προηδικηκότας.

τών πώποτε, SC. γενομένων: cp. iii. 5. 14.

τοὺς ... εἰσαγαγόντας ... βουληθέντας ... ἀρχήν, accusatives after καταλῦσα. The sentence is very irregular; αὐτοί is in the nominative case, as if a relative sentence, οἰ ... εἰσήγαγον, had preceded the antecedent τούτων, instead of the participial clause τοὺς ... βουληθέντας.

έπτά: cp. § 3 notes.

379-378 B.C.

§ 2. εγραμμάτευε: cp. Plut. Pel. 7 Φιλλίδας δε διεπράξατο τῶν περί 'Αρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον γραμματεύε γενέσθαι πολεμαρχούντων.

τοις περί 'Αρχίαν πολεμάρχοις: cp. Plut. Daem. Socr. 377 τοις περί του 'Αρχίαν πολιμαρχούσι. It is curious that in v. 2. 25 Xenophon should mention only two polemarchs and that Plutarch on this occasion should speak only of Archias and Philip as polemarchs, and yet that both authors should use the phrase of mepl 'Apxiar πολέμαρχει, which in classical Greek cannot be used of less than three persons. It is tempting therefore to suppose that in Thebes, as in most Boeotian towns, there were three polemarchs (cp. v. 2. 25 note), and that Xenophon has, from some reason or other-perhaps from ignorance—omitted to name the third. In support of this hypothesis it may be remarked that he does not even call Philip one of the polemarchs (την περί Φίλιππον τυραννίδα), although Plutarch throughout so styles him; that in §§ 5, 6 he speaks of three of the conspirators dressed up is deamoleas and of their sitting #αρ' έκάστφ (i. e. of the polemarchs?); and that in vii. 3. 7 he speaks of the assassination of ol περί 'Αρχίαν καὶ 'Υπάτην, although here he never names Hypates, and it is only from Plutarch that we learn the manner of his death. Plutarch moreover is not consistent: in the Life of Pelopidas and the Daemonium Socratis he calls only Archias and Philip polemarchs, but in the Life of Agesilaus 24, he says, τον 'Αρχίαν και τον Λεοντίδαν απεκτόνεσαν . . . πολεμάρχους deras, although it seems to follow from Xenophon's narrative (especially § 7 παρά τῶν πολεμάρχων), as indeed from his own, that Leontiades was not polemarch at the time. On the whole, therefore, it seems easier to suppose that there were three polemarchs than that Xenophon has used the phrase of περί Αρχίαν πολέμαρχοι of only two persons. Cp. Appendix, p. 358.

ἀφιγμένφ 'Αθήναζε. Plutarch knows nothing of Phillidas' visit to Athens.

Miles. It has been objected against Xenophon that he says nothing of the part played by Pelopidas in the liberation of Thebes. It is remarkable, however, that though in his Life of Pelopidas Plutarch (cp. Corn. Nep. Pel. 2 dux erat Pelopidas) represents the leading part as taken by that hero, yet in his Dem. Socr. Melon occupies the more prominent place.

τῶν 'Αθήναζε πεφευγότων. Plutarch (Pel. 6) relates that the Lacedaemonians had formally demanded the expulsion of these exiles, but that the Athenians in gratitude for the kindness shown

by the Thebans to Thrasybulus and their democratical exiles in 404-403 (cp. ii. 4. I) had refused to comply; whereupon the Theban oligarchs had secretly plotted against the exiles and had procured the assassination of Androclides, one of their leaders (cp. iii. 5. I, 4; v. 2. 31, 35).

τὰ περὶ . . . τὴν περὶ . . . τυραννίδα. This strangely-worded distinction between Archias and Philip seems to show that Xenophon did not regard Philip as holding office at the time. The repetition of the article and irregular sequence of καί after τε seems to denote that the different action of the two men in their respective spheres combined to produce one tyranny. In both Xenophon and Plutarch, Archias appears as the chief figure among the Theban oligarchs, and next to him Leontiades: cp. §§ 6, 19; Plut. Pel. 10, 11; Daem. Socr. 576, 577, 596, 597; Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

 $a\dot{v} = \hbar a\dot{v} + \delta v$.

§ 3. εξ. According to Plutarch twelve in all: cp. Pel. 8 ὑφίσταται δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν Πελοπίδας πρῶτυς, εἶτα Μέλων καὶ Δαμοκλείδας καὶ Θεόπομπος, ἄνδρες οἶκων τε πρώτων καὶ πμὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἄλλα μὲν φιλικῶς καὶ πιστῶς, ὑπὲρ δὲ δόξης καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀεὶ φιλονείκως ἔχοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ οἱ σύμπαντες δώδεκα, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Daem. Socr. 576.

την χώραν, Boeotia: Plutarch (Pel. 8) speaks of a considerable body of exiles under the command of Pherenicus waiting on the frontier ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ, whilst the twelve conspirators headed by Pelopidas made their way into Thebes. In the Daem. Socr. 576, 594 he is less exact, and speaks only of the twelve crossing Cithaeron in the guise of huntsmen.

πρὸς τὰς πύλας. Plut. Pel. 9 διελόντες αὐτοὺς διλοι κατ' διλα μέρη τῆς πόλεως παρεισῆλθον: cp. Daem. Socr. 594.

ώς δη έξ ἀγροῦ. Plut. Pel. 9 ἐσθητας γεωργῶν μεταλαβόντες, whereas in ch. 8 he had spoken of their being disguised as huntsmen: cp. Daem. Socr. 576 μετὰ κυνῶν περὶ τὰν Κυθαιρῶνα θηρεῦσαι. Nepos (Pel. 2) combines the two versions: cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes, vestitu agresti, quo minore suspicione facerent iter.

ol... οψιαίτατοι, sc. ἀπιόντες ῆλθον. Plut. (Daem. Socr. 594) adds that a snowstorm assisted their entering unnoticed.

Χάρωνί τινι. According to Plut. Pel. 7, when Pelopidas first

conceived the scheme of attack upon the polemarchs, and sent notice of it to his friends at Thebes, Charon, δοπερ ἢν ἐπιφανέστατος, agreed to offer his house: but in Daem. Socr. 576 Charon only offers his house on the receipt of a message from Pherenicus that the twelve youths had already started. On their arrival their friends met them at the several gates—so Plutarch says in both narratives—and conducted them to the house of Charon, where ἐγύνοντο σὺν τοῖε φυγάσε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντες (Pel. 9).

την ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν. Plutarch makes the attack follow immediately on the arrival of the twelve: Pel. 9; Daem. Socr. 594, 596.

§ 4. τὰ ἄλλο, 'in all other respects': adverbial accusative, as in iv. 1. 40, &c.

ἐπεμελεῖτο. According to Plutarch (Daem. Socr. 577) the conspirators, to whom Phillidas was a party, had previously agreed upon a day and Phillidas arranged his feast to suit them: οἰκοῦν, εἶπεν (ὁ Φιλλίδας), ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν παρασκεύακα σήμερον, ὡς δεξόμενος ᾿Αρχίαν, καὶ παρέξων ἐν οἶνῳ καὶ μέθη τοῦς ἀνδράσι εὐχείρωτον. Rather inconsistently, Plutarch adds that an additional motive for haste was the fear lest the polemarchs should give orders for the immediate execution of Amphitheus, a democratical leader then in prison: cp. l. c. 594.

'Aφροδίσια: to be understood, not as a festival in honour of the goddess, but in the same sense as in Plut. Comp. Cim. et Lucul. I τὸ δ' ἐφ' ἡδονήν, ὡς τέλος, καταστρέψαντα τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ήδη λοιπὸν 'Αφροδίσια τῶν πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιῶν ἄγοντα παίζειν καὶ τρυφῶν, κ.τ.λ.

ἐπ' ἐξόδφ τῆς ἀρχῆς. The Boeotian official year began with the new moon after the winter solstice: cp. Böckh. CIG. i. p. 732.

§ 5. ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν. According to Plutarch a warning reached Archias and his boon companions—οδπω πάνυ πόρρω μέθης οδσιν—whereupon he summoned Charon to his presence. On his arrival Archias and Philip went to the door to meet him, but he and Phillidas contrived to disarm them of their suspicions. Again, a letter from Archias the Athenian hierophant, giving all the details of the conspiracy, was put into the hands of the polemarch, but he thrust it away under his pillow, exclaiming οὐκοῦν εἰς αδριον τὰ σπουδαία: cp. Pel. 10; Daem. Socr. 594-596.

τρείς μέν: cp. § 2 note.

§ 6. οἰκ ἀν . . . τσοιτο . . . δοὺς οἶνον. Plutarch says nothing of this precautionary measure of the conspirators.

eis érós, SC. οίκον ΟΙ δωμάτιον.

§ 7. ὡς κωμαστὰς . . . ἀποκτείναι. Plutarch rather combines the two stories. Pel. II Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον, ἐσθῆτας ἐπενδεδυμένοι γυναικείας τοῖς θώραξι, καὶ δασεῖς στεφάνους ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης περικείμενοι κατασκιάζοντας τὰ πρόσωπα. Daem. Socr. 596 Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων . . . ἡμιθωράκια ἐνδεδυμένοι καὶ στεφάνους δασεῖς ἔχοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐλάτης, οἱ δὲ πεύκης, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ χιτώνια τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμπεχόμενοι, μεθύοντας ἀπομιμούμενοι κώμφ χρωμένους μετὰ γυναικῶν. In the Daem. Socr. Plutarch describes the fight between the polemarchs and the conspirators at some length. First Melon slays Archias, then Charon wounds Philip, who is despatched by Lysitheus. Theopompus kills Cabirichus, the sacred archon. A few of the servants are also slain, the rest are locked up within the house.

λαβών...τρείς. Plutarch represents the conspirators as dividing themselves into two bodies, of which the one headed by Charon and Melon attacked the polemarchs, the other led by Pelopidas and Damoclidas—ἐν ἰματίοις...ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἔτερον τῶν ὅπλων ἡ μάχαιραν ἔκαστος—made at the same time for the house of Leontiades; with this second party Phillidas had nothing to do.

παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων. Plut. Daem. Socr. 597 οἱ περὶ Πελοπίδαν . . . ἔφασαν ἥκειν ᾿Αθήνηθεν γράμματα Λεοντίδη παρὰ Καλλιστράτου κομί-ζοντες. In Pel. 11 they simply burst in as soon as the servant opened the door.

χωρίς. Plutarch (Daem. Socr. 577) says that Phillidas had been anxious to invite Leontiades also to the feast but had been prevented by Archias, δ γὰρ ᾿Αρχίας ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν ἀφίξεσθαι τηνικαῦτα πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ βούλεται παρεῖναι τὸν Λεογτίδην.

τον μεν αποκτείνωντες. Plutarch (Pel. 11; Daem. Socr. 597) describes a long hand-to-hand fight between Leontiades and the conspirators. Leontiades cuts down Cephisodorus, who first entered the room, and is at last overcome in single combat by Pelopidas.

την δε γυναϊκα. Plutarch says nothing of the wife.

ifiorres. Pelopidas and his party hastened on, says Plutarch, to the neighbouring house of Hypates, whom they slew as he was attempting to escape over a roof into his neighbour's house. Xeno-

phon has for some reason or other omitted to describe the death of Hypates, though, as appears from vii. 3. 7 τοὺς περὶ ᾿Αρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην . . . ἐτιμωρήσασθε, he was well aware of the fact.

κεκλείσθαι, 'to be kept shut': the action was to be decisive and

permanent, hence the perfect; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 110.

§ 8. ħλθε wpòs τὸ ἀνάκειον. In the Daem. Socr. 598 Plutarch represents the two parties of the conspirators as uniting before they went to the prison: in the Pelopidas he says nothing of the prison incident. For ἀνάκειον cp. Critical Note and Suidas. Harpocration read ἀναγκαῖον.

elπε... δίοι. Plut. Daem. Socr. 598 ἐκκάλεσας δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ὁ Φίλλιδας, ᾿Αρχίας, ἔφη, καὶ Φίλιππος κελεύουσί σε ταχέως ἄγειν ἐπὰ αὐτοὺς ᾿Αμφίθεον: on the jailor's refusing, Phillidas cuts him down. The conspirators then release Amphitheus (cp. § 4 note), and afterwards the other prisoners.

τοὺς δεσμώτας: cp. § 14 ὡς περὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Plut. 1. c. here gives many picturesque details.

- τῶν . . . δπλων, partitive genitive, used as object : cp. iii. I. 4; Plut. Daem. Socr. 598 δπλα παρείχον αἴ τε στοαὶ πλήρεις οὖσαι παντο-δαπῶν λαφύρων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκούντων ἐργαστήρια μαχαιροποιῶν : so Pel. 12.
- τὸ ᾿Αμφεῖον: the shrine of Amphion, probably just to the north of the Cadmea: cp. Paus. ix. 17. 4.
- § 9. ωs... τεθνεώτων, 'because, as they said, the tyrants were dead': cp. Goodwin, M. T. 864.

εξεβοήθουν. Plutarch (Pel. 12) adds that the conspirators sent a messenger to summon the main body of exiles assembled on the Attic frontier (cp. § 3 note), and that ήκον βοηθοῦντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οἱ περὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, συνειλοχότες οὐκ δλίγους τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς βελτίστους (Epaminondas, according to the Daem. Socr. 576, had refused to take any part in the conspiracy from reluctance against shedding citizen blood, but was ready to join the conspirators afterwards, should they be successful). Plutarch goes on to say ἄμα δὲ ἡμέρα παρῆσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς οἱ ψυγάδες ὑπλισμένοι, συνήθροιστο δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος. εἰσῆγον δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πελοπίδαν Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ Γοργίδας ὑπὸ τῶν Ιερέων περιεχομένους στέμματα προτεινόντων καὶ παρακαλούντων τοὺς πολίτας τῷ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς βοηθεῖν. ἡ δ᾽ ἐκκλησία ὁρθὴ πρὸς τὴν

δψιν μετὰ κρότου καὶ βοῆς ἐξανέστη, δεχομέτων τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτῆρας. Melon, Charon, and Pelopidas were then chosen Boeotarchs—thereby showing that the Boeotian League was once more to be called into existence, as presumably there had been no Boeotarchs elected since the Peace of Antalcidas.

δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . ἀπεστάλκεσαν. Undoubtedly there is here a lacuna of unknown dimensions, in which Xenophon probably explained how these two Athenian generals came to be on the frontier. Even as it stands, from Xenophon's narrative it is evident that these two generals were privy to Melon's plot (§ 19), that they acted on their own responsibility in giving assistance to the conspirators, and that they were afterwards condemned by the Athenians to avoid all appearance of a breach of the peace between themselves and the Lacedaemonians (cp. § 20). Diodorus (xv. 25, 26) gives an utterly inconsistent narrative, which is demonstrably false: the conspirators, he says, sent envoys to Athens to remind the Athenians of their past indebtedness to Thebes at the time of the Thirty, and to ask their assistance πανδημεί. The Athenian Assembly therefore voted, and immediately despatched the general Demophon at the head of 5,000 hoplites and 500 cavalry, preparing at the same time mandquel στρατεύειν είς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. But a little further on (c. 29) Diodorus, dealing with the events of the following year, states: rois de Aakeδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις σπονδὰς πεποιημένοις ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέβαινε μένειν την εἰρήνην μέχρι τώνδε τών καιρών. Naturally he makes no allusion to the condemnation of the two Athenian generals, which evidently belongs to a totally different story. His own story, probably taken from Ephorus, seems to have arisen from the garbled versions of the Athenian orators, who, to gratify the national vanity, ante-dated the enthusiasm against Sparta caused by the affair of Sphodrias (§ 34), and mixing up the unauthorized help lent the Theban patriots by the two Athenian generals on the frontier with the measures then adopted against Sparta on the proposal of Cephalus, represented a large force as sent out by the formal vote of the Athenian Assembly: cp. Deinarchus, i. 39 ταυτί τὰ μικρου πρό της ήμετέρας ήλικίας γεγενημένα ὑπὸ Κεφάλου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Θράσωνος τοῦ Ἐρχιέως καὶ Ἡλίου Φορμισίου καὶ έτέρων ανδρών αγαθών, ων ένίων έτι καὶ νύν 👣 τὰ σώματα. τούτων γάρ οἱ μέν φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ Λακεδοιμονίων τῆς Καδμείας βοηθήσαντες τοῖς els Θήβας, κατιοῦσι τῶν φυγάδων τοῖς ίδίοις κινδύνοις ἡλευθέρωσαν πόλιν ἀστυγείτονα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον δουλεύουσαν, οἱ δὲ πείσαντες ἐξελθεῖν ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους, Κεφάλου τούτου ψήφισμα γράψαντος, δε οἱ καταπλαγεὶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμιν, οὐδὲ λογισάμενος ὅτι τὸ κινδυνεύειν καὶ τὸ γράφειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισφαλές ἐστιν, ἔγραψεν ἐξείναι βοηθήσοντας ᾿Αθηναίους τοῖς κατειληφόσι τῶν φυγάδων Θήβας καὶ ἐξελθόντων ἐκεῖσε τῶν ὑμετέρων πατέρων ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξεβλήθη ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρούραρχος, ἡλευθεροῦντο Θηβαῖοι, διεπέπρακτο ἡ πόλις ἡ ὑμετέρα ἄξια τῶν προγόνων: cp. Grote, ix. 313 note, 507 note. Owing to the lacuna τὸ πρᾶγμα κ.τ.λ. cannot be explained.

§ 10. δ . . . άρμοστής. Diod. xv. 27 speaks of rovs ήγεμόνας τῆς φρουρᾶς τρεῖς ὅντας, and Plut. Pel. 13 calls them all harmosts. Probably, however, Lysanoridas alone was the proper harmost, the two others were subordinate generals: cp. Daem. Socr. 576 Λυσαγορίδαν τρίτον αὐτόν.

Πλαταιλς καὶ Θεσπιάς. These towns, like Tanagra, had been guarded by Lacedaemonian garrisons since the Peace of Antalcidas: cp. Isocr. xiv. 13.

roùs Πλαταιάs. After their town was destroyed by the Peloponnesians in 427 (Thuc. iii. 68) the Plataeans had sought refuge in Athens, until they were restored to their city by the Spartans after the Peace of Antalcidas: cp. Paus. ix. 1. 3.

§ 11. δλίγοι δρτες: participial construction, as with alσθάνεσθαι, dependent on έγνωσαν: cp. Goodwin, M.T. 884. Their numbers were 1,500, if Diodorus and Plutarch be correct, to which must be added the oligarchical refugees.

τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων. Diodorus (xv. 26), following a different version (cp. § 9 note), estimates the besieging force at 12,000 hoplites and 2,000 cavalry, including a large Athenian army. He says that the garrison at once despatched messengers to Sparta for help, and meanwhile defended themselves vigorously against their assailants: but that the Spartans were so long in sending the necessary aid, that the garrison was obliged to surrender just before the reinforcements arrived. So according to Plut. Pel. 12, 13 Cleombrotus' army of rescue had already reached Megara, when the garrison surrendered. Both these stories are wholly inconsistent with Xenophon, who evidently means that the garrison surrendered the day after the assassination of the polemarchs.

άναβασιν, i. e. els την ακρόπολιν.

§ 12. τῶν ἀχθρῶν, i. e. the Theban oligarchs.

dπέκτειναν... ἀπέσφαξαν. The other authorities do not mention this cold-blooded massacre: cp. the fears of such excesses felt by Epaminondas, Plut. Daem. Socr. 576; and the similar incident at Mantinea, v. 2. 6.

§ 13. τὸν μὲν ἀρμοστήν... ἀπέκτειναν. According to Plutarch (Pel. 13; Daem. Socr. 598) and Diodorus (xv. 27) the Spartans put two of the commanders to death, Herippidas and Arcissus, and punished the third (Lysanoridas) with a fine and exile, the latter not having been present in the Cadmea at the time: cp. § 10 note.

теттараковта аф' ήβης: ср. іі. 4. 32.

λέξοιεν... παρέχοι: cp. the similar reproaches made against Agesilaus in the affair of Phlius, v. 3. 16 and 27 note, and Plut. Ages. 24 'Αγησίλαος... ἔψυγε τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην, αἰσχυνόμενος, εἰ Φλειασίοις ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεθ ὑπὲρ ψυγάδων πεπολεμηκῶς αἴθις ὀφθήσεται Θηβαίους κακῶς ποιῶν διὰ τοὺς τυράννους.

βουλεύεσθαι. Isocrates' statement (xiv. 29) that the Theban patriots immediately sent envoys to Sparta with offers of submission is scarcely credible: cp. Grote, ix. 310 note.

§ 14. Κλεόμβροτον, succeeded his brother Agesipolis: cp. v. 3. 19. μάλα χειμώνος: for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 4. 2.

Xaβpias: cp. v. 1. 10, 12. According to Diod. xv. 29 he had been recently recalled from Egypt by the Athenians at the request of Pharnabazus from the service of the rebel king Acoris, whose forces he had commanded.

οί πελτασταί, i. e. of Cleombrotus.

ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρφ, i. e. of Mount Cithaeron.

τοίς . . . λελυμένοις: cp. § 8.

iri φιλίας οδοας: cp. § 10 note and § 48: some time before 374 Plataea was subjugated by Thebes, vi. 1. 1.

§ 15. Κυνὸς κεφαλάς: a village, said to have been the birth-place of Pindar: the site is unknown.

Σφοδρίαν, a personal friend of Cleombrotus, § 25.

ἀπό: cp. v. 1. 11.

§ 16. την διὰ Κρεύσιος, sc. δδόν: on the sea coast at the foot of the west spur of Cithaeron.

την των Θηβαίων, sc. πόλω οτ γην.

ελάχιστα κακουργήσας: cp. Polyb. ix. 23 Λακεδαιμονίων δ' ήγουμένων της Έλλάδος δσα μεν διά Κλεομβρότου τοῦ βασιλέως πράττοιτο, πάντα συμμαχικήν είχε την αίρεσιν (policy), δσα δε δι' 'Αγησιλάου, τοῦναντίον: also infr. § 25; vi. 4. 5 and Plut. Ages. 26 τον Κλεόμβροτον οὐ . . . πρόθυμον δντα πολεμείν τοῖς Θηβαίοις.

§ 17. σημαίνειν . . . μελλόντων : σημαίνειν = σημείον είναι : Cp. Arr. Anab. vii. 22. 5 τοῦτό τε οὖν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημῆναι : τῶν μελλόντων refers to Leuctra.

ἀτάρ: cp. v. 3. 7.

αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, 'baggage and all': cp. i. 2. 12.

§ 18. τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αλγοσθένοις, south of Mount Cithaeron on the coast: cp. vi. 4. 26.

§ 19. δρῶντες . . . ρόμην. This shows that Cleombrotus' expedition in the dead of winter was not without its effect; not only had he strengthened the Spartan garrison in Bosotia, but he secured the neutrality of Athens. Sphodrias' rash attempt on Piraeus spoilt it all. For the totally inconsistent narrative of Diodorus cp. § 9 note.

ἐν Κορίνθφ, i. e. before the Peace of Antalcidas, when the
Spartans were unable to cross the isthmus unhindered: cp.
iv. 4. 13.

κρίναντες: cp. § 9 note. This is alluded to by Plutarch, who, however, combines it with the erroneous narrative given by Diodorus: Pel. 14 ἐπεὶ τοίνυν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλόντων οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι τήν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπείπαντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τῶν βοιωτιαζόντων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον παραγαγόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐφυγάδευσαν, τοὺς δἰ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, κ.τ.λ.: cp. § 34 note.

378-377 B.C.

§ 20. οί... Θηβαΐοι... μαχάνημα. Plutarch (Pel. 14, so also Ages. 24) follows Xenophon: ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Πελοπίδας μετὰ Γοργίδου βοιωταρχῶν, ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ συγκροῦσαι πάλιν τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιόνδε τι μηχανῶνται. Diodorus (xv. 29) regards Cleombrotus as the instigator: Σφοδριάδου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου τεταγμένου μὲν ἐφ΄ ἡγεμονίας, φύσει δ' ὅντος μετεώρου καὶ προπετοῦς, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν Κλεόμβροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἐφόρων καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Πειραιέα. Diodorus' view has found little favour with modern commentators, who point to the good understanding

just arrived at between Sparta and Athens and to the political views, so far as known (cp. § 16 note), of Cleombrotus; probably it arose from the fact that Sphodrias was a friend of Cleombrotus (§ 25). Xenophon's view, reproduced by Plutarch, has found many supporters, including Curtius; but the arguments of Grote (ix. 315) against it are exceedingly strong: they are (1) that the plans, if successful, would have ruined the Theban cause; if however the Thebans meant it to fail, they would have given notice to Athens, which apparently they did not; (2) that, if the Spartans had punished Sphodrias, no breach between Sparta and Athens would have ensued; (3) that Agesilaus with his hatred of Thebes would never have voted for the acquittal of Sphodrias, had there been any suspicion that he had been bribed by the Thebans; (4) that in iii. 5. 3 Xenophon, with just as little cause, had imputed to the Thebans a similar refinement of stratagem in leading up to the outbreak of the Corinthian War. He thinks it therefore more in accordance with the facts to suppose that Sphodrias' personal ambition was simply fired by the past success of Phoebidas, and in support of this view may be added Plutarch's description of his character—Pel. 14 εὐδόκιμος μέν έν τοις πυλεμικοίς και λαμπρές, ίπόκουφος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ κενῶν ελπίδων καὶ φιλοτιμίας ανοήτου μεστός: cp. Ages. 24 οὐκ ἄτολμος μέν οὐδ' ἀφιλότιμος ἀνήρ, ἀεὶ δ' έλπίδων μάλλον ή φρενών άγαθών μεστός. οὖτος ἐπιθυμών ὀνόματος μεγάλου και τον Φοιβίδαν νομίζων ένδοξον γεγονέναι και περιβόητον από τοῦ περὶ Θήβης τολμήματος, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Callisthenes, frag. ap. Harpocr. [τὸν Σφοδρίαν] εὐήθη τε είναι λιάν καὶ κοῦφον πρὺς τὰς έλπίδας.

On the other hand Xenophon's statement—if we leave out altogether the suspicion of bribery—is very definite; the Theban patriots were in a desperate position, and may have calculated, that, even if Sphodrias' attack were successful—of which, if the character attributed to him be true, there was after all little chance—they had more to gain than to lose from embroiling Athens in the quarrel with Sparta.

χρήματα δόντες: cp. Plut. Pel. 14 πρὸς τοῦτον ὑποπέμπουσω οἰ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν (Ages. 24 adds Melon) ίδια ἔμπορόν τωα τῶν φίλων χρήματα κομίζοντα καὶ λόγους, οἱ τῶν χρημάτων μᾶλλον ἀνέπεισαν αὐτόν.

άπύλωτος. This shows that Conon's restoration of the fortifications of Piraeus had never been completed: cp. iv. 8, 10 note.

καθανύσει», sc. τὴν ὁδόν: cp. § 49.

§ 21. Θριᾶσι, an Attic deme near Eleusis, which gave its name to the Thriasian plain.

ήμέρα ἐπεγένετο: cp. Plut. Ages. 24 ήμέρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Θριασίφ πεδίφ κατέλαβε καὶ κατέλαμψεν ἐλπίσαντα νυκτὸς προσμέξειν τῷ Πειραιεί* καὶ φῶς ἀφ' ἱερῶν τινῶν Ἐλευσινόθεν ἰδόντας λέγουσι φρίξαι καὶ περιφόβους γενέσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

oldèr èrreûder ènolησεν δοτε λαθείν. If this reading be adopted (cp. Critical Note), it must be taken to mean, that notwithstanding his failure, Sphodrias now took no measures to conceal his rash inroad, but committed open acts of aggression.

στράτευμα πάμπολυ: Diod. xv. 29 στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν μυρίων —evidently a great exaggeration.

§ 22. καὶ πρόσβεις. The object of this embassy is unknown: Grote (ix. 318) suspects that it was to demand satisfaction for the part played by the two Athenian generals in the liberation of Thebes.

Kaλλiq, son of Hipponicus, hereditary torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries (cp. vi. 3. 3), noted for his wealth and patronage of the Sophists as well as for his philo-Laconian tendencies: cp. iv. 5. 13; Plat. Apol. 20 a; Theaet. 165 a; Protag. 337 d.

'Ετυμοκλής: cp. § 32 and vi. 5. 33.

^aΩκυλλος: cp. vi. 5. 33.

ώς . . . παρείχον = δστε . . . παρείχον: cp. iv. I. 33.

καὶ ταῦτα, 'and that indeed,' 'especially': cp. ii. 3. 53.

§ 24. καίπερ οὐχ ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν: a pregnant construction involving the idea of ἐαυτὸν παρέχειν, 'although he did not obey the summons to appear at the trial, he was acquitted.'

§ 25. έταῖροι . . . τῷ Σφοδρία, i. e. belonging to the same political party: cp. Plut. Ages. 25 ἢν γὰρ ὁ Σφοδρίας ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων τοῦ ᾿Αγησιλάου.

dπολυτικώς αὐτοῦ «ἶχο», 'were disposed to acquit him': Plut. Cic. 30 συμβατικώς ἔχειν; Pel. 15 τοὺς ἀποστατικώς ἔχοντας.

τοὺς διὰ μόσου: those who stood midway between the party of Cleombrotus and that of Agesilaus: cp. Thuc. viii. 75 ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου κωλυθέντες.

§ 28. φιλιτίου: the place where the common meals of the Spartan citizens were held: cp. Resp. Laced. 3. 5: cp. Critical Note.

παρία: . . . αὐτφ, 'he would allow them to talk with him.'

§ 29. Ιόντα, εc. πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον: cp. iv. 4. 5.

έν παντί ἦσαν, 'were in the greatest terror': the meaning is helped out by μὴ . . . εἵη: cp. vi. I. 12 εἰς πῶν ἀφίκετο.

§ 30. ἀπτερίνατο: Plutarch (Ages. 25) gives the king's answer differently: οὐ μὴν (ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος) ἐνέδωκέ τι τότε χρηστὸν ἡ φιλάνθρωπου ἐλπίσαι δεομένω τῷ παιδί, σκέψασθαι δὲ φήσας, δ τι καλῶς ἔχοι καὶ πρεπόντως, ἀπῆλθεν.

ἄνδρα μὴ...τῆς πόλεως, 'not condemning a man for committing acts of injustice whereby he gained profit for himself to the injury of the state.' καταγιγνώσκων is here constructed in a very unusual manner with the accusative and infinitive: cp. i. 7. 20 ἐὰν καταγνωσθῆ ἀδικεῖν. ἀδικεῖν οἶς = ἀδικεῖν ἀδικήματα οἶς. Cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 31. ήττηθελε τοῦ δικαίου: cp. v. 2. 5 ήττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος.

ήδίκει . . . ήδίκηκέ τι: the first is general: 'were not in the wrong,' the second is special: 'has done something wrong.'

ύπὸ σοῦ: cp. Mem. iv. 8. 10 ἐπιμελείας τεύξομαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων.

§ 32. Έτυμοκλεί: cp. § 23.

ol 'Αγησιλάου φίλοι: as opposed to Cleombrotus' friends: cp. § 25.
τὰ καλά: cp. v. 3. 9 note: cp. Plut. Ages. 25 ἢν δὲ καὶ φιλότεκνος δ 'Αγησιλαος διαφερόντως.

§ 33. ώs... alσχυνθής: for this Xenophontine use of ώs with subj. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Λεύκτροις: cp. vi. 4. 14.

τρις πεσών: cp. Plut. Ages. 28 εν οίς και Κλεώνυμόν φασι τον Σφοδρίου τον καλόν τρις πεσόντα πρό τοῦ βασιλέως και τοσαυτάκις έξαναστάντα και μαχόμενον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀποθανεῖν.

ηνίασε: i. e. by his death.

τοιούτφ . . . τρόπφ : cp. Diod. xv. 29 συναγωνιστάς έχων τούς βασιλείς άδικως άπελύθη.

§ 34. ol βοιωτιάζοντες: one of their leaders was Cephalus: cp. Paus. iii. 9. 4; Diod. xv. 25, 26; Deinarch. i. 39.

οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλὰ καί, ' not only not . . . but even ': cp. ii. 4. 14; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 707.

ol 'Αθηναίοι . . . ¿βοήθουν. Diodorus' story (xv. 25, 26) of the large forces, which the Athenians voted to aid the Boeotians in capturing the Cadmea, seems to have arisen from the national

pride of the Athenian orators. To exalt the part played by the Athenians in the overthrow of the Spartan domination they ante-dated the measures here described in brief by Xenophon, and represented Athens as joining the Thebans immediately after the assassination of the polemarchs (§ 9 note). activity of Athens showed itself in the next year in the formation of what is known as the Second Athenian Confederacy, cp. §§ 60, 61 note. Even in the present year several alliances, besides that with Thebes, were already formed. lsocrates (xiv. 28) goes so far as to say that after the Peace of Antalcidas Xios μέν και Μυτιληναίοι και Βυζάντιοι συμπαρέμεινον (i.e. faithful to Athens), and monumental evidence in a great measure confirms this statement: for CIA. ii. 15 (which Köhler dates at about 386 but Hicks at 378-377) proves that a defensive alliance was formed with the Chians on the basis of the king's peace as ωμοσεν βασιλεύς και 'Αθηναίοι και Λακεδαιμόνιοι και οι άλλοι Ελληνες; and CIA. ii. 18, 19 show that similar treaties of alliance were formed in the present year 378 with Mytilene and Byzantium. To the same year must belong the despatch of envoys mentioned by Diodorus (xv. 28) έπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τεταγμένας πόλεις, παρακαλοίντες αντέχεσθαι της κοινής ελευθερίας, which that historian incorrectly puts before the attempt of Sphodrias on the Piraeus. Diodorus goes on to say-διόπερ πολλοί των ύπ' αὐτούς τεταγμένων απέκλινον πρός τους 'Αθηναίοις. πρώτοι δέ πρός την απόστασιν υπήκουσαν Χίοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ μετὰ τοίτους 'Ρόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναίοι καὶ τῶν άλλων τινές νησιωτών άει δε μάλλον αυξομένης της των Ελλήνων όρμης πολλαί πόλεις προσέθεντο τοίε 'Αθηναίοις. The details which he then gives about the terms of the Confederacy belong to the following year: cp. Plut. Pel. 15 έκ τούτου (Sphodrias' attempt) πάλιν προθυμότατα 'Αθηναΐοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις συνεμάχουν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀντελαμβάνοντο και περιϊόντες έδεχοντο και προσήγοντο τους αποστατικώς των Ελλήνων έχοντας.

ναῦς . . . ἐναυπηγοῦντο: cp. Diod. xv. 29 κρίναντες δὲ πολεμεῖν αὐτούς, στρατηγοὺς τρεῖς εἶλοντο τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Τιμόθεον καὶ Χαβρίαν καὶ Καλλίστρατον. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ στρατιώτας μὲν ὁπλίτας καταλέξαι δισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, ναῦς δὲ πληρῶσαι διακοσίας. Polybius (ii. 62) halves these numbers: μυρίους μὲν ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας ἐκατὸν δ' ἐπλήρουν τριήρεις. Το meet the

necessary expenditure the Athenians reorganized their system of finance, once more imposing the elaphopá or income-tax upon their own citizens, but levying it by a new system of συμμορία: cp. Dict. Antiq. s. v.

§ 35. σφίσι: for the dative with ἡγεῖσθαι cp. iv. 2. 9.

ό δὶ εἰπών: cp. Plut. Ages. 26 ἐπιὶ δὲ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον οὐχ ἐώρα πρόθυμον ὅντα πολεμεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, οὖτω δὴ χαίρειν τὸν νόμον (cp. v. 4. 13) ἐάσας, ῷ πρόσθεν ἐχρῆτο περὶ τῆς στρατείας, αὐτὸς εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνέβαλεν ήδη.

§ 36. Κλητορίους . . . 'Ορχομενίοις: two towns in northern Arcadia.

§ 37. πρῶτον, i. e. as his foremost duty.

κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. Diodorus (xv. 31) states that the Lacedaemonians, fearing the spread of rebellion amongst their allies, now ἐπαύσαντο τῆς προυπαρχούσης βαρύτητος καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ψιλανθρώπως προσεφέροντο: and that at the same time they reorganized their confederacy, dividing it into ten parts: the first composed of themselves, the second and third of the Arcadians, the fourth of the Eleans, the fifth of the Achaeans, the sixth of the Corinthians and Megarians, the seventh of the Sicyonians, the Phliasians and the states of the Acte, the eighth of the Acarnanians, the ninth of the Phocians and Locrians, and the tenth of the Olynthians and Thrace-ward allies. Diod. xv. 32 estimates Agesilaus' forces at more than 18,000 hoplites, of whom 2,500 were Lacedaemonians, divided into five morae, and 1,500 cavalry.

§ 38. εἰς Θεσπιάς, where he rested his men several days; Diod. xv. 32.
Θηβαίων χώραν. The campaign is summarized in Ages. 2.
22 εὐρών δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἄπαντα, ὑπερβὰς τὰς
Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδήου τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεος, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίφ
καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις, εἰ βούλοιντο.

dποτεταφρευμένον. Diod. xv. 32, 33, says nothing of this trench and stockade; he together with Polyaenus (ii. 1. 2) and Nepos (Chabrias 1) represents the poor success of Agesilaus as mainly due to the generalship of the Athenian Chabrias, who joined the Thebans with 15,000 foot and 200 horse: the Thebans and their allies could not be dislodged from their various advantageous positions, and on one occasion, when Agesilaus was marching up against them to force them to give battle, Chabrias gave orders to his men ras ἀσπίδας πρός τὸ χόνυ κλίναντας ἐν ὁρθῷ τῷ δόρατι μένευ-

a manœuvre which compelled the Lacedaemonians to retire; Chabrias afterwards chose this attitude for a statue, which the Athenians erected in his honour. Many commentators have seen in this omission of Xenophon's—if omission it be—evidence of the anti-Athenian tendencies of the author. Stern (p. 74) suggests that the story was afterwards invented to account for the peculiar attitude of the statue. Cp. Dem. xx. 76.

τὰ πρὸς ἐαυτοῦ: the parts of the country on his own side of the stockade: if the reading be correct, πρός is here used in the sense of local direction, and the genitive σταυρωμάτων is dependent on the local conception implied in the phrase πρὸς ἐαυτοῦ; cp. § 49 πρὸς ἔω τῆς πόλεως.

§ 39. την έπι το στρατόπεδον, SC. όδόν.

ola di: in this sense are is more common.

συσκευαζομένων: preparing the meal, i. e. τὸ δείπνον.

²τι καταβεβηκότων, if the reading be retained, must mean 'still dismounted' in the sense of οδπω ἀναβεβηκότων, as opposed to those caught in the act of mounting their horses—ἀναβαινόντων: cp. Critical Note.

'Επικυδίδαν: cp. iv. 2. 2.

§ 40. τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ήβης: cp. ii. 4. 32.

ύποπεπωκόσι: cp. what Xenophon says of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra: vi. 4. 8 ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρία ὑποπινόντων καὶ τὸν οἶνον παροξῦναί τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. The point of the comparison lies in the Theban horse failing to judge the distance between themselves and the Lacedaemonians rightly.

τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν: this use of the dative after ὑπομένω finds no parallel: Cp. vii. 5. 12 τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἀν ὑποσταίη.

ἐκ τοσούτου, 'from so great a distance,' i.e. so great that their spears did not carry so far.

αὐτῶν δώδεκα limits the extent of the subject implied in ἀναστρέφοντες: cp. vi. 3. 19 ἀπογραψάμενοι . . . οl Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες . . . οl πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκελέυον.

§ 41. καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, i. e. also like himself: cp. § 38.

δι' έρημίας, sc. των πολεμίων: cp. iii. 4. 21.

ἀποχωρήσας: cp. Diod. xv. 33: when Agesilaus' counsellors expressed their surprise at the king's not forcing on a battle, he replied νῦν μὲν ἀκινδύνως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νενικηκέναι' πορθουμένη γὰρ τῷ

χώρα μή τετολμηκέναι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθήσαι: εἰ δ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων παρακεχωρηκότων τῆς νίκης ἐβιάσατο τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπομένειν τὸ δεινόν, ἴσως δυ διὰ τὸ παράλογον τῆς τύχης ἐδύναντο καὶ πταῖσαι κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ταύτης ἔδοξε μετρίως κατεστοχάσθαι τὸ δυνάμενον ἀποβήναι, ὖστερον δὲ (i.e. after Leuctra) διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔδοξεν οὖκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεῶν τινα χρησμὸν εἰρηκέναι.

Φοιβίδαν: cp. v. 2. 32 note.

ύπερβαλών, i. e. over Mount Cithaeron: cp. iv. 4. 19.

τὸ πολιτικόν: cp. iv. 4. 19 note.

§ 42. έπεὶ . . . έν τῆ χώρα. Diod. xv. 33 adds τὴν προφυλακὴν οὖσαν ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων ἀνείλον.

τἢ ἐμβολῆ: Jacob's conjecture τῆς ἐμβολῆς—the genitive of comparison after θάττονα—removes all difficulty.

§ 44. dnoxwpoûrres. Polyaenus (ii. 5. 2) represents the Theban commander Gorgidas as only pretending flight in order to entice Phoebidas out of the rough ground into the plain.

§ 45. δ... Φοιβίδας: cp. Diod. xv. 33 Φοιβίδας δὲ δ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἔχων, ἐκχυθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προπετῶς τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσι Θηβαίοις ἐπιθέμενος, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλε πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἐναντίοις τραύμασι περιπεσῶν ἡρωικῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

οὐ πολλοί: contrast Diod. l. c.

§ 46. πάλιν αδ: αδ following merely emphasizes the πάλιν: contrast v. I. 5 note.

άλλας . . . πόλεις, e.g. Plut. Pel. 15 says that Pelopidas routed the Lacedaemonian garrison at Tanagra and slew their harmost Panthoidas.

δ...δημος...ἀπεχώρει: a kind of συνοικισμός, which must greatly have strengthened the democrats at Thebes: cp. Mantinea, v. 2. 1 note.

δυναστείαι: the unconstitutional rule of the few, like that of Archias and Leontiades at Thebes: cp. v. 2. 36; 4. 2; Arist. Pol. iv. 5. 2. So the Theban orator in 427 says that at the time of Xerxes' invasion δυναστεία δλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα (Thuc. iii. 62).

κατὰ θάλαττα»: across the Corinthian Gulf to avoid the dangerous passes of Mount Cithaeron. This confession of weakness shows the ill success of Agesilaus' expedition.

877-876 B.C.

§ 47. ἦπερ τὸ πρόσθεν: cp. § 35.

**πρὶν καί, 'even before,' contrasted with his procedure in the previous campaign, § 37.

§ 48. εγύνετο. Diodorus (xv. 34) πάλιν των Λακεδαιμονίων τῆ αὐτῆ δυνάμει στρατευσάντων επί Θήβας.

πάλιν belongs to els τας Θεσπιας πρώτον léva: cp. § 38.

τὰς πρεσβείας: cp. Polyaen. ii. 1. 11 'Αγησίλαος πυθόμενος Θηβαίους τὴν κατὰ Σκῶλον πάροδον φυλάττειν, πάσαις ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν 'Ελλήνων πρεσβείαις ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἀναμένειν συνέταξεν' ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σετία τῆς στρατιαῖς συγκομίζειν ἐκεῦσε. Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα πυθόμενοι μετῆλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσπιαῖς πάροδον καὶ ταύτη παρεφύλαττον. 'Αγησίλαος δυοῦν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀνύσας ἡμέρα μιᾳ τὴν κατὰ Σκῶλον πάροδον ἐρήμην εὐρῶν ἄνευ μάχης διῆλθεν.

την . . . ἐμβολήν, 'the pass': so iv. 3. 10.

§ 49. ἐσ στρατεύματι: explanatory of δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, 'as reckoned for an army.'

Σκώλον, north of the Asopus, four and a half miles from the road between Thebes and Plataea: its exact site has not been discovered: cp. Paus. ix. 4. 3.

dπὸ τῆς ψυλακῆς . . . elσῆλθε, 'from the watch-post whereby he had entered the time before': cp. § 41.

πρὸς ἔω τῆς . . . πόλεως: cp. § 38 note.

έτι γὰρτότε: cp. § 46 note, whence it appears that notwithstanding the death of its harmost Panthoidas, Tanagra still remained faithful to Sparta.

τό τείχος, i. e. of Tanagra.

§ 50. Γροὸς στήθα: a hill SW. of Tanagra, so-called after Tanagra or Graia, the wife of Poemander, the founder of the city: cp. Paus. ix. 20. 2; Polyaen. ii. 1. 12.

ἐπιεικῶς, 'fairly,' 'rather,' qualifying στενόν.

ἐπισιμώσας: cp. Polyaen. ii. I. 12 οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάβοντο λόφον ὑπὲρ τῆς όδοῦ δύσβατον, καλούμενον Γραίας ἔδος, ὅστε ἦν καὶ τὸ παρατάσσεσθαι δύσμαχον καὶ τὸ προχωρεῖν ἀδύνατον. προσποιεῖται δὴ [ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος] λοξώσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Θηβαίων. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔρημον ἐξεστρατευκότων ἀπάντων, Θηβαῖοι περὶ τῇ πόλει δείσαντες τὸν λόφον καταλιπόντες ἡπείγοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. ᾿Αγησίλαος τὰν λόφον ἀκωλύτως διῆλθεν.

δ 51. ένθα - τὸν τόπον ἐν φ.

Hornás: the temple was on the roadside 10 stadia south of Thebes: Paus. ix. 8. 1.

dσφαλεστέρα, i. e. than the more direct road : it lay over rougher country.

dπαγαγών, sc. τὸν στρατόν, 'while retiring at a distance from the enemy.'

§ 52. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου: means apparently the last of the row of hills along which the Thebans had been running.

Σκιρίται: cp. v. 2. 24 note.

- § 53. τροπαΐον ἐστήσαντο. Diod. xv. 34 gives a rather exaggerated description of this battle, as is shown by the fact that at the time the city was destitute of troops (cp. § 51, Polyaen. l. c.): γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἰσχυρᾶς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὸν ᾿Αγησίλαον ἐπροτέρουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Θηβαίων ἐκχυθέντων πανδημεί, θεωρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος ἀνεκαλέσατο τῆ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι δόξαντες τότε πρώτως μὴ καταδεεστέρους ἐαυτοὺς εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν κατεθάρρησαν τῆς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν δυκίμεως.
- § 54. ἀπήγαγε. The retreat seems to have been hastened by the discontent of the allies: cp. Plut. Ages. 26 ην δὲ καὶ τοῖε συμμάχοιε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαχθης ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος, ὡς δι᾽ οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα δημόσιον, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ τινι καὶ φιλονεικία τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπολέσαι ζητῶν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγον δεόμενοι φθείρεσθαι δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε καθ ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλίγοις τοσοῦτοι συνακολουθοῦντες. Details of their discontent are also given by Polyaenus ii. 1. 7, 18, 20, 21.

την έπι Θεσπιάς, ες. όδόν.

τον Χαβρίαν: cp. §§ 14, 38 notes. Chabrias, it seems, must also have commanded the Athenian forces in this second year's campaign.

κατὰ τοὺς δρκους. For the terms cp. v. 3. 26; also cp. § 37 note. καθάπερ ἡκολούθουν, sc. οἱ πελτασταί.

§ 55. τοὺε ἐναντίουε. For the strength of the oligarchs at Thespiae cp. § 46 and vi. 3. 1.

§ 56. δυοίν έτοιν, genitive of space of time: cp. Anab. 1. 7. 18 βασιλεύε οἱ μαχείται δίκα ἡμερῶν.

Hayards: in Thessaly at the head of the gulf of that name.

'apedr: also called Hestiaea, at the north end of Euboea

Shortly before, the Spartans had assisted the Oreites to expel their oppressive tyrant Neogenes, and out of gratitude the inhabitants had remained faithful to Sparta and had refused to admit Chabrias, the Athenian general, when he induced most of the Euboean states to join the new Athenian Confederacy: Diod. xv. 30.

ir o, temporal, 'while.'

έλάττους: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 57. ἀκολουθοῦντος, i. e. 'always at his heels,' in close attendance upon.'

περὶ τοῦτον ἢν, 'was wholly wrapt up in him': cp. vii. 4. 28 περὶ τοὺς 'Ηλείους είχον.

876-875 B.C.

§ 58. δ μέν 'Αγησίλασε, opposed to ol δέ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, § 59.

els τὸ ἀρχεῖον: cp. Plut. Ages. 27 πρὸς τὸ ἀρχεῖον els τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

όποία δή: a relative clause without a verb used as an indefinite pronoun, 'some vein or other.'

τὸ ὑχιὲς σκέλος: the other leg was lame: cp. iii. 3. 3.

ήρρώστει: cp. Plut. Ages. 27 πολύν χρόνον ἔσχεν ἄρρώστως καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἀδυνάτως; vi. 4. 18 ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οῦκω ἴσχυεν, i. e. in 371.

τὸ . . . λοιπὸν θέρος, i. e. of 377.

§ 59. ₹αρ, i. e. 376.

 $\Theta\eta \beta alor...\kappa al$ 'A $\theta\eta ralor$. This would seem to prove that the Lacedaemonian garrisons in Boeotia were by this time not strong enough to spare some of their troops to command the passes of Cithaeron, as they had done in the previous year (§ 47) by order of Agesilaus: cp. however § 37.

dδύνατον νομίσας. For Cleombrotus' want of zeal cp. § 16 note. § 60. dad των συμμάχων: dad denotes the source of origin: cp. Thuc. viii. 93 dad πολλών και πρός πολλούς λόγων γιγνομένων.

διὰ μαλακίαν. For the discontent of the allies cp. § 54 note, and the saying of Antalcidas against Agesilaus quoted in Plut. Ages. 26 ἢ καλὰ τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις μὴ βουλομένους μηδὲ ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας.

πολύ πλείους τῶν 'Αθηναίων: cp. § 34 note. The renewed activity of Athens in naval affairs had culminated in the spring of

the preceding year in the definite founding of a new Athenian Confederacy, some account of which—in defiance of chronology is given by Diodorus (xv. 28-30), but for which monumental evidence remains in the original decree (CIA. ii. 17) proposed by Aristoteles—δ πολιτευσάμενος Αθήνησι, says Diogenes Laertius (v. 35) οδ καὶ δικανικοὶ φερονται λόγοι χαρίεντες—in March 377. According to this document an alliance was to be formed between the contracting parties on the basis of the Peace of Antalcidas, which secured freedom and autonomy for the separate states of Greece: and their object was to be to secure this independence against the encroachments of Sparta. The official title of the League was of 'Αθηναίοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι: the Athenians promised in no way to interfere with the constitutions of the allied states, to send no garrisons, and to extort no tribute (φόρος). The Athenians also gave up all ἐγκτήματα, whether public or private, that they at the time possessed in any of the allied states—any violation of this clause was to be tried by the σύνεδροι των συμμάχων. The allies were to form a συνέδριον in Athens, in which Athens herself was to have no representation. Whatever this συνέδριον approved was to be laid before the Athenian Assembly, which could either accept it or reject it; and the συνέδριον was at liberty to deal in the same way with the proposals of the Athenian Assembly. A list of allies is subjoined, apparently in chronological order of admission: the first to join were the Chians, Mytileneans, Methymnaeans, Rhodians, and Byzantians (cp. § 34 note): then the Tenedians, Thebans, Chalcidians, and many of the Euboean states, cp. § 56 note: the rest follow, as the alliance continually extended: cp. Hicks, Inscrip. The omission of this important measure by Xenophon makes it difficult to understand from his pages alone the course of succeeding events. It appears that a few years later συντάξειε (such was the new name invented by Callistratus for the old thing), or contributions were paid by some, though not all, of the allies: but for this cp. vi. 2. I note.

έλεῦν λιμῷ, as in 404, cp. ii. 2. 21; and as threatened in 387, cp. v. 1. 29.

διαβιβάζειν, i. e. across the Corinthian Gulf.

Κρεύσιος: cp. iv. 5. 10.

§ 61. έξήκοντα . . . ἐπλήρωσαν. This change in policy was not so

much due to the illness of Agesilaus, whose hatred against Thebes had for years been the leading motive of Spartan policy, as necessitated by the formation of the new Athenian Confederacy, of which Thebes was now a member.

Πόλλιε, secretary to the admiral Podanemus 393-392; cp. iv. 8. 11: no Spartan admiral has been mentioned since Antalcidas.

έπολιορκοῦντο: similarly used in the sense of a blockade by sea in iv. 7. I; v. I. 2.

Γεραστόν: the southern point of Euboea.

airol, i.e. the citizens themselves, as opposed to allies or mercenaries.

τῆ ναυμαχία. Xenophon seems to use the article here, as in his allusions to the sea-fight at Cnidus (iv. 3. 10; 8. 1) to imply that this battle at Naxos in 376 was well known to the reader. Diod. (xv. 34, 35) gives a long but not very intelligible account of the battle. According to him, Chabrias, to create a diversion, sailed with his whole fleet to Naxos and laid siege to the city. Pollis was thereby obliged to leave his blockade of the Attic coasts and sail to the relief of the island. Between Paros and Naxos with 65 ships under his command he fell in with the Athenian fleet of 83 vessels, and inflicted great loss on the Athenian left wing, killing its commander Cedon. Thereupon, however, Chabrias came up and changed the defeat into a victory, sinking many triremes, capturing others, and taking much booty; but was afraid to follow up the pursuit, whereby he might have captured the whole Lacedaemonian fleet, remembering the fate of the Athenian generals at Arginusae; he therefore stopped to pick up the survivors of the 18 ships that he had lost himself and to bury the dead. This was the first victory that the Athenians had won by sea with their own fleet since the Peloponnesian War. Dem. (xx. 77) estimates the Lacedaemonian loss at 49 triremes and 3,000 prisoners. After this victory many more of the islands, including Naxos, joined the new Athenian Confederacy. Cp. also Plut. (Phocion 6, 7; Camill 19) who puts the date of the battle on the 16th of Boedromion, c. Sept. 10. Chabrias sailed back to Piraeus, laden with the spoils of victory. The people voted him extraordinary honours (Dem. xx. 84-86).

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§ 62. διαβιβάζειν: cp. § 60.

ol Θηβαίοι. Xenophon, it is to be noticed, attributes the instigation of the Athenian expedition round the Peloponnesus to the Thebans, at the same time that he omits altogether the simultaneous expedition of Chabrias to Abdera and the Thracian coast (Diod. xv. 36). Both expeditions were the direct outcome of the victory at Naxos.

πρὸς ἐαυτούς, i. e. against the Thebans.

§ 63. τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον: cp. § 34.

έξήκοντα: cp. Isocr. xv. 109 els τον περίπλουν τον περί Πελοπόννησον τρία και δέκα μόνον τάλαντα δούσης αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως και τριήρεις πεντήκοντα.

Tiμόθεον, Conon's son: he had already been elected general in 378: cp. § 34 note.

For the chronology cp. Introd. p. lxiv.

corparevorro ol Θηβαΐοι. Xenophon has here omitted to give any account of the famous fight at Tegyra, where Pelopidas at the head of the Sacred Band of 300 and a few horsemen defeated in fair and open fight a superior force of Lacedaemonians, which formed the garrison of Orchomenus, but happened to be returning from an expedition against the Opuntian Locrians: cp. Diod. xv. 37; Plut. Pel. 16, 17. In vi. 4. 10 Xenophon has an obscure allusion to this and similar battles—διά τε τὸν πρὸς ὑρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς.

dreλάμβανον: cp. vi. I. I note.

§ 64. Κέρκυραν . . . ἐποιήσατο. An inscription (CIA. ii. 49) records the incorporation of the Corcyraeans, Acamanians, and Cephallenians into the Athenian Confederacy in the archonship of Hippodamos 375–374: cp. CIA. ii. 17, 1678; Corn. Nep. Timoth. 2 Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensium redegit sociosque idem adiunxit Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas omnesque eas gentes, quae mare illud adiacent; and Diod. xv. 36 πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν τάς τ' ἐν αὐτῆ πόλεις προσηγάγετο καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ακορνανίαν όμοίως ἔπεισεν ἀποκλίκαι πρὸς ᾿Αθηναίους. ᾿Αλκέταν δὲ τὸν Μολοττῶν βιισιλέα φίλον κατασκευάσας καὶ καθόλου τὰς πλείστας τῶν περὶ τοὶς τόποις ἐκείνους πύλεων ἐξεδιοποιησάμενος, ἐνίκησε ναυμαχία τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Λευκάδα.

οδδέ ἄνδρας . . . μετέστησεν: cp. Isocrates' panegyric on his actions xv. 115-127 esp. ωσπερ ολκουμένας αυτάς (τὰς πόλεις) εἰσιων κατέλαβεν, ούτως έξιων κατέλειπεν . . . ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατηγίας οὐδεὶς ὰν οὐτ' ἀναστάσεις εὖροι γεγενημένας οὕτε πολιτειῶν μεταβολὰς οὕτε σφαγὰς καὶ φυγὰς οὕτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἀνηκέστων.

§ 65. Νικόλοχον: formerly secretary of the admiral Antalcidas : cp. v. 1. 6.

in Acarnania, opposite the island of Leucas. Polyaen. (iii. 10. 4) dates the battle on the feast of Scira (June?): cp. Introd. p. lxiv.

§ 66. ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας. According to Isocr. xv. 109 the Corcyraeans then possessed 80 triremes.

ύπερείχε: cp. Isocr. xv. 110 Λακεδαιμονίων δε μετ' δκείνον τον χρόνον μηδ' ύφ' ένος έωρασθαι μήτε ναυτικον έντος Μαλέας περιπλέον, κ.τ.λ.

πολλών... έδείτο: cp. § 63 note and Isocr. xv. 120 συνίσασι (οί συνεστρατευμένοι) γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς τῶν πολέμων διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως λαμβάνειν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐνδείας καθιστάμενον: cp. Arist. Occon. ii. 24. 2.

BOOK VI

CHAPTER I

§ 1. Cleombrotus was despatched to the aid of the Phocsans, who were now being attached by the Thebans. §§ 2-16. Polydamas, the Pharsalian, arrived in Sparta and in a lengthy speech asked for help against the ever-increasing power of Jason of Pheras. §§ 17-19. After three days' deliberation the Lacedaemonians were obliged to confess that they were unable to help him. Pharsalus at once submitted and Jason was acknowledged Tagus of all Thessaly.

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- § 1. κατεστρέψαντο, i. e. they compelled τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις once more to enter the Boeotian League, but no longer on terms of equality. Henceforward they bore the same relation to Thebes as the demes of Attica to Athens or the Laconian and Messenian towns to Sparta: cp. Isocr. κίν. 8 τὰς μὰν ἰδίας ἡμῶν (the Boeotians in general) ἐκάστων πόλεις ἀφανίζουσι, τῆς δὲ σφετέρας αὐτῶν πολιτείας οὐδὲν δεομένους κοινωνεῖν ἀναγκάζουσι. Some states, however, like Plataea and Orchomenus (Diod. xv. 46, 57; cp. vi. 4. 10) still maintained their independence.
- els την Φωκίδα: for the long standing hostility between Thebes and Phocis cp. iii. 5. 4.
- ol Φωκείε: the Phocians had fought on the Spartan side at Coronea in 394: cp. Diod. xv. 31.
- μὴ πείθεσθαι: μὴ οὐ is more usual; cp. Critical Note: for the two negatives each having its force cp. v. 2. 1; Cyrop. iii. 3. 24 δρα . . . μήτε τοῖε ἡμετέροιε φοβουμένοιε μὴ ἀντιπροσιέναι.
 - τέτταρας μόρας: there were six morae in all: cp. vi. 4. 17.
- τὸ μέρος, i.e. proportionate contingents from the Spartan allies, as in iv. 6. 3.
- § 2. τὸ κοινόν: probably the Spartan assembly, exclusive of the allies: cp. vi. 3. 3.

τῆ πόλει: Pharsalus.

στασιάσωτες. Before the Corinthian War Pharsalus had been occupied by a Lacedaemonian garrison (Diod. xiv. 82) which was expelled by Medius, tyrant of Larisa, when he captured the town. In 394 the Pharsalians did their best to hinder Agesilaus' march through Thessaly, cp. iv. 3. 3, 8. Now the philo-Laconian party seem once more to have been in the ascendant, and applied for help to their old allies. In Aristotle's time the Pharsalian constitution was a harmonious oligarchy: Pol. v. 6. 10 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ δλίγοι δντες πολλῶν κύριοι εἰσι διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι σφίσιν αἰτοῦς καλῶς.

δσα . . . νόμοις: the relative sentence constitutes the object of ἀναλίσκειν.

§ 3. τὴν ἄκραν, i. e. τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

irdei, oeie, impersonal, 'whenever there was a deficit.'

τῆς προσόδου: a kind of partitive genitive: cp. ii. 3. 14; Cobet adds τι: cp. Critical Note.

Θετταλικόν τρόπον: cp. Athen. xiv. 662 όμολογοῦνται δὲ οἰ Θετταλοὶ πολυτελέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενῆσθαι περί τε τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὴν δίαιταν; and xii. 527 Φαρσάλιοι δὲ πάντων . . . ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀργότατοι καὶ πολυτελέστατοι.

- § 4. εὐεργέτης: cp. i. 1. 26; Vectigal. 3. 10; Dem. xx. 60: this, like πρόξενος, was a title of honour given by states to aliens, who had done them good service.
- έκ... προγόνων: ἐκ is temporal, 'since,' 'from': the phrase may be paraphrased—' titles borne by all our ancestors within our memory.' For the omission of the article cp. Cyrop. i. 3. 7 πάντα & δλαβε πρέα.

லி லில் சீர : parenthetical, as in § 10.

'láσονος. Jason was following in the footsteps of his predecessor Lycophron who in 404 aspired ἄρξαι δλης τῆς Θετταλίας (ii. 3. 4). Ten years afterwards we read in Diod. xiv. 82 of Lycophron's being at war with Medius, tyrant of Larisa. The earliest known exploit of Jason himself is the assistance that he gave to Neogenes, when the latter made himself tyrant of Oreus in Euboea shortly before 378 B. C. (cp. Diod. xv. 30 and v. 4. 56). Meantime he had seized advantage of the troubles in Greece to increase his own dominions.

σπονδάς ποιησάμενος, 'having made a truce': cp. § 5 ὑμῶν . . . στρατευομένων.

§ 5. "Ore μέν has no corresponding δέ: the thought is resumed in § 7 κρεῖττόν μοι δυκεῖ.

rà évarria, adverbial: cp. iii. 5. II.

ξένους ... μισθοφόρους, i. e. aliens, not drawn from Thessaly: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

τὰ . . . στρατεύματα, i. e. citizen troops, often called τὰ πολιτικά: cp. iv. 4. 19; v. 3. 25.

σωμασκοῦσί γε . . . μάλα ὀλίγοι : cp. § 3 note.

§ 6. αὐτός, i. e. Jason.

σύν τοίς δπλοις, i. e. fully equipped with heavy armour.

διμοιρίαις, i. e. with double pay.

νόσων γε θεραπείαις: this is the first recorded instance of measures taken to care for sick soldiers.

§ 7. είδότι, 'though I was well aware of it already.'

Mapaκοl καl Δόλοπες: the Maraci are probably the same as the Maraces, whom Pliny (iv. 3) mentions together with the Dolopians as a people of Aetolia.

'Aλκέταs: king of the Molossians, who had been induced by Timotheus in 375 to join the Athenian Confederacy: Diod. xv. 36; CIA. ii. 49: vi. 2. 10.

 \hat{a}_{ν} ... \hat{a}_{ν} : \hat{a}_{ν} is repeated to emphasize the conditional nature of the whole sentence, including the participle: 'what should I fear so as to think that I could not,' &c.

§ 8. τὰ δεύτερα, 'the second place.'

πόλεων, SC. προσγενομένων.

ταγὸς Θετταλῶν ἀπάντων. The office of ταγός, called by Pollux (i. 128) Τδιον Θετταλῶν, seems to have represented the power of the older kings, of whom we hear down to the middle of the fifth century (Thuc. i. 111), in their military capacity. The Tagus was elected by a majority of the Thessalian states and commanded the whole of their military forces (§ 9). He also assessed the contributions to be levied from the different states for military purposes: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 755.

ώς γε μήν: apparently correlative to τοῦτο μέν: cp. iii. 1. 7; iv. 2. 17; Appendix, p. 360.

ol lππεύοντες: for the fame of the Thessalian cavalry cp. v. 3. 9. μέν: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 9. οἱ ταύτη, ἱ. e. πάντα τὰ κύκλφ ἄθνη.

§ 10. δσοι . . . πολεμοῦντες: without είσι, as in De re eq. 11. 12 πάντες όσοι συμπαρεπόμενοι άξιοθέατοι αν φαίνοιντο, and vi. 2. 27, 30.

ύπάρχουσι . . . σύμμαχοι. Nothing is known of any previous relations between Jason and the Thebans, except the obviously mythical story in Plutarch, Daem. Socr. p. 583.

eδ old on: parenthetical, as in § 4.

πρός αὐτοὺς φιλίαν. However, in the following year he was already an ally of Athens, Dem. xlix. 10.

§ 11. el δè . . . λογίζομαι, 'as to whether my calculations are reasonable,' &c.: for the construction cp. ii. 3. 27.

τὰ Εύλα: cp. v. 2. 16 note.

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πενέστας: cp. ii. 3. 36 note.

αν μή πρίωνται: cp. i. I. 35; v. 4. 61.

§ 12. νησύδρια: diminutive to show contempt for the islands contrasted with ηπειρωτικά έθνη.

ύπήκοον ποιήσασθαι. Isocrates (v. 119) attributes similar designs to Jason: ἐκείνος γὰρ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οἶον σὰ (Philip of Macedon) κατεργασάμενος μεγίστης δόξης έτυχεν, οὐκ έξ ων έπραξεν, άλλ' έξ ων έφησεν έποιείτο γάρ τους λόγους ώς είς την ήπειρον (Asia) διαβησόμενος καί βασιλεί πολεμήσων.

δουλείαν: in relation to the king of Persia all his subjects were regarded as slaves: cp. iii. 1. 26; iv. 1. 36.

της μετά Κύρου: cp. iii. I. I and Anab. i. 7. 10.

της μετ' 'Αγησιλάου: cp. iii. 4. 2-4, II.

els πῶν ἀφίκετο: cp. v. 4. 29 note.

§ 13. enel de . . . 6 d'énavéras: though the meaning is plain, the grammatical construction is involved: enel de introduces the protasis, to which δ δ' ἐπαινέσας κ.τ.λ. forms the logical apodosis; the irregularity is due to the interpolated τοῦτ' ἔφην, which causes άπορόν μοι δοκεί είναι to be treated as an independent principal sentence in Direct Narration, instead of dependent (as it should be grammatically) on ἀπεκρινάμην.

έκτέον μου είη, 'he must cling to me all the more, because,' &c.

διδώσιν, sc. of Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 'allow you to persuade them': for σοι Cobet proposes θεοί, Dobrée σοι θεοί, Voigtlander οἱ θεοί; but though these proposals yield a much better sense, it is awkward grammatically to change the subject again at δοκώσω: cp. Critical Note.

συμμαγίαν: abstract for concrete, as in iv. 8. 24.

ώς έμοὶ πολεμεῖν: ώς with the infinitive to express purpose, as in v. 2. 38.

τούτφ . . . πολέμου, 'we must put up with any result that war may bring.'

βοηθείν: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σὺ πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα: 'if you too should do the best for your country;' or reading οδ πράττεις, 'where you fare so well,' Dakyns: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 14. ως εl... †δοκεῖ»: the sentence, as it stands, is untranslateable. Stephanus' remedy reading δοκοῦσαν for δοκεῖν seems the simplest: cp. Critical Note.

prodaμώδεις... ιδιώτην: a tacit reference apparently to the procedure of the Spartans in the case of Olynthus: cp. v. 2. 24.

§ 15. φρόνιμος μέν: the μέν is correlative to καλ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατος § 16. ώς for ἄστε.

λανθάνειν . . . βιάζεσθαι : for a similar collocation cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 19 å δὲ ψήθη χρῆναι λαθεῖν ἡ φθάσαι ἡ ἀποβιάσασθαι, σὐδὲν τούτων ἰκανὸς γενόμενος διαπράξασθαι.

νυκτὶ δσαπερ ἡμέρα: cp. Cyrop. i. 5. 12 νυκτὶ . . . δσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρα δύναισθ αν χρήσθαι and Ages. 6. 6 νυκτὶ μὲν δσαπερ ἡμέρα ἐχρῆτο, ἡμέρα δὲ δσαπερ νυκτί.

ἐκπλῆσαι τὰς γνώμας, 'to satisfy their wishes': Anab. i. 7. 8 ό δὲ ἐμπιπλὰς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε.

§ 16. τὸ μἡ [els τὸ] πράττει»: dependent upon ἀσχολία», as containing a negative conception. Dindorf deletes els τὸ as unintelligible.

τὸ δεόμενον, sc. πράττεσθαι: cp. Cyrop. ii. 3. 3 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀργείται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων.

§ 17. τès τω μόρας: cp. § 1; four μόραι had been sent into Phocis under Cleombrotus.

τὰs περί... τριήρεις, i.e. the μόραι employed in defending the Laconian coast against the 60 Athenian triremes under Timotheus; cp. v. 4. 63: ἔξω must be a dittograph from the line above: cp. Critical Note.

πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμου: an exaggerated statement, as the Lacedaemonians had as yet no war nearer than Thebes and Athens. § 18. τοῦς παρακαταθεμένοις δισσφίζη, 'preserve it for those who had entrusted it to his keeping': cp. § 2.

§ 19. ἐτάγευσε: cp. ii. 2. 24 ἐτυράννησε.

έργον . . . ἀριθμήσαι: cp. Cyrop. i. 1. 5 τοσαύτα φύλα, δσα καλ διελθείν έργον έστίν.

ἐπὶ Σκόπα: prince of Cranon and king of Thessaly at the time of the Persian Wars, and friend of the lyric poet Simonides: Cic. de Orat. ii. 86. 352; Quintil. xi. 2. 15.

οθεν . . . ἐξέβην: cp. § I.

τὰς περὶ 'Ιάσονος πράξεις: for the genitive with περί cp. i. 6. 38 ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1-7. The Athenians, alarmed at the growth of Thebes, made peace with the Lacedaemonians, and accordingly recalled Timotheus from Corcyra. On his way home he replaced some Zacynthian exiles. The Lacedaemonians. thinking this a breach of the peace, despatched 60 ships under the admiral Mnasippus to Corcyra. He ravaged the country and blockaded the city, §§ 8-14. The Corcyreans sought help from the Athenians, who first sent 600 peliasts under Clesicles across the continent to the island, and voted to equip a fleet and chose Timotheus to command it. Being unable to equip the ships properly, he lingered round the islands. Angry at the delay, the Athenians replaced him by Iphicrates, who took strong measures to make the \$\$ 15-26. The Corcyreans were so hard pressed by famine, ships ready. that Mnasippus relaxed his watchfulness and neglected to pay his mercenaries, His troops were defeated and he himself slain. Soon afterwards his secretary sailed to Leucas with the remnant of his forces. \$\$ 27-31. Iphirales on his voyage to Corcyra showed great ingenuity in training his crews. At the time of Mnasippus' death he was at Sphagiae, but he first got certain news of it in Cephallenia. § 32. Xenophon's comment. \$\$ 33-38. After subjugating Cephallenia Iphicrates arrived in Corcyra; there he captured 10 triremes, which in ignorance of his death were sailing in from Dionysius to the aid of Mnasippus. Iphicrates maintained his armament, partly by allowing his sailors to cultivate the fields for the Corcyreans, partly by hiring out his troops to friendly cities on the mainland. Then he exacted money from the Cephallenians and prepared to renew the war with the Lacedae-§ 39. Xenophon's comment on Iphicrates' choice of Callistratus monians. and Chabrias for his colleagues.

§ I. συνελέγοντο. Four moras and contingents from the allies under Cleombrotus had been conveyed across the Corinthian Gulf into Phocis. vi. I. I.

αὐξανομένους . . . διὰ σφᾶς : cp. v. 4. 62 ff.

χρήματα . . . els τὸ ναυτικόν. In Aristoteles' decree of the year 377 (cp. v. 4. 60 note) there is no provision for any money contributions on the part of the allies; and in line 23 there is the express statement μήτε φόρον φέροντι, so that the συντάξειε proposed by Callistratus (cp. Harpocrat. s. v.) instead of the popos must have been of later institution, and very probably, as in the earlier empire, were only paid by some of the allied states in commutation of their contingents of ships or troops: cp. Isocr. vii. 2 της πόλεως (i. e. Athens) έτι συμμάχους έχούσης πολλούς μέν τούς έτοίμως ήμίν, ήν τι δέη, βοηθήσοντας, πολύ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιούντας. Xenophon in this passage must therefore mean that though the Thebans were bound as members of the Confederacy to render assistance against Sparta, as a matter of fact they did so neither by sending men or ships, nor by contributing money: hence the Athenian discontent. Cp. Gilbert, Gk. Antiq. p. 443.

elσφοραίs: taxes on income, only levied in times of war by special vote of the Assembly. The method of assessment had been altered in the archonship of Nausinicus, when the system of συμμορίαι was first introduced: cp. Gilbert, Gk. Antiq. p. 364 ff.

Aporeiass if Alyiens. Sufferings from this same cause had in 387 inclined the Athenians towards peace: cp. v. 1. 29.

πρέσβεις: Callias was among their number: cp. vi. 3. 4.

elρήνην ἐποιήσαντο. What the actual conditions of this Peace ray have been, cannot in the conflict of evidence be determined; duration was so exceedingly short, that it was of little practical ortance. Isocrates (xv. 109), writing more than twenty years ter, speaks of it in exaggerated terms—τὴν εἰρήνην, ἡ τοσάντην εταβολὴν ἐ ατέρα τῶν πόλεων ἐποίησεν, ὥσθ ἡμᾶς μὰν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς μέρας θύ ιν αἰτῆ καθ ἔκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμᾶς μὰν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς τῶν τὸν ἀναντὰν τὸν κρόνον μηθ' τὸς ἐωρῶσθαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μαλέας περιπλέον μήτε πεζὸν στρατόπεδον δι' Ἰσθμοῦ πορευόμενον. Similarly Demosthenes (xxii. 15) says—εἰρήνης ἐτύχεθ ὁποίας τικὸς ἡβούλεσθε. The Peace must therefore have contained some provision recognizing the powerful position of Athens at sea: cp. Cor. Nep. Timoth. 2 Lacedaemonii . . sua sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum con-

cesserunt, pacemque iis legibus constituerunt ut Athenienses mari duces essent. quae victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum primum arae Paci publice sint factae eique deae pulvinar sit institutum. This view is confirmed by the silence of Xenophon, who habitually neglects all operations by sea and has given no account of the growth of the Second Athenian Empire; and by a statement of Diodorus (xv. 38)—which occurs outside the limits of the passage, which has excited such controversy and of which more hereafter—Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, διὰ παντὸς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμούμενοι, παρεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν τῆς κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι κρινόμενοι. Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Nepos all agree in describing Athens and Sparta as the only parties to the Peace.

Diodorus in the passage above referred to (xv. 38) ascribes the Peace, which he puts a year too soon; to the intervention of the Persian king, Artaxerxes, who hoped to hire large numbers of Greek mercenaries for the war against his rebellious subjects in Egypt. The Greeks, weary of the long wars, gladly accepted his intervention, and all agreed, with one exception, ωστε πάσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους είναι. The Thebans alone refused the terms, wishing to sign the conditions in the name of all the Boeotians, and thus they became knowordor. This seems to be an obvious duplicate of the history of the Peace of Callias in 371, and to be inconsistent with the context in Diodorus himself and with the other authorities. For (1) Isocrates in his Plataean orati (373 B.C.) § 41 says that for a long time the Persian king h. taken no part in Greek affairs; (2) if all Greek states were to αὐτόνομοι and ἀφρούρητοι, the Peace could hardly at the same til. have recognized the inyemoria of Athens by sea and of Sparta L land; (3) the Thebans so far from being knowovou if the year 374-371 remained members of the new Athenian Corfederacy supplied their contingents of ships and claimed pay from the Confederate Chest for the same (Dem. xlix. 10, 11, 21, 49). For a full discussion of this curious duplicate cp. Stern, pp. 93-99.

^{§ 2.} τῷ Τιμοθέφ: somewhere on the Acamanian coast: v. 4. 66.
τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας: evidently democratical exiles:
Diod. xv. 45 mistakenly calls them aristocrats.

els την χώραν αὐτῶν: cp. CIA. ii. 17, where they appear among

the Athenian confederates as Ζακυνθίων ὁ δημος ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλῳ; and Diod, xv. 43 διαβιβασθέντες εἰς τὴν νησον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατελάβοντο χωρίον όχυρὸν παρὰ θάλατταν δ προσηγόρευον Αρκαδίαν. Bursian (Geogr. Gr. ii. 379) thinks that Arcadia was the name of the fort, Nellus of the hill on which it stood.

§ 3. οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: cp. iii. I. 22.

eiθis...κατεσκείαζον: Diod. xv. 45 adds that the Lacedaemonians first sent ambassadors to Athens to complain: then seeing that the Athenians sided with the exiles, sent a fleet of 25 triremes under Aristocrates to help the Zacynthians. At the same time in response to the appeal of the Corcyraean oligarchs, they despatched 22 triremes under Alcidas to that island—on the ostensible pretext of sending them to Sicily. Diodorus never relates what were the fortunes of these two squadrons; but in ch. 47 tells how the Lacedaemonians appointed Mnasippus general and despatched him to Corcyra with 65 triremes and 1,500 soldiers. As it is not to be supposed that the Lacedaemonians had at this time 112 triremes at sea, we must presume that Mnasippus incorporated the two previous squadrons with his own fleet. Diodorus puts Mnasippus' departure after that the Athenians had despatched Ctesicles.

συνετάττοντο: cp. v. 2. 20 note.

§ 4. πρὸς Διονύσιον: cp. v. 1. 28; 3. 27 notes. This application to Dionysius probably explains Diodorus' story of the despatch of Alcidas to Corcyra on the pretence of going to Sicily; cp. § 3 note.

χρήσιμον είη: cp. § 9.

- § 5. καὶ μισθοφόρους . . . πεντακοσίων : Diod. (l. c.) sets the total number at 1,500.
- \S 6. $d\pi i \beta \eta$. Diodorus relates that he sailed into the harbour, seized four Corcyraean triremes, while the Corcyraeans themselves were forced to burn three more, and defeated the enemy also by land.

₹φασαν: cp. iii. 5. 21.

οἰκ ἐθέλειν. οἰ, not μή, because the infinitive is only due to the oblique narration. Cp. Goodwin, M. T. 594.

ἀνθοσμίας, SC. ὁ οἶνος.

§ 7. els τάπὶ θάτερα, 'on the other side': cp. vii. 4. 30.

έπὶ τῷ λιμέπ: probably the outer harbour on the NE. side of the town, mostly used by merchantmen. The inner harbour on

the SW. side seems to have been reserved for vessels of war; and, if Diodorus' account be correct (cp. § 6 note), must have been in the hands of the Peloponnesians.

§ 9. πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους. Diod. (xv. 46) puts the application before the arrival of Mnasippus.

ἐδίδασκον . . . παράπλου : cp. the parallel passage in Thucydides (i. 32–36), where the Corcytaean envoys speak in similar terms. Thus (a) ὁς μίγα . . . προσβάλοιεν recalls in ch. 36 τρία μέν δντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἑλλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῦν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων, τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἄμα ναυμαχήσετε δεξάμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναῦσι ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι : (β) ἐξ οὐδεμῖας . . . γενέσθαι recalls in ch. 33 ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῦν πλεῖστον : and (γ) ἔτι δὲ κεῖσθαι . . . παράπλου recalls in ch. 36 τῆς τε γὰρ 'Ιταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται.

ἐν καλῷ . . . κόλπου, ' in a good place as regards the Corinthian Gulf.' For the genitive cp. iv. 5. 15 ὡς τάχους ἔκαστος εἶχεν and Thuc. iii. 92 τοῦ πρὸς 'Αθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι.

§ 10. πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα. Xenophon evidently means that Ctesicles marched by land through Thessaly and Epirus. dorus makes him proceed to Corcyra by sea, and gives a double and confused version of his appointment: in xv. 46 he says that the Athenians on receiving the application of the Corcyraeans immediately despatched Ctesicles (Stesicles) to Zacynthus before the appointment of Mnasippus by the Spartans: and again in xv. 47 he represents them after the appointment of Mnasippus and the return of Timotheus from Thrace as choosing Ctesicles as general κατά τὸ παρόν and hurriedly sending him with 500 soldiers to Corcyra. Xenophon's account is evidently to be preferred: cp. Grote, ix. 364, 371, who conjectures with great ingenuity and some small probability that Timotheus conveyed Ctesicles and his troops northwards to Thessaly, made an alliance with Jason of Pherae, and thus procured the safe conduct of Ctesicles' troops through Thessaly. This conjecture is, however, scarcely consistent either with Xenophon or Diodorus.

'Αλκέτου: cp. vi. 1. 7 note, where Jason calls him his ὑπήκοος.

It is noticeable that at that time (374) Jason was not yet an ally of Athens: he certainly was so in Nov. 373 (cp. ps.-Dem. xlix. 10): hence Grote (l. c.) conjectures that it was at this time that the alliance was effected (cp. § 12 note); basing his conjecture on the strong personal interest that Jason manifested in the fate of Timotheus at his trial in November, and on Diodorus' statement that Timotheus sailed ἐπὶ Θρήκης.

§ 11. διακομισθέντες που: που, not ποι, because διακομισθέντες implies the landing of the troops as well as their conveyance across the strait.

έξήκοντα. So Diod. xv. 47; Dem. xlix. 11: this included contingents from the Boeotians and other allies: cp. Dem. l. c. § 14.

 $T_{i\mu\delta\theta\sigma\sigma}$: he had therefore returned to Athens from Zacynthus: cp. § 2.

878-872 B.C.

§ 12. αὐτόθεν, i. e. from Athens.

έπὶ νήσων, i.e. the islands of the Aegean, as in iv. 8. 7: he sailed in the month of Munychion (April) 373 (ps.-Dem. xlix. 6). Diodorus (xv. 47) states that Timotheus sailed ἐπὶ Θρέκης καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν προκαλεσάμενος προσέθηκε τριάκοντα τριήρεις: cp. § 10 note.

οὐ φαῦλον... περιπλεῦσαι, 'considering it to be no small matter casually to sail round Peloponnesus to attack (ἐπί) a well disciplined fleet.' For συγκεκροτημένας ναῦς cp. Thuc. viii. 95 ἀξυγκροτήτοις πληρώμασι χρήσασθαι: the ships are of course those of Mnasippus at Corcyra.

§ 13. ἀναλοῦν: older form of ἀναλίσκειν: so Hiero ii. 1; Thuc. iii. 81.

τον της ώρας . . . χρόνον. Apollodorus (cp. ps.-Dem. xlix. 9 ff.) describes the disorganization, due to want of money and supplies, of the allied contingents assembled at Calauria off Troezen, which Timotheus had appointed as the place of rendezvous.

παίσαντες . . . στρατηγίας. According to ps.-Dem. (l. c.) he was recalled from Calauria, being denounced for his delay by Iphicrates and Callistratus. This probably took place about June: but he was not actually tried until November, when he was acquitted, chiefly—according to the same authority—owing to the appearance

of his powerful friends Jason and Alcetas as witnesses in his behalf. Diodorus' account is inconsistent both with Xenophon and Demosthenes: he states (xv. 47) that Timotheus was first deprived of his command, but when he appeared at Athens bringing with him many ambassadors with offers of alliance, 30 additional triremes and abundant supplies, he was reappointed, and shortly before the defeat and death of Mnasippus set sail for Corcyra with Iphicrates as his colleague. For criticisms of Diodorus cp. Grote, ix. 371 and Stern, 110-113.

'Ιφικράτην: last mentioned in v. 1. 25 as blockading Nicolochus in Abydos in 387 B.C. In the interval he had about 377 been sent by the Athenians at the invitation of Pharnabazus to assist that satrap in his campaign against Acoris the rebel king of Egypt; he had however quarrelled with Pharnabazus, and consequently returned to Athens in the year 374: cp. Diod. xv. 29, 43.

§ 14. ἡνάγκαζε, i. e. compelled the trierarchs to do their duty, for which cp. Dict. Antiq. ii. 890.

Πάραλον . . . Σαλαμινίαν : cp. ii. I. 28 and note.

§ 15. εν... χρόνψ: about September 373: cp. Introd. p. lxvi.

πεπρασθαι: the perfect tense denotes the permanent state resulting from the act of being sold: cp. Dem. lix. 17 [δ νόμος] πεπρασθαι κελεύει: cp. Critical Note.

reλευτών: equivalent to an adverb: cp. v. 3. 15.

ol . . . ἔνδοθεν : cp. iii. I. 18 note.

§ 16. δσον οὐκ ήδη: cp. v. 2. 13, and § 24.

έκαινούργει: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

τοὺς μέν τινας ... ἀπομίσθους, 'some he had discharged from his service.' Το make a real opposition with τοῖς δὲ μένουσι, ἀπομίσθους must be understood in the sense of 'paid off,' 'discharged,' as in Dem. xxiii. 154 ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπόμισθος γίγνεται παρὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, and not in that of 'unpaid,' as in Dem. iv. 46 ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων.

dργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν: for these money contributions cp. v. 2. 21; 4. 37 and notes.

- § 17. ἐσπαρμένους. So iii. 4. 22.
- . § 18. ἄπασιν, 'with all the hoplites he had.'
- § 19. τἀπιτήδεια, i. e. the pay with which the soldiers supplied themselves with provisions.

τφ στύρακι: the spike at the butt-end of the spear: cp. Anab. ii. 3. 11 [ό Κλέαρχος] εν μεν τη άριστερά χειρί το δόρυ έχων, εν δε τή δεξιά βακτηρίαν κ.τ.λ.

§ 20. κατά τὰς πύλας, 'opposite the gates.'

dreστρέφοντο, 'faced about': i. e. the Corcyraean fugitives: cp. Critical Note.

μνημάτων. It was the Greek custom to bury the dead outside the city in tombs along the road side.

τοιε έσχάτοιε, i. e. the Peloponnesian troops at the end of the wing, whether left or right is uncertain.

§ 21. ἐπ' ὀκτώ: the ordinary depth of the phalanx: cp. iii. 2. 16. τὸ ἄκρον: the ἔσχατοι of the previous section.

draστρίφειν. Xenophon seems to mean that some of the ranks in the centre of the phalanx faced about in order to march to the relief of the distressed wing, thus weakening the centre; and that then, when the Corcyraeans charged the weakened place in the phalanx, though the ranks thus detached stopped their projected manœuvre (οὐκίτι ἐπανίστρεψαν), the whole line was unable to resist the charge. Cp. Cyrop. vii. 5. 2, where Cyrus employed the opposite manœuvre, strengthening his centre by forming the wings behind it.

§ 22. ἀεί: to be taken with ελάττοσι.

§ 23. τον άγοραῖον . . . ὄχλον : cp. i. 6. 37 ; vi. 4. 9. Greek armies had no organized commissariat: they purchased their provisions from tradespeople, who followed them about under the superintendence of αγορανόμοι. Cp. Anab. v. 7. 2, 23, 29.

δφελός τι, i.e. 'thinking that there was some profit to be got out of them': cp. v. 3. 6.

§ 24. ἐν πάση δή: δή emphasizes πύση.

οσον οὐκ ήδη: cp. § 16.

καὶ . . . ἐπλήρουν is added as an anacoluthon, not being dependent on elégero.

§ 25. ἐπιστολιαφόρος: ἄπαξ λεγόμενον: elsewhere called ἐπιστολεύς: cp. i. 1. 23.

χαράκωμα: cp. § 7 and § 23.

§ 27. ηρξατο: cp. § 14.

δσα els ναυμαχίαν, sc. eστί: repeated § 30: cp. vi. 1. 10. μεγάλα ίστία: cp. i. I. 13 note.

αἰτοῦ, i.e. at Athens.

roîs duarios: the sails on the lords duareios or smaller of the two masts usual in a trireme.

όλίγα: adverbial like δσαπερ in vi. I. 15.

τἢ κώπη, collective: cp. Resp. Ath. 1. 19 μανθάνοντες ελαύνειν τἦ κώπη.

αμεινον ... εχειν = dμείνους είναι, τὰ σώματα being the accusative of respect: cp. v. 3. 17.

§ 28. ἐπανήγαγεν ἄν: for the acrist with ἄν to denote repeated action cp. Anab. i. 9. 19; ii. 3. 11; iii. 4. 22, &c.; Goodwin, M. T. 162. The meaning is that Iphicrates put his vessels out to sea (ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς) in column (τὸ κέρας – ἐπὶ κέρως) opposite the place (κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία) where he meant to land; and that then he wheeled his vessels into line (ἀντιπρέρους) parallel with the shore before he gave the signal for the race shorewards.

ἐπιστρέψας αν: cp. Critical Note.

υδωρ λαβεῖν κ.τ.λ., 'to get water (i.e. on shore) or whatever else they needed.'

τούτοις: neuter, referring to υδωρ, &c.

dμa, i. e. at the same time as the first comers.

σημήνειε, sc. δ σαλπιγκτής: cp. § 34; Anab. i. 2. 17; iii.

§ 29. alρόμενος . . . loτούς, i.e. he raised the masts, which were lowered whilst the triremes were being rowed, in order to set a lookout at the masthead (καρχήσιον).

πολύ: to be taken with πλέον.

δπου . . . προσιών: cp. Anab. vii. 2. 18 [δ Ζενοφῶν] κατέμαθεν, δτι τούτου ἔνεκα τὰ πυρὰ κεκαυμένα εἶη τῷ Σεύθη πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, δπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ δρῷντο ἐν τῷ σκότει ὅντες μήτε ὁπόσοι μήτε όπου εἶεν οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν: so Cyrop. iii. 3. 25.

θέοντες, 'sailing,' as opposed to έλαύνοντες, 'rowing': cp. Aristoph. Eccl. 109 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οδτε θέομεν οδτ' έλαύνομεν.

§ 30. ἐπὶ κέρως . . . ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, 'in column' . . . 'in line.'

όσα . . . ναυμαχίαν : cp. § 27.

τά . . . πολλά: adverbial, 'mostly.'

ràs βοηθείαs . . . drayόμενος, i.e. he put out to sea before the enemy's forces could reach him.

ἐπέραινε, SC. τὴν όδον: SO καθανύσειν, V. 4. 20.

§ 31. τὰs Σφαγίας: three islands, including Sphacteria, off the promontory of Pylos in Messenia.

τὸν Ἰχθῦν: a promontory of Elis some eight miles west of the mouth of the Alpheus.

τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου : cp. i. 6. 38.

§ 32. ὅπως . . . ἀφικέσθαι : cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361. The infinitive, which seems really due to a mixture of two constructions, finds a parallel in Oecon. 7. 29 προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πειρῶσθαι, ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστα τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν διαπράττεσθαι. Cp. infin. with ὅτι ii. 2. 2, and with ὡς vi. 5. 42; vii. 4. 39.

§ 33. πρώτον μέν corresponds to ἐπεὶ δέ § 34.

παρά Διονυσίου: CP. § 4.

της χώρας: partitive genitive dependent on δθεν.

els τὴν πόλιν: placed between σημαίνοντας and καταφανείς, because the guards on the watch to give the signal to the city must necessarily be visible from it: εἶναι depends on δυνατόν ῆν.

§ 34. προσπλεύντων . . . όρμούντων, sc. τῶν πολεμίων: for the omission of the subject with the genitive absolute cp. i. 1. 26, 29.

κηρύξειεν, sc. ό κῆρυξ: cp. § 28.

προείπε . . δίκην, 'forewarned him not to find fault with the penalty': for the phrase cp. Her. viii. 106 ώστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο σοι ἐσομένην δίκην, and Plat. Leg. 716 b ὑποσχὼν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτήν.

ούδεὶς . . . ὄστις οὐ : cp. v. I. 3.

els ras rass, i. e. their ships were drawn up on the beach of the look-out post.

- § 35. črba ħoar: according to Polyaen. iii. 9. 55, Iphicrates surprised the Syracusans at anchor off a desert island, and captured ten (Diodorus xv. 47 says nine), while one escaped. Diodorus (xvi. 57) inserts a story—à propos of the Phocians seizing the Delphic treasure in 353 B.C.—how Iphicrates, whilst stationed at Corcyra captured some vessels of Dionysius laden with treasures for Delphi and Olympia. If the story be true, obviously it cannot refer to the incident here related by Xenophon and by Diodorus himself in xv. 47.
- § 36. ἀκρωτηριασάμενος, 'having cut the beaks off the prows,' Dakyns. Cp. ii. 3. 8 and Her. iii. 59 τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἦκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν εἰς τὸ ἰερὸν τῆς 'Αθηναίης.

συνέβη, 'he agreed.'

ώς... ως. The particle ως is also repeated, but not in quite parallel constructions in iii. 5. 5; v. 2. 2, 8.

 $d\phi \hat{\eta}_{KC}$. Diodorus (xv. 47) says that Iphicrates sold his prisoners and raised thereby more than sixty talents, with which he paid his soldiers and sailors.

372-371 B.C.

§ 37. γεωργούντας: cp. the similar device of Eteonicus, ii. 1. 1.

φιλίσιε πόλεσιν: cp. v. 4. 64 note: the cities in these regions had been received by Timotheus into the New Athenian Confederacy in 375.

Θυριεῦσι: the inhabitants of Thyreum, a town in the north of Acarnania near the Ambracian Gulf.

μάλα: emphasizes both άλκίμοις and καρτερόν.

§ 38. ἐνενήκοντα: for the number cp. v. 4. 66.

τῶν ἄλλων: the story told by Polyaen. (iii. 9. 39, 48) of Iphicrates' attack upon Epidaurus may perhaps be referred to this time.

кат' екейна: ср. iii. 5. 17.

τοις . . . πειθομένοις : a construction κατά σύνεσιν.

§ 39. Kallistratus had been the colleague of Chabrias in 378 and had taken an active part in the formation of the New Athenian Confederacy, for the ourraftess of which he was responsible. He had been foremost in procuring the deposition of Timotheus in the previous June, and now reached Athens in time for that general's trial in November (§ 13 note). Timotheus was indeed acquitted, but Callistratus procured the condemnation to death of his paymaster Antimachus. For the part that Callistratus played in the negotiations with Sparta in 371 cp. vi. 3. I-17.

οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήθειον ὅντα, 'not a very suitable colleague': this probably has a political reference, Iphicrates being in favour of pressing on the war against Sparta, whereas Callistratus advocated the policy of recognizing Sparta's hegemony by land side by side with Athens' hegemony by sea. It is however possible to interpret the phrase of Callistratus' inferior military qualifications: cp. Grote, ix. 368.

Χαβρίαν: cp. v. 4. 61.

μάλα στρατηγόν: for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 4. 2; v. 4. 14.

σῶφρον, is harsh without τι: but cp. Mem. ii. 7. 13 θαυμαστόν.

οὖτω θρασέως: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361: the text seems to be corrupt, though the meaning is tolerably plain. Xenophon wishes apparently to remark that if Iphicrates regarded his colleagues as rivals, he was so sure of his own skill and competence as a general as to feel confident that they would be unable to use their position as a handle against him. Of the proposed emendations Jacob's ροῦτως ἐθάρσει (rather ἐθάρρει) μήτε... φανεῖσθαι seems therefore to be the best, though the same meaning can perhaps be extracted out of the MSS. reading by supplying ἐβούλετο with φαίνεσθαι. Hertlein's ἔδρασεν ὡς or Keller's ἔπραττεν ὡς can hardly stand, as the reference must evidently be to Iphicrates' motive in making the appointments, not to his action after the appointment was made.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-3. The Athenians, displeased at the conduct of the Thebans, more especially towards Plataes and Thespiae, invited them to send envoys to Sparta to negotiate a general peace. §§ 4-9. Callias first addressed the Spartans and their allies, advocating peace: then Autocles, complaining that Sparta had violated the terms of the King's Peace. §§ 10-17. Finally Callistratus made a conciliatory speech. §§ 18-20. The Lacadaemonians accepted the conditions proposed, agreeing that should these terms be violated, any state might aid the injured party, but there should be no compulsion so to do. The Spartans swore to the Peace both for themselves and for their allies, the Athenians and their allies swore sevenally. The Thebans, having first signed their own name, claimed next day to swear for all the Bosotians. Agesilaus disallowed the claim, and the Theban envoys retired disheartened.

371-370 B.C.

§ 1. Ol δè 'Αθηναῖοι . . . δρώντες: cp. vi. 2. I for the similar state of things in 374.

cksτεπτωκότας . . . Πλαταιάς : cp. v. 4. 10, 14. The reason for their expulsion is given by Diod. xv. 46. They had doubtless, along with the other Boeotian states, been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes in 376, 375 (cp. vi. 1. 1; Isocr. xiv. 9);

and now they were detected in an intrigue with Athens, meaning to hand over their city to their old supporter. The Boeotarchs however anticipated the attempt, and seized the city, whilst the men were away working in the fields; they then razed the city to the ground, allowing the inhabitants to retire in safety to Athens, where they were once more welcomed and admitted to loorohirela. This event happened in 372, cp. Paus. ix. 1. 3.

Θεσπιᾶs... ἀπόλιδαs. Thespiae shared the same fate just afterwards (Diod. xv. 86) except that its inhabitants were not so fortunate as to find a refuge at Athens. They continued to live in Boeotia—probably κατὰ κώμαs: for they were present in the Theban army at Leuctra, being however allowed to withdraw just before the battle: cp. vi. 4. 9 and note; Paus. ix. 14. 2. After the battle they seem to have retired, in fear of Theban vengeance, to an ancient stronghold of theirs, called Ceressus, from which they were then expelled by Epaminondas: cp. Paus. ix. 14. 4.

στρατεύοντας: cp. vi. I. I.

φίλους ἀρχαίους. For some considerable time the Phocians had rather favoured the Spartan side: cp. iii. 5. 3; iv. 3. 15; vi. I. I; but in 456 the Athenians had made themselves masters of Phocis, and in 448 had entrusted the Delphic shrine to their keeping (Thuc. i. 108, 112). Again in 426 they are described as ready προθύμως . . . κατὰ τὴν ᾿Αθηναίων ἀεί ποτε φιλίαν ξυστρατεύειν ἢ κᾶν βίφ προσαχθῆναι (Thuc. iii. 95); and in 404 they had resisted the Theban and Corinthian proposal to wipe Athens out of the map of Greece: cp. ii. 2. 19; Dem. xix. 65; Plut. Lys. 15.

πόλεις πιστάς. The Plataeans alone had fought with the Athenians at Marathon (Her. vi. 108), and the Thespians alone had remained to the last with the Spartans at Thermopylae (Her. vii. 222, 226), when the Thebans had medized eagerly.

§ 2. ψηφισάμενος . . . ποιείσθαι. The motives, which induced the Athenians to take the initiative in negotiations for peace, are so clearly stated by Xenophon that it seems impossible to accept Diodorus' version (xv. 50) of the affair—which (as has already been pointed out, cp. vi. 2. 1 note) is a curious duplicate of his account of the Peace of 374—that the impulse came on this occasion also from the King of Persia. Diodorus does indeed receive some confirmation from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Lys. 12)—μετά γὰρ

'Αλκισθένην ἄρχοντα ἐφ' οὖ (i.e. 371) τὴν εἰρήνην 'Αθηναῖοί τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὅμοσαν—whose authority on such a matter is very slender: but the reasons for such a misconception are apparent; viz. that the Peace of Antalcidas was taken as the basis for the new arrangement, as is manifest not only from Callistratus' allusion to Antalcidas in § 12, but from the conditions of the Peace itself in § 18: cp. Grote, ix. 374 and Stern, p. 120 for the opposite view.

παρακαλούντας. Thebes was still a member of the Athenian Confederacy, cp. § 19 and vi. 2. 1, 11 notes.

Kaλλίas: cp. iv. 5. 13; v. 4. 22.

Κηφισόδοτος: cp. vii. 1. 12 ff.: he was one of the σύνδικοι, who defended Leptines; Dem. xx. 146, 150 οὖτός ἐστιν οὐδενὸς ἡττον τῶν λεγώντων δεινὸς εἰπεῖν.

§ 3. Καλλίστρατος: cp. vi. 2. 39.

el αὐτὸν ἀφείη, i. e. to Athens, cp. vi. 2. 39 note.

χρήματα πέμψεω: for the pecuniary embarassments of Iphicrates cp. vi. 2. 38.

τούς ἐκκλήτους: cp. Appendix, p. 341.

δ δηδοῦχος. One of the four officials, who conducted the Eleusinian mysteries: the office was hereditary in the family of the Ceryces: cp. ii. 4. 20. Xenophon seems to have inserted the epithet to explain the pompous style of Callias' speech.

§ 4. τὴν . . . προξενίαν: cp. v. 4. 22.

στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς. Xenophon speaks of only one command held by Callias himself, iv. 5. 13.

elρηνοποιούs ... πρόσθεν δίε: cp. vi. 2. 1: the other occasion cannot be determined.

§ 5. τῆ . . . ἀναιρέσει: Cp. § 1.

eiη . . . draspeiσθas : for the moods cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

τῶν θαυμαστῶν: partitive genitive, used predicatively: 'would it not be very extraordinary': cp. Mem. iv. 6. 10 ἀνδρίαν... ἀρα τῶν καλῶν νομίζεις εἶναι;

§ 6. λέγεται μέν: the correlative clause is rhetorically suppressed.

Τριπτόλεμος . . . Δήμητρος . . . Κόρης: the three deities most prominent in the Eleusinian mysteries: cp. § 3.

'Hparkei: the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings: cp. Her. vi. 52; ix. 26.

Διοσκούροι» ... πολίται»: sons of Tyndareus, king of Sparta: Hom. Od. xi. 300.

τοῦ Δήμητρος . . . δωρήσασθαι. Isocrates (iv. 28-31) after narrating the story at length tells us that it was customary for the various Greek states to send firstfruits of their harvest to Athens and that the Pythoness often reproved such states as omitted to do so.

ήμας το. το after 1/1, though found perhaps in Aesch. Eum. 523 and elsewhere, seems to occur nowhere else in Xenophon. The nearest parallel is the converse—1/1 after το—in Mem. i. 7. 3; Oecon. 20. 12.

μή οὐχί: the double negative because πῶς δίκαιον = οὐ δίκαιον.

čκ θεῶν: for ἐκ instead of ὑπό to express the source of the action, cp. iii. 1. 6.

καταλύεσθαι, sc. τὸν πόλεμον: for καταλύεσθαι in the middle instead of the more usual καταλύειν in this sense, cp. Andoc. iii. 17 ἐνθυμήθητε οὖν τῶν πόλεων τὰς μέγιστας τίνι τρόπφ τὸν πόλεμον καταλύονται.

§ 7. οΐτινες . . . διαμένειν, διδακτέον, SC. τούτοις.

αὐτονόμους: in v. 1. 36 Xenophon called the Lacedaemonians προστάται τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης.

συντίθεσθε . . . ἀκολούθειν . . . ἡγῆσθε: instances are Athens in 403 (ii. 2. 20) and Olynthus in 379 (v. 3. 26).

§ 8. οὐκ ἀνακοινούμενοι. Xenophon records several such instances
—Mantinea, v. 2. 1; Thebes, v. 2. 35; Phlius, v. 3. 13; Athens, v.
4. 20. For the word cp. i. 1. 30.

δεκαρχίας: cp. iii. 5. 13 note.

τριακονταρχίας: as the Thirty in Athens.

ἐοίκατε . . . ἡδόμενοι : if the reading be correct, a parallel for the nominative participle may be found in Mem. iv. 3. 8 ταῦτα παντάπασιν ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων ἔνεκα γιγνόμενα : cp. Critical Note.

πολιτείαις, i. e. any form of free constitution.

§ 9. προσέταττεν: cp. v. 1. 31 and Isocrates' (iv. 176) reproach against the Peace of Antalcidas as προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας.

cάσοιεν: for the fact cp. v. 1. 32.

την Καδμείαν: cp. v. 2. 25 ff.

όπως . . . πλείστα : όπως used with the superlative and δύνασθαι, like ώς.

§ 10. ἀφ' ἡμῶν: cp. v. 4. 60 note.

εὐπορώτεροι, 'more tractable.' Büchsenschütz, however, interprets 'cleverer,' comparing Oecon. 9. 5 οἱ πονηροὶ (οἰκέται) συζυγέντες εὐπορώτεροι πρὸς τὸ κακουργείν γίγνονται. Hartman proposes to read ἐμπειρότεροι.

ήμεις, 'we Athenians.'

§ 11. † δε ... τὰς πόλεις ... γεγένηνται. The text is evidently corrupt: cp. Critical Note and Append. p. 361. The meaning is evident: 'The very cities, which you were so anxious to be free, have all again, since your unjust treatment of the Thebans, fallen under their power.'

ήμας, i. e. Spartans and Athenians.

§ 12. \hbar δè . . . διαβάλλουσιν, ώς, 'but as for some people slanderously asserting that,' &c.: for \hbar δέ cp. ii. 3. 45.

'Aprahridas. It seems more consistent with the context to interpret this as a mere reference to the circumstances preceding the Peace of 387-386 than to suppose, with Grote and others, that Antalcidas had now a second time been sent as envoy on a similar mission. Even if the passage be so interpreted, it implies that Antalcidas had not yet returned, so that the conditions of the proposed Peace would have to be discussed in ignorance of Persian wishes. The fact that the Peace of 387-386 was taken as the basis of the Peace of 371 is in itself sufficient to account for Diodorus (xv. 50) speaking of Persian intervention on this occasion. Cp. v. 1. 29. Plutarch's story (Artaxer. 22) of a second visit of Antalcidas to the Persian court to get money after the battle of Leuctra might of course be taken as a confirmation of Grote's views, though unfortunately the biographer unites it with an obviously wrong statement that Agesilaus was at the same time despatched by the Spartans to Egypt for the same purpose.

ĕγραψε: cp. v. 1. 30 and vi. 3. 9.

§ 13. ойк аторойнгев, вс. Якорен.

†τί μήν ἐστιν ... ἐπιδεῖξαι. The text seems to be altogether corrupt, and as there is no direct reference to it in the context, satisfactory emendation seems to be impossible. Xenophon after τί μήν ἐστιν, must have given what Callistratus represented as the real reason of the Athenians appearing in Sparta—apparently the behaviour of certain of the allies, meaning the Thebans, with

which they were displeased (οὐκ ἀρεστὰ...ἡμῶν). Callistratus seems to say that obviously such behaviour must be equally displeasing to the Spartans. I would propose then as a desperate remedy to read οὐδ' ὑμῶν ἀρεστὰ πράττουσω. Cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361.

å δρθῶς ἔγνωμεν seems inexplicable. Hartman proposes ὡς δρθῶς ἔγνωτε with the meaning, 'that you were right in your reasons which led you to save us,' i.e. after the surrender of Athens in 404: cp. ii. 3. 25, 41 and vi. 5. 35.

§ 14. al μεν . . . φρονοῦσαι : cp. Isocr. iv. 16 των γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οι μεν ὑφ' ἡμῶν, οι δ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν αι γὰρ πολιτεῖαι, δι' ὧν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις, οὖτω τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν διειλή.φασι.

ήμειε, i. e. Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

§ 15. δτι μέν: without a corresponding στι δέ, as in v. 2. 12.

† οὐχ: in negative sentences μᾶλλον can be followed either by † οτ † οὐ, so that there is no need to alter the reading here, because the interrogative has a negative force: cp. Thuc. ii. 62 εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν μᾶλλον † ὀλιγωρῆσαι, and iii. 36 πόλιν δλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον † οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους.

- § 16. τὴν ἄσκησιν continues the metaphor from athletics, begun with ἀγωνισταί: 'until through defeat they have lost their skill in war.' For the meaning of ἄσκησις cp. Mem. iii. 14. 3 ἐἀν τις ἄνευ τοῦ σίτου τὸ ὅψον αὐτὸ ἐσθίη, μὴ ἀσκήσεως, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα, πότερον ὁψοφάγος εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ οῦ;
- § 18. el δί τις . . . ποιοίη. Herein lies the great difference between this Peace of 371 and the Peace of Antalcidas of 387-386 (cp. v. 1. 31, 36), the provisions of which Sparta had enforced in her own interests. Under the new treaty such enforcement was made anybody's business, in other words, nobody's business. Any state might encroach upon its neighbours without much fear of interference. Probably too Athens foresaw further troubles between Sparta and Thebes, from which she herself was anxious to be free; nor would Sparta be averse to such neutrality on the part of Athens, which would leave her freer to deal with Thebes (cp. Stern, p. 122), however much she might dislike the proclamation of autonomy applied to her own Peloponnesian Confederacy as well as to the Boeotian Confederacy of Thebes.
 - § 19. Лакедагио́тгог . . . екастог. Sparta always professed to

acknowledge the autonomy of the allies in her confederacy, so that her action was not, as Grote seems to suppose (ix. 384), inconsistent with the terms of the Peace τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν (cp. v. 1. 31 note). She was the head of an old established confederacy, and her relations to its several members were traditional and well known. Athens on the other hand had only just succeeded in forming a new maritime confederacy (cp. v. 4. 60 note), and could not pretend in any way to guarantee the acquiescence of its members in her wishes, so that they gave in their adhesion separately.

ol Θηβαίοι. Stern (p. 130) supposes that on the first day the Thebans swore as a separate member of the Athenian Confederacy, which they had joined simply as Thebans before they had reasserted their supremacy over the other Boeotian states (cp. CIA. ii. 17 and v. 4. 60 note); and that then, having reflected that the Peace was practically but a reassertion of the Peace of Antalcidas, under which they had been forced to recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian states (cp. v. 1. 33), on the next day they came forward with their new proposal, which amounted to a recognition of the whole of Boeotia as a single state, like Athens with her demes, or Sparta with her Laconian and Messenian towns.

ol πρέσβεις αὐτῶν: for a similar duplication of the subject cp. iv. 4. 1; v. 4. 40. According to Plutarch (Ages. 27, 28) and Pausanias (ix. 13. 2), who wrongly refers his story to the time of the Peace of Antalcidas, Epaminondas was among their number and made a bitter speech against the Spartans. Grote and other modern historians have preferred Plutarch's version to Xenophon's; but Stern (p. 126 ff.) shows almost conclusively that his story will not bear serious criticism, and that Xenophon's account has at least the merit of being logical and self-consistent.

άντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτούς. Cp. their similar behaviour in 387-386 (v. 1. 32 note) οἱ δὰ Θηβαῖοι ἡξίουν ὑπὰρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὁμνύναι. Then Agesilaus refused to accept their oath, unless at the same time they swore αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν, and after some show of opposition they were obliged to submit—αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. Now that they had made themselves masters of all or nearly all the other Boeotian towns (vi. 1. 1) this request amounted to a demand for the legal recognition of their actual supremacy in Boeotia.

'Αγησιλαος. Xenophon has made no mention of him since his illness in 376 from which moreover he had not yet recovered (v. 4. 58; vi. 4. 18).

§ 20. το λεγόμενον: for the same absolute construction cp. vi. 5. 35. δεκατευθήναι, i.e. that their property should be spoiled and a tithe of it dedicated to the gods: cp. the oath of the patriotic Greeks before the invasion of Xerxes (Her. vii. 132) that δσοι τῷ Πέρση ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἑλληνες ἐόντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες... τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. For the general dislike of the Thebans cp. Diod. xv. 51 οἱ δ' ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες [τῶν Ἑλλήνων] περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξανδραποδεσθησομένων.

CHAPTER IV

\$ 1-3. The Athenians scrupulously carried out the conditions of the peace: the Lacedaemonians withdrew their harmosts and garrisons, but notwithstanding the remonstrances of Prothous, ordered Cleombrotus, then in Phocis, to march against the Thebans.' The king eluded the Theban army by marching through Thisbe to Creusis, where he captured 12 triremes. §§ 4-8. Then he encamped at Leuctra. The Thebans encamped on the opposite hill. Cleombrotus, urged by friends and foes alike, was eager to fight. The Theban generals had many reasons for wishing for a battle, \$\$ 9-12. Battle of Leuctra .-Omens and fortune favoured the Thebans. First the Lacedaemonian auxiliaries drove a train of stragglers back to the Bosotian camp. The cavalry on both sides were posted in front, the Theban being much superior. The Lacedaemonians were drawn up 12 deep, the Thebans on the left wing 50 deep. \$\$ 13-16. Then the cavalry engaged, and the Lacedaemonians, easily worsted, fell back in disorder upon their own infantry. On the right wing Cleombrotus fell, and the troops around him were pressed back by the heavy Theban phalanx. Then the left wing gave way. The Lacedaemonians retreated no further than their original camp. The polemarchs refused to renew the combat, and sent a herald to recover the corpses. The Spartans at home received the news in true Spartan fashion. \$\$ 17, 18. The Lacedaemonians sent out reinforcements under Archidamus, many of their allies showing great seal. 55 19-26. The Theban herald of the victory met with a bad reception at Athens; but Jason of Pherae on hearing the news marched hastily into Bosotia. Arrived at Leuctra he dismaded the Thebans from attacking the Spartan camp, and advised the Lacedaemonians to come to terms. A truce was made; the Lacedaemonian

army retired by night and fell in with Archidamus in the Megarid. §§ 27-32. Jason returned to Thessaly at the summit of his glory and power. He was engaged in making magnificent preparations to attend the Pythian games, when he was assassinated by seven youths. Such of his assassins as escaped were held in high honour among the Greeks as tyrennicides. §§ 33-37. His brothers Polydorus and Polyphron were appointed Tagi in his place: Polydorus died suddenly, murdered, it was thought by his brother. Polyphron reigned tyrannically for a year, when he was murdered by Alexander, who ruled with equal ferocity. He too was murdered by his wife's brothers at the instigation of their sister. Tisiphonus, the elder of them, succeeded him.

§ 1. ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, e. g. the subjugated cities of Cephallenia and the neighbourhood: vi. 2. 33, 37, 38.

'Ιφικράτην: cp. vi. 2. 38.

ηνόγκασαν, i. e. to prevent a repetition of such events as led to the immediate renewal of hostilities in 374: cp. vi. 2. 3.

§ 2. τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα. It appears from vi. 3. I that the Thebans were once more threatening the Phocians, and it follows from this passage that this year also, as in 374, Cleombrotus had been despatched with an army to their assistance. The article with στράτευμα may be due either to an oversight of Xenophon, who has not mentioned it before, or may simply imply that this was the famous army which fought at Leuctra. Beloch, however (Gr. Gesch. ii. 244 note), supposes that Xenophon has erroneously in vi. 1. I antedated the expedition of Cleombrotus.

τὰ οίκοι τέλη, the Ephors: cp. iii. 2. 6.

Κλεόμβροτον ... λέξωντος, an anacoluthon: the sentence is interrupted by the speech of Prothous, and resumed with a different construction in § 3 ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότφ.

συμβαλίσθαι. Prothous' proposal that voluntary contributions, to be deposited at Delphi, should be made by such states as were willing to enforce the conditions of universal autonomy against any encroachment, recalls the συντάξειε paid at Callistratus' proposal by the members of the New Athenian Confederacy: cp. vi. 2. I note.

§ 3. To damorior: for the comment cp. v. 4. 1.

fiσθετο: according to Diod. xv. 51, before he entered their territory, Cleombrotus sent envoys to the Thebans to ascertain whether they would recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian states

and restore Plataea and Thespiae; and these envoys were answered with a blunt refusal. Xenophon's narrative too implies some such sort of ultimatum.

ούχ ὅπως . . . άλλ' οὐδέ : cp. ii. 4. 14.

y... in raw Tennier: cp. Grundy, 'Battle of Plataea,' p. 74, 'an army invading [Boeotia] from the north is obliged, by the nature of the country on the east side of Copais, to pass along the west shore of that lake, along i.e. that narrow strip of land between the foot of Helicon and the lake.'

ent στενφ τινι: cp. Diod. xv. 52 τα περί Κορώνειαν στενά and Paus. ix. 13. 3.

διὰ Θισβῶν: cp. Diod. l.c. διεξελθὼν τὴν παραθαλαττίαν όδδυ χαλεπὴν οὖσαν; and Paus. l.c. ἐπὶ ᾿Αμβρώσου τρέπεται τῆς Φωκέων ἀποκτείνας δὲ Χαιρέαν, δε φυλάσσειν διετέτακτο τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Θηβαίους, ὑπερέβη, καὶ ἐς Λεῦκτρα ἀφικρεῖται τὰ Βοιώτια. This road over Helicon was almost impassable for an army and at places easily defensible by a mere handful of men.

έπὶ Κρεῦσιν: the possession of Creusis secured his communications with the Peloponnesus.

§ 4. επί τῷ ἀπαντικρὶ λόφφ: cp. Grundy, l. c. 'The position was one of considerable strength, but not comparable in this respect with that of the Spartans and their allies on the opposite side of the valley. The hills whereon the Spartans stood are higher than those which face them, and their slope towards the plain is much more steep.'

οὐ πολύ διαλείποντες: less than # mile.

άλλ' ή τους Βοιωτούς. Diod. xv. 52 puts the Theban numbers at 6,000 all told; and Plutarch (Pel. 20) estimates the Spartan at 10,000 hoplites and 1,000 cavalry: but no trust can be put in these figures.

§ 5. δτε: for δτε so used after a verb of remembering cp. vi. 5. 46 and Cyrop. i. 6. 12 οὐ γὰρ μέμνημαι δτε έγὼ μέν πρὸς σὲ ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀργύριον.

οὐδέν . . . ἐδήσοσας : cp. v. 4. 15, 16.

бте ботеро»: ср. v. 4. 59.

τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, i. e. do not wish to be exiled.

κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίνν. For Cleombrotus' policy cp. v. 4. 16 note.

§ 6. ταῖτα ἀκούων . . . συνάπτειν: cp. Cic. de Offic. i. 24. 84 cum Cleombrotus invidiam timens temere cum Epaminonda conflixisset, Lacedaemoniorum opes corruerunt. Diodorus (xv. 50-54) gives an account of the circumstances leading to the battle different in all respects. According to him a whole winter intervened between the negotiations for the Peace and Cleombrotus' campaign. In the following year after collecting large forces the Lacedaemonians sent ambassadors to Thebes with an ultimatum, which was re-Thereupon Cleombrotus advanced as far as Coronea, where he formed a camp and waited for belated contingents from Meantime Epaminondas with 6,000 Thebans and Boeotians advanced from Thebes and occupied τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν Finding his communications thus cut off Cleombrotus marched round through Phocis and entered Boeotia once more by the sea coast route, taking up his position at Leuctra, where the Thebans advanced to meet him. The six Boeotarchs in command were equally divided on the question of battle or retreat, until Epaminondas, one of the number, persuaded the seventh Boeotarch on his arrival in the camp to vote for battle. At this juncture, however, Jason arrived with 1,000 Thessalian foot and 500 cavalry and persuaded his allies, the Thebans, to make a truce with the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly Cleombrotus left Boeotia, and shortly fell in with large reinforcements under Archidamus, son of Agesilaus. Confident in their numbers the Lacedaemonians now returned to Leuctra in defiance of the truce. Then followed the famous battle.

This account conflicts not only with Xenophon, but with Isocrates, who puts words into the mouth of Archidamus (vi. 9, 10, 111) which are absurd, if he himself were present in the battle. It does not satisfactorily explain Cleombrotus' circuitous march through Coronea, Phocis, and Creusis to Leuctra. It accuses the Spartans of one of the most flagrant violations of good faith possible, and yet this violation is not even alluded to by any other ancient authority. It represents the Spartans as making the most elaborate preparations for the campaign during a whole winter, and as collecting contingents from their allies in a manner forbidden by the newly-signed peace of 371. In fact Diodorus' version is so utterly improbable that it has been generally abandoned:

cp. Grote, ix. 409; Stern, 142-148, the latter of whom would trace it to a Boeotian source.

ol προεστώτες: the seven Boeotarchs, among whom was Epaminondas: Pelopidas was commander of the lερδε λόχος.

thoyisoro: the fullest account of their deliberations is given by Diod. xv. 53 and Paus. ix. 13. 6, 7: cp. Plut. Pel. 20.

μαχούντο: Goodwin (M. T. 689. 3. 2) adheres to the MSS. μάχουντο, explaining it δὰν μὴ μαχώμεθα, ἀποστήσονται.

πολιορκήσουτο: used passively, as in vii. 5. 18.

πεφευγότες πρόσθεν: cp. v. 4. 2.

§ 7. δ χρησμός. According to Diodorus and Plutarch (Il. c.) the oracle was made known to the Thebans by Leandrias (? Cleandridas), a Spartan exile.

τῶν παρθένων. Diodorus calls them the daughters of Leuctrus and Scedasus: this story is told at length with some variations by Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias (ll. c.): so too the other prodigies mentioned.

ἐκόσμησαν . . . μνῆμα: cp. Paus. ix. 13. 6 τότε δὲ ὁ 'Επαμεινώνδας Σκεδάσφ καὶ ταῖς παισὶν ἐνήγιζέ τε καὶ εὅχετο, ὡς οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θηβαίων ἡ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκείνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσόμενον; Plut. Pel. 21.

τεχνάσματα. Diodorus (l. c.) attributes them to Epaminondas: cp. Polyaen. ii. 3. 8.

§ 8. evaria: adverbial with eylyvera.

έν τη μεσημβρία: cp. v. 4. 40.

ύποπινόντων: genitive absolute without the subject: cp. ii. 4. 1.

§ 9. τῶν . . . παρεσκευακότων: cp. vi. 2. 23.

τών οὐ βουλομένων: cp. Polyaen. ii. 3. 3 δπως μή ταράττοιτο ή τάξις ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης, ['Βπαμεινώνδας] ἐκήρυξε Βοιωτῶν ἀπιέναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξέστω, Θεσπιεῖς μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἀπηλλάσσοντο: Paus. ix. 13. 8.

roῦ Ἱέρωνος: perhaps the same as the Spartan mentioned by Plut. Pyth. Orac. 397 b.

πολύ μέν, repeats the μέν of πρώτον μέν.

άθροώτερον. It seems strange to reckon this deepening of the Theban line with unwilling allies as one of the disadvantages of the Spartans.

§ 10. προσ 'Ορχομενίους: not otherwise mentioned by Xenophon, but described by Diodorus (xv. 37) and Plutarch (Pel. 16).

πρός Θεσπιᾶς: cp. vi. 3. 1 and Diod. l. c.

πονηρότατον: cp. Paus. iv. 8. 12 οὐ γάρ τι ἀγαθοὶ τότε Ιππεύειν ὅσαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. Xen. Hipparch. 9. 4 οἶδα δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐππικὸν ἀρξάμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἐπεὶ ξένονς ἐππέας προσέλαβον.

§ 11. δ συντεταγμένος, i. e. the trooper, appointed to serve and to whom a particular horse was assigned.

§ 12. iparar: for the imperfect cp. iii. 5. 21.

els tpeis, i. e. three files abreast : cp. iii. 1. 22.

την δυωμοτίαν: cp. Rep. Lac. 11. 4; 13. 4: there were about twenty-four men in each enomoty.

dσπίδων: cp. ii. 4. 11.

συνεστραμμένοι: expresses the denseness and compactness of the array: cp. Diod. xv. 55 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν διά τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς τάξεως πλεονεκτούντων. Only the Theban left was drawn up in this dense array: cp. Plut. Pel. 23; Diod. l. c.

τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, i. e. Cleombrotus' right wing.

§ 13. е́ venent ы́ке са и. A clearer idea of the general course of the battle can be gained from a comparison of Plutarch and Diodorus (ll. c.). The Lacedaemonian cavalry, it would appear, were driven back upon their own centre, so that the infantry were compelled to advance in μηνοειδές σχήμα. Then Cleombrotus, seeing the depth of the Theban left, attempted to outflank it by deploying a portion of his own right wing: before, however, this manœuvre was completed Pelopidas with his lepds hoxos was upon them, and threw them into some disorder. He was closely followed by Epaminondas with the main body. Cleombrotus was wounded, and the Spartans fought so desperately round their wounded king that lσόρροπος ην ή μάχη, until at last the weight of the Theban phalanx began to tell. The Lacedaemonians, so long as their king was living, gave ground but slowly, but after his death exerce sarrely τροπή τοῦ στρατοπέδου, and the Spartans fled back to their camp on the slope of the southern hills. The whole struggle was fought out on the Spartan right, and the troops in the rest of the line do not seem to have been seriously engaged. In fact Epaminondas had given orders to his right wing φυγομαχείν και κατά την έφοδον τών πολεμίων έκ τοῦ κατ' δλίγου ὑποχωρείν.

αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι: cp. Paus. ix. 13. 10 παρὰ γὰρ τοίς Λακεδαιμονίοις

αΐσχιστον εδέδοκτο είναι βασιλέως νεκρόν επί ανδράσι πολεμίοις γενόμενον περιοφθήναι; and Diod. xv. 55 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως άγωνισάμενοι λαμπρῶς τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο; cp. Plut. Agis, 21 πολλῶν γεγονότων Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγώνων πρὸς "Ελληνας εἶς μόνος [βασιλεὺς] ἀνηρέθη πρὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δόρατι πληγεὶς περὶ Λεῦκτρα Κλεόμβροτος.

ol πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι: cp. Appendix, pp. 337, 348.

14. Δείνων . . . Σφοδρίας . . . Κλεώνυμος: cp. v. 4. 33.

ό πολέμαρχος . . . των περί δαμοσίαν: cp. iv. 5. 8 note.

†μέν ἵπποι ... συμφορεῖς: Schenkl supposes that the MSS. μέν ἵπποι conceals some Dorian technical term. Madvig conjectures μένιπποι: cp. Critical Note.

τοῦ εὐωνύμου: cp. § 13 note.

δμως δέ: cp. v. 1. 3.

iruχεν οδσα, i.e. it was a natural trench, not one sunk for purposes of defence.

πάνυ qualifies ἐπιπέδφ.

πρὸς δρθίφ: cp. Grundy, 'Battle of Plataea,' p. 76: 'The Spartan camp stood probably on the north face of the Grey Slope Hill, and any one who has seen the ground will have little difficulty in understanding the unwillingness of the Theban commanders to attempt its assault.'

§ 15. χιλίους: so Plut. Ages. 28; according to Paus. ix. 13. 12 more than 1,000 Lacedaemonians, and only 47 Thebans: Diod. xv. 56, 4,000 Lacedaemonians and 300 Thebans. It is noticeable that Xenophon and Pausanias speak only of the Lacedaemonians themselves; indeed the latter states that of the allies not a single man fell.

ούδι άχθομένους: cp. Paus. ix. 13. 9 ώς δι ές χείρας συνήσσαν, ένταθθα οι σύμμαχοι των Λακεδαιμονίων, άτε αυτοίς και τον πρό του χρόνον ουκ άρεσκόμενοι, το έχθος μάλιστα έπεδείκνυντο, ούτε κατά χώραν μένειν εθέλοντες, ένδιδόντες δι όπη σφίσιν οι πολέμιοι προσφέροιντο.

τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους: cp. iii. 3. 11.

§ 16. γυμνοπαιδιών, celebrated about July: cp. Dict. Antiq. i. p. 931 a.

ἔνδον: cp. Plut. Ages. 29 ἐν τῷ θεάτρφ.

μή ποιεῖν κραυγήν. Contrast the reception of the tidings of Aegospotami at Athens, ii. 2. 3.

&ν μὲν . . . προσήκοντες: cp. iv. 5. 10. Plutarch (Ages. 29) enlarges on Xenophon's description.

Corres. According to Plutarch (Ages. 30) the law condemning the survivors of a defeat to drupla was on the proposal of Agesilaus suspended on this occasion—doubtless owing to the increasing δλιγανθρωπία: cp. Arist. Pol. ii. 6. 12.

§ 17. ταῖν...μόραιν. As there were six morae in all, Cleombrotus must have taken four with him into Phocis, as in 374 B.C.: cp. vi. I. I.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν, i.e. the four on foreign service were reinforced by the despatch of the more elderly men attached to them, who had previously remained at home: οὶ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης were the oldest liable for military service.

ἐπ' ἀρχαῖs, i. e. to fill the public offices.

§ 18. ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας: cp. v. 4. 58 and vi. 3. 19.

'Αρχίδαμον: Diodorus (xv. 54) says that he commanded the right wing at Leuctra—an obvious mistake, for which cp. § 6 note.

ol περί Στάσιππον: for their fate cp. vi. 5. 6-10.

έκ των κωμών . . . άριστοκρατούμενοι: cp. v. 2. 7.

διαβιβάζειν, i. e. across the Corinthian Gulf.

§ 19. ἐπὶ τῆ διαβάσει, i.e. for crossing the Spartan frontier: the more usual phrase is τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι: cp. iii. 4. 3.

τιμωρήσασθαι: constructed with accusative of person and genitive of thing, as in Anab. vii. 1. 25; 4. 23.

§ 20. ἐπὶ ξένια: cp. Aristid. Leuctr. i. 88 ώστε μήτε εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλέσαι μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν φιλάνθρωπον ἐνδείξασθαι; and Pollux, ix. 40 πρυτανεῖον καὶ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως, παρ' ἢ ἐσιτοῦντο οἱ κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβείαν ἤκοντες.

σύμμαχον δντα: cp. vi. I. IO.

§ 21. ἀκηρύκτφ πολέμφ, i. e. a war in which all negotiations are broken off; cp. Anab. iii. 3. 5.

διεπορεύθη, i. e. through Phocis.

§ 22. τοίς Λακεδαιμονίοις, i. e. in their camp at Leuctra.

drwθer, i. e. from the top of the hill on the slope of which the Lacedaemonian camp was pitched: cp. § 14 note.

dπέτρεπεν: for Diodorus' version of the part played by Jason cp. § 6 note.

§ 23. † ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν: if the MSS. reading be retained, it can only be translated with ἀναγκάζοιντο—' if they should be compelled to depart from this life.' It is better with Madvig and Keller to omit ἀκγενέσθαι as a dittograph of ἐγένεσθε just above, and to construe τοῦ ζῆν with ἀπονοηθέντας—' despairing of life.' Dindorf (2nd edition) brackets ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν: cp. Critical Note.

§ 24. ἐπιλαθίσθαι: if the reading be right, it can only mean 'if you wish to forget the past defeat' in the sense of redeeming it in such a way that forgetfulness might be possible. Keller accepts Madvig's conjecture ἐξιώσασθαι: Dindorf (2nd edition) conjectures ἀναμάχεσθαι, Liebhold ἐπανάγεσθαι, and Τucker ἐπαναθέσθαι: cp. Critical Note.

els μάχην lévaι = μάχεσθαι and therefore with the dative, like els χεῖραs lévaι in Cyrop. viii. 8. 6.

τοῦ πατρός: Jason's father is unknown: many have assumed without sufficient reason that it was Lycophron, the tyrant of Pherae mentioned in ii. 3. 4; neither is it known how Jason obtained the Spartan προξενία; indeed in vi. 1. 10 he is represented rather as hostile than as friendly to the Lacedaemonians.

§ 25. καὶ οὖτοι: there seems nothing in the context to explain the addition of καί: cp. Critical Note.

al σπονδαί: for Diodorus' account of Jason's negotiations for a truce, which, however, he puts before, not, as Xenophon, after the battle of Leuctra, cp. supr. § 6 note.

συνεσκευάσθαι, 'that all should be ready': for the perfect passive cp. vi. 2. 15 ἐκήρυξεν πεπρᾶσθαι.

πρίν καθεύδειν...τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος. Xenophon seems to mean that the polemarchs, suspicious of the Thebans, issued orders for a midnight march along the road through Plataea to Mount Cithaeron, and then instead of this hurried their men at nightfall without any sleep along a different road—that through Creusis and along the sea coast to Aegosthena—a road which Cleombrotus had taken in 378: cp. v. 4. 16.

§ 26. ola δή: used like ἄτε, as in v. 4. 39: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 862. χαλεπὴν δδον: in 378 the wind had blown much of Cleombrotus' baggage and many of his beasts of burden into the sea.

§ 27. Υαμπολιτών: in NE. Phocis.

τὸ Ἡρακλεωτών τείχος: cp. Diod. xv. 57 τὴν μέν Ἡράκλειαν τὴν

de Τραχιεία δια προδοσίας ελών ανάστατον ἐποίησεν, και την χώραν Olraious και Μηλιεύσιεν ἐδωρήσατο. The Heracleots had fought on the Spartan side at Leuctra; cp. § 9. The town, some two or three miles from the shore of the Maliac Gulf, commanded the only available road from Thessaly into Greece.

μη ... πορεύσουντο: for the future opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 131. δύναμω: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

el ποι...πορεύεσθαι: cp. vi. 1. 10 for Jason's ambitious projects.

§ 28. μέγας . . . μείζων . . . μέγιστος : cp. vi. 5. 47.

τῷ νόμῳ . . . ταγός : cp. vi. 1. 18 δμολογουμένως ταγός. μισθοφόρους πολλούς : cp. vi. 1. 5.

ώς δν . . . «δν: for this peculiar use of ώς δν with opt. instead of δκως cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, 'of the men of his time.'

§§ 28-37 are a digression on Thessalian affairs between 371.and 358 B.C., which shows that it did not fall within Xenophon's purpose to tell of the Theban invasions of Thessaly, once (vii. 1. 28) casually alluded to as a well known fact.

370-369 B.C.

§ 29. Ilvôior: celebrated about August every third Olympic year, this year being 370.

is els: cp. iii. 4. 11.

έφασαν: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

ἐπαγγελλομέτφ, sc. τῷ Ἰάσον: but see Critical Note; with Schneider's ἐπαγγελλομέτων βοῶν must be supplied.

βοῦν ἡγεμόνα: to head the procession: cp. a Delphic inscription (CIG. i. 1688) τοῦ βοὸς τιμὰ τοῦ ῆρωος ἐκατὸν στατῆρες Αλγιναῖοι.

§ 30. παρήγγειλε δὲ... παρασκευάζεσθαι. Construe παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ Θετταλοῖε παρασκευάζεσθαι els τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθεα χρόνον ἐν στρατευσομένοιs. As the next sentence shows, it was doubtful, whether Jason made this military display merely, as was said, to enhance his own magnificence at the Pythian games, or whether he really had some warlike intentions: cp. vi. I. 10, and Diod. xv. 60 ἔπεισε τοὺν Θετταλοὺν ἀντιποιείσθαι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαs.

airòs biaribirai. Jason would naturally be the representative of the Thessalians, one of the twelve Amphictyonic tribes, even if he did not arrogate to himself all their functions.

τῶν lepῶν χρημάτων: the treasure in Delphi.

αὐτῷ μέλησει: for a similar answer cp. Her. viii. 36.

- § 31. ind reariaκων έπτά. So too Diodorus (xv. 60) on the authority of Ephorus, giving as their motive δόξης ἔρεκα, though he mentions a different story that Jason's own brother and successor, Polydorus, was the murderer. Valerius Maximus (ix. 10. 2) relates that the motive was revenge for a punishment imposed on the youths by Jason for beating their gymnasium master.
- § 32. δποι . . . τῶν . . . πόλεων: the genitive is dependent on δποι = els δστινας πόλεις.

ἀτιμῶντο, i.e. as tyrannicides: this shows the extent of the fears which the Greeks felt for ason's ambitious schemes.

- § 33. Πολύφρων: Diodorus (xv. 61) knows nothing of Polyphron, but says that Polydorus was murdered by his brother Alexander. Plutarch (Pel. 29) agrees with Xenophon.
 - § 34. *«mauтó»*: apparently 369.

τὸν Πολυδάμαντα: cp. vi. 1. 2, 8, 18.

§ 35. 'Αλεξάνδρου. It appears from Plutarch (l. c.) that Alexander was the son of Polydorus and nephew of Polyphron.

Θετταλοίs: Plutarch (Pel. 26) gives some details.

Θηβαίοις: for the history of Thessaly from the first interference of the Thebans in Thessalian affairs in support of Larisa (c. 369) till the Peace of 364 B.C. cp. Diod. xv. 67, 80; Plut. Pel. 26, 35; vii. 1. 28 note.

'Aθηναίοις: after the peace of 364 (cp. Diod. xv. 95; Polyaen. vi. 2. 2), when he became the ally of Thebes.

ληστής: cp. Diod. l.c.; Dem. xxiii. 120; li. 8.

858 B.C.

dποθνήσκει: Diodorus (xvi. 14) puts his death in the year 357: but according to xv. 61 Alexander reigned eleven years, and it appears from Xenophon that he came to the throne in 369, so that his death would fall in the year 358. This is the last event alluded to by Xenophon: cp. Introd. p. xiv.

τη̂ς γυναικός. Thebe by name, a daughter of Jason: Plut. Pel. 28; Diod. xvi. 14.

§ 36. τοῦς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοῖς: Plutarch (Pel. 35) gives the same story with some variation of detail.

 δ μὲν λύχνος ἐκάετο: parenthetical, instead of a subordinate sentence ἐν ϕ δ λύχνος κ.τ.λ.

είχετο τοῦ βόπτρου: to prevent any one coming in to his assistance.

ή ἔχθρα λέγεται... ὑπὸ... τινων ὡς... ἀπέσφαξεν: rather a loose construction.

§ 37. τὰ ἐαυτοῦ παιδικά: said by Plutarch (Pel. 28) to have been the youngest brother of Thebe.

οί δέ τινες, SC. λέγουσι.

őτι repeats ώς: so vi. 5. 13.

ύπο της γυναικός: joined with the verbal substantive ἐπιβουλης, as if with a passive verb.

άχρι οδ: cp. § 35 note and Introd. p. xiv; Goodwin, M. T. 619.

CHAPTER V

\$\$ 1-3. After Archidamus had disbanded his forces, the Athenians held a congress at which all the states present, with the exception of Elis, swore anew to the King's Peace. \$ 4, 5. The Mantineans seized the opportunity to rebuild their city, much to the chagrin of the Spartans. Tegea the party of Callibius and Proxenus were in favour of a Pan-Arcedian league, the party of Stasippus against it. In the first encounter Stasippus slew Proxenus and a few others. Then, the Mantineans coming to the support of Callibius, Stasippus and his party took refuge in the temple of Artemis, whence they were driven out and put to death. §§ 10-14. 800 survivors fled to Sparta. The Lacedaemonians sent out Agesilaus against the Mantineans, who waited in Eutaea for Polytropus' mercenaries, whilst the other Arcadians, except the Orchomenians, were collecting against him at Asea. The Mantineans were repulsed in an attack upon Orchomenus, but \$\$ 15-22. Thereupon Agesilaus marched in their retreat slew Polytropus. into the territory of Mantinea: he was unable to prevent the junction of the other Arcadians with the Mantineans, but was himself reinforced by some Orchomenian peltasts and Phliasian horse. For several days Agesilaus offered battle, but the Mantineans refused to engage, in obedience to the advice of the Eleans to wait the arrival of the Thebans. Agesilaus marched hastily homewards. The Arcadians then ravaged the territory of the Heraeans. \$\$ 23-25. When the Thebans arrived at Mantinea, they found no enemy to meet them, and prepared to return. They were however overpersuaded to attempt an invasion of Laconia, especially on hearing, that the perioeci were

\$\$ 26-29. Accordingly the Thebans entered Laconia through libely to revolt. Caryae, the Arcadians through Oeum, the latter overpowering the garrison at Oeum. After sacking Sellasia the two united armies encamped in the precinct of Apollo, but did not dare to cross the bridge into Sparta. In alarm the Spartans enrolled 6,000 helots on promise of liberty: reinforcements too arrived from various allies. \$\$ 30-32. The invaders crossed the Eurotas at Amyclae, whence for three or four days they threatened the city. Finally, however, they marched southwards, burning the unwalled cities, and for three days they assaulted Gythium, aided by some of the perioeci. The Athenian Assembly now met to consider what should be their attitude towards Sparta. Certain Lacedaemonians reminded the people of past occasions, when Athens and Sparta had helped each other. \$\$ 37-48. The assembly being divided, Cliteles of Corinth called upon the Athenians to help punish the aggressions of the Thebans upon Corinthian territory. Finally Procles of Phlius entreated the Athenians to prevent a Theban domination and to come to the rescue of Sparta, who had deserved so well of Greace. §§ 49, 50. The Athenians voted to aid Sparta, and appointed Iphicrates general, who led his forces as far as Corinth. Meanwhile the Arcadians and other allies in the invading army were melting away and provisions had become scarce, so that the Thebans were anxious to retire. §§ 51, 52. Xenophon here severely censures Iphicrates' generalship, because, when he might have embarrassed their passage across the isthmus, he let the Thebans pass as they pleased.

871-870 B.C.

§ 1. ἐπάνειμι, i. e. to vi. 4. 26.

deθυμηθέντες . . . διέθεσαν, i.e. the Peloponnesians, in the opinion of the Athenians, by sending contingents to Archidamus' army, had shown that they still considered themselves bound to obey the summons of Sparta as Hegemon, notwithstanding the provisions of the Peace of 371, which guaranteed complete autonomy to each single state: cp. vi. 3. 18; 4. 10. Διέθεσαν probably also refers to the fact that while Athens and her allies had sworn to the peace separately, Sparta had sworn as the representative of the whole Peloponnesian Confederacy, vi. 3. 19.

μεταπέμπονται, i. e. invited deputies to a congress at Athens.

τῆς εἰρήνης: the Peace of Antalcidas, 387-386; which had practically been renewed by the Peace of 371: cp. v. 1. 30; vi. 3. 18.

§ 2. 'Αθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. Büchsenschütz thinks that by τῶν συμμάχων only the allies of Athens are meant, but it seems more in harmony with the context to interpret it (with Breitenbach)

to include all who agreed to take the oath, which made them ipso facto σύμμαχοι. The ψηφίσματα referred to are unknown.

can be res... obine: this was a most important addition to the oath of 371; but, as a matter of fact, it was never put into practice.

ol... δλλοι πάρτες cannot include the Thebans, who were excluded from the former Peace, nor yet, it would seem, the Spartans; for it is difficult to suppose that they would have consented to an arrangement so obviously meant to work against them: moreover the two passages in this chapter §§ 10, 36, which some commentators have thought to imply their adhesion, may better be interpreted of the Peace of 371.

'Hλείο: they had in 397 been obliged by Sparta to recognize the independence of these towns, and must now, since Leuctra, have seized the opportunity of regaining their supremacy over them: cp. iii. 2. 30.

§ 3. of Marrivets. The defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra seems to have been the signal in the Peloponnesus for a general rising of the democrats against the oligarchs, who had previously been supported by the Lacedaemonians. Such risings took place, besides in Mantinea and Tegea—the only two mentioned by Xenophon—in Argos, Phigalia, Corinth, Megara, and Phlius: cp. Diod. xv. 40, 58; Stern, p. 155, note 2; Introd. p. xxxii.

συνήλθον... πάντες, i.e. not only the inhabitants of the five villages into which Sparta had in 385 divided the city of Mantinea, but the democratic exiles as well: cp. v. 2. 6, 7.

§ 4. πατρικός φίλος: cp. v. 2. 3 and note.

εσοιτο: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

370-369 B.C.

§ 6. rŵr & Teyearŵr. Xenophon perhaps relates the disturbances in Tegea in detail, because it led to the appearance of the first Theban army in Peloponnesus.

ol περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενον. Callibius is not mentioned by any other authority: Proxenus appears in Pausanias as one of the Tegeate founders of Megalopolis.

ἐνῆγον, sc. τοὺς 'Αρκάδας. Xenophon omits altogethat this effort towards union resulted in the foundation

polis by the concentration in one city of some forty Arcadian villages. The new city, 50 stadia in circumference, was built in the SW. of Arcadia to serve as a fortress against Sparta: the date of the building is variously given between 371 and 368 B.C., though probably 371-370 is the right date. Within its walls were to assemble the Ten Thousand (πῶν τὸ ᾿Αρκαδικόν, τὸ κοινόν)—including apparently all Arcadian citizens who chose to attend the meetings: and a kind of standing army of 5,000 was collected, known as ἐπάριτοι cp. vii. 4. 22, 34: but the Μεγαλοπολίται, mentioned in vii. 5. 5, are evidently the ordinary inhabitants of the new city: cp. Diod. xv. 59 Λυκομήδης ὁ Τεγεάτης [a mistake for ὁ Μαντινεὺς] ἔπεισε τοὺς ᾿Αρκάδας εἰς μίαν συντέλειαν ταχθῆναι καὶ κοινήν ἔχειν σύνοδον συνεστῶσαν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν μυρίων, καὶ τούτους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλεύεσθαι: also cp. 72; Paus. viii. 27. 1-8; Plut. Pel. 24; Arist. frag. 91.

νικώη, 'was carried': so vii. 1. 28.

κύριον εἶναι: the infinitive is dependent on the notion of 'proposing,' implied in ἐνῆγον ἐπὶ τό.

ol . . . περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον: cp. vi. 4. 18.

- έᾶν... κατὰ χώραν: hence it appears that Callibius, Proxenus, and their democrats proposed that the Tegeates too should migrate to Megalopolis.
- § 7. $\theta \epsilon a \rho o i s$. Doric form of $\theta \epsilon \omega \rho o i s$: 'in the meeting of the Theori': magistrates with this title appear also in Mantinea (Thuc. v. 47) and among the Locrians (CIG. 1756); their functions are unknown.

ἐκφέρονται: cp. iii. 2. 28.

- § 8. καὶ τὰς πύλας, i.e. the gates in the northern wall, looking towards Mantinea.
- § 9. τος έπι το Παλλάρτιον κ.τ.λ. Pallantium was a town to the west of Tegea: cp. Paus. viii. 43. I.
- την άρμάμαξαν, i.e. the wagon brought for that purpose (cp. iii. 3. 9): this would imply that the number of refugees was small. Diodorus (xv. 59) speaks of 1,400 fleeing, some to Sparta, others to Pallantium, and of the latter being delivered up to their pursuers and massacred.
- § 10. κατά τοὺς δρκους . . . παρὰ τοὺς δρκους, i. e. the oath to the Peace of 371 : cp. vi. 3. 18.

ώς . . . έληλυθότων αὐτῶν: genitive absolute with ώς, instead of accusative in agreement with Marrurías: cp. iii. 5. 8.

'Αγησίλαον . . . ήγεῖσθαι: cp. § 4.

§ 11. 'Aσίαν: a village in the south of Arcadia: cp. Strabo, viii. p. 343.

'Ορχομενίων: cp. Diod. xv. 62 'Ορχομενόν του 'Αρκαδικου ... την πόλιν ταύτην ολκείως διακειμένην προς τους Σπαρτιάτας. The town was formerly (394 B.C.) garrisoned by a Spartan mora: iv. 3. 15; 5. 18.

ξενικόν ... Πολύτροπος. Diodorus (xv. 62) is obviously mistaken in representing him as the commander of 1,000 Lacedae-monian hoplites. At such a crisis Sparta could not have spared so many of her citizen troops.

τούτων, i. e. the Orchomenians and their mercenaries.

Ήραεις: cp. iii. 2. 30.

Λεπρεάται: cp. iii. 2. 25.

§ 12. τὰ διαβατήρια: cp. iii. 4. 3.

Ebraian: one of the Maenalian towns, which had joined the new Arcadian league: Paus. viii. 27. 3.

els τὸ ᾿Αρκαδικόν, i. e. to Asea.

έλάμβανον, i. e. Agesilaus and his army.

§ 13. of Marrives. According to Diod. xv. 62 the Arcadian general, Lycomedes of Mantinea, marched against Orchomenus with 5,000 men and slew Polytropus and 200 of his Lacedaemonians (cp. § 11 note): notwithstanding this success the Arcadians did not venture on war with Sparta, but looked about for allies: cp. § 19 note.

'Ελυμία: evidently between Mantinea and Orchomenus, but never mentioned elsewhere.

ώς . . . δτι: for the same pleonasm cp. vi. 4. 37.

§ 14. των Μαντινέων: genitive dependent on els τὸ ὅπισθεν: cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 36 els τὸ ὅπισθεν περιελάσειεν αὐτων.

§ 15. οὖτω: cp. iii. 2. 9.

τοῖε πρὸε ἐσπέρα» δρεσι, known as the Maenalian mountains: cp. vii. 5. 21.

§ 16. τῆ ὑστεραία: the third day.

«χόμενοι τῶν ... ὀρῶν, 'skirting the mountains,' i.e. on the east, so as to keep their right flank covered from attack.

καὶ γάρ: gives the reason why the Arcadians were so anxious to increase their numbers by a junction with the Mantineans; and why too Agesilaus was advised to attack them before such a junction.

κατά κέρας: in the flank.

§ 17. ol δ'... πελτασταί: these must be the remnants of Polytropus' mercenaries, § 14.

πρὸς τὰ δπλα, i. e. to the camp: cp. ii. 4. 6.

σύνεγγυε, to be taken with δρη ἔχοντα: lit. 'having mountains very close and all round'; for σύνεγγυε, a word only used by Xenophon in this passage, cp. Thuc. iv. 24.

§ 18. τῆ δ' ὑστεραία: the fourth day.

έαυτῶν, i. e. the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 8. 24.

el μέν οθν αθτός άφηγοίτο. Xenophon seems to mean that Agesilaus found his army formed in column cooped up in a narrow valley, running north and south, at the entrance of which he stood himself, while his rear was at the end of it. Then he observed the enemy passing him on the east slope of the valley and collecting in order to attack his rear. Accordingly he turned the front or southern half of his army from column into line (τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων) so as to face the enemy passing him on the east, while at the same time he ordered his rear to turn to the right draστρέψαντας . . . els δόρυ, march a few paces to the west, then turn into column again to the left, and march on towards the entrance of the valley δπισθεν της φάλαγγος, on the right of which he himself was standing. Thus, if the rear, as soon as it marched up in column level with Agesilaus himself on the right (ἡγείσθαι πρός αὐτόν), turned into line again to the left, εδεδίπλωτο ή φάλαγξ. Then he ordered his double phalanx once more to turn into column and ούτως έχοντι τῷ όπλιτικῷ advanced into the plain, where he once more turned his column into line of the usual depth (in έννέα ή δέκα): cp. Anab. iv. 3. 29.

§ 19. ἐπ' ἐννέα . . . ἀσπίδων, ' nine or ten men deep ': cp. ii. 4. t1; vi. 4. 12.

οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

of 'Ηλείοι ... of Θηβαίοι. According to Diod. xv. 62 (cp. § 13 note) the Arcadians first sent ambassadors to Athens to ask for assistance against the aggressions of Sparta, who, meeting with

a refusal, at once went on to Thebes, and persuaded the Thebans συμμαχίαν συνθέσθαι κατά των Λακεδαιμονίων. Diodorus' version agrees with the facts presented by Xenophon, except in the time of the embassy: if this be put a few weeks earlier, a consistent story can then be made out. The Arcadians, fearing attacks from Sparta, we must suppose, looked around for allies. Naturally they appealed first to their nearest neighbours known to be hostile to Sparta, Elis and Argos, and then to Athens, who had just taken upon herself the championship of the King's Peace against all aggressors (cp. Dem. xvi. 12). Athens refusing all assistance, Thebes was next appealed to. The Thebans, having overcome the last vestiges of resistance to their supremacy in Boeotia by expelling the Thespians from Ceressus (vi. 3. 1; 4. 9, 10 note; Paus. ix. 14. 4), and by admitting the Orchomenians as allies (Diod. xv. 57), and being freed by the death of Jason from all fear of a Thessalian invasion, readily listened to the Arcadian appeal, and despatched an army under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, supported by Phocian and Locrian contingents, into Peloponnesus: cp. Xen. Ages. 2. 23 έπεὶ δ' αὐ τῆς εν Λεύκτροις συμφοράς γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τούς έν Τεγέα φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεύσι, συνεστηκίτων ήδη Βοιωτών τε πάντων και 'Αρκάδων και 'Ηλείων, στρατεύει (i. e. Agesilaus) κ.τ.λ.

§ 21. τὰ πυρὰ ... ιδεῖν: the subject to ιδεῖν must be Agesilaus and his army; it appears that the Arcadians and their allies must have followed the Lacedaemonians southwards.

ἀντιληφέναι: cp. Plut. Ages. 30 έλων δὲ πολίχνην τινὰ (i.e. Eutaea) τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμών ἐλαφροτέραν ἐποίησε ταις ἐλπίσι καὶ ἡδίω τὴν πόλιν ὡς οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνωσμένην.

dπέλυσεν: the mercenaries from Orchomenus however remained in Sparta, cp. § 29.

§ 22. Ἡραιᾶς . . . Λακεδαιμονίων: cp. § 11.

§ 23. δμοῦ ἐγένοντο. Plutarch (Ages, 31) estimates the Theban army at 40,000 hoplites, and Diodorus (xv. 62) puts the combined forces at more than 70,000 men.

έγυμνάζοντο: cp. Diod. xv. 50 έν τε γάρ τοις γυμνασίοις συνεχώς διατρίβοντες εθρωστοι τοις σώμασιν υπήρχον και φύσει φιλοπόλεμοι καθεστώτες, ούδενὸς έθνους Έλληνικοῦ ταις ἀνδρείαις έλείποντο.

Φωκείς ὑπήκοοι: cp. Diod. xv. 57 Φωκείς καὶ Λίτωλούς καὶ Λοκρούς

φίλους ποιησόμενοι. Later in 362 the Phocians refused to follow the Thebans into Peloponnesus on the ground that their alliance was only defensive: cp. vii. 5. 4.

Ebβoeis: their names appear among the members of the New Athenian Confederacy in 377, CIA. ii. 17: they must have become allies of the Thebans after Leuctra.

'Aκαρνῶνες ... 'Ηρακλεῶνται ... Μηλιείs. The Heracleots fought on the side of Sparta at Leuctra vi. 4. 9. Nothing is known of the manner in which these peoples were induced to join the Theban alliance: cp. Hicks, Inscr. 83; ClA. ii. 49.

συνιδόμενοι, cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361: the subject is of 'Αρκάδες.

την ... ἐρημίαν: cp. Diod. xv. 63 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότες τῶν νέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Λεῦκτρα συμφορῷ, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἤτταις ἀπολωλεκότες, καὶ τὸ σύνολον εἰς ὀλίγους πολιτικοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης συγκεκλεισμένοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν συμμάχων τῶν μὲν ἀφεστηκότων, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ὁμοίας αἰτίας ὀλιγανδρούντων, εἰς πολλην ἀμηχανίαν ἔπιπτον.

πρίν ἐμβαλεῖν: for the infin. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 629.

§ 24. $\Theta\eta\beta aio$. Xenophon's view that the Thebans entered the Peloponnesus without any previous intention of invading Sparta is confirmed by Plutarch's story (Pel. 24) that they anticipated being in the country so short a time that they had made no provision for prolonging the tenure of the Boeotarchs' command, which terminated about the time of the winter solstice. Epaminondas and Pelopidas, however, Plutarch goes on to say, persuaded their colleagues (or colleague: Corn. Nep. Ep. 2) to disregard this law, the penalty for which was death, and accordingly on their return to Thebes four months after the appointed time they were both accused by their political enemies on the capital charge and were only acquitted with some difficulty.

δυσεμβολωτάτη: cp. Diod. xv. 63 όρωντες την των Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν δυσείσβολον οὖσαν; Eurip. ap. Strab. viii. 366 κοίλη γὰρ ὅρεσι περίδρομος τραχεῖά τε δυσείσβολός τε πολεμίοις.

Zupirudos: cp. v. 2. 24: the village of Oeum has not been identified.

reodaµédeis: cp. iii. I. 4.

Αεύκτρφ, on the frontier near Megalopolis: Plut. Pel. 20;

Paus. iii. 26. 4; 21. 7. Maleâres must be the district of Malaia in S. Arcadia mentioned by Paus. viii. 27. 4.

ώς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἄν ... μάχεσθαι ἄν: the participial construction after ελογίζοντο is in the second clause changed for the accusative and infinitive: τοῦτο introduces the object which is explained in these two clauses: cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 39 οὐ τοῦτο αἰτιώμενοι αὐτοὺς κατακτείνουσιν, ὡς ἀφρονεστέρας ποιοῦντας τὰς γυναῖκας.

§ 25. ἦκον . . . λέγοντες : without τωές, as iii. I. 19.

Kaρνω»: apparently east of the Sciritis on the road between Sparta and Thyrea: cp. Thuc. v. 55; Paus. iii. 10. 7.

τῶν περιοίκων: for the disaffection of the Perioeci and Helots cp. § 32 and vii. 2. 2; 4. 21.

καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι, i.e. summoned to resist the threatened invasion.

aὐτοὶ μὲν... oἱ δὲ ᾿Αρκάδες. Diodorus (xv. 64) makes the allies enter Laconia in four divisions, the Boeotians by the straight road to Sellasia; the Argives along the mountains of Tegea (i.e. more to the east), where they fell in with a Spartan post under Alexander, whom they defeated and slew; the Arcadians across the Sciritis, where they fell in with Ischolaus; and the Eleans by other more open roads: all four divisions united at Sellasia. Xenophon in this passage speaks of the march of the Thebans and Arcadians only, but later on (§§ 30, 50) he speaks of Eleans and Argives in Laconia, so that there is no real inconsistency between him and Diodorus.

§ 26. τὰ δύσβατα: to the north of Oeum.

dποθνήσκει. Diodorus (xv. 64) compares Ischolaus' defence to Leonidas' defence of Thermopylae, and has accordingly dressed up his narrative with rhetorical details: for Ischolaus cp. Polyaen. ii. 22.

§ 27. Σελλασίαν : cp. ii. 2. 13.

ểν τῷ πεδίφ: on the left bank of the Eurotas, opposite Sparta: this temple of Apollo is mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 14. 6).

της γεφύρας: over the Eurotas.

τῆς 'Αλέας: a title of Athena: on the road from Sparta to Therapne; cp. Paus. iii. 19. 7.

§ 28. οὐθὲ τὸν καπνόν. Agesilaus was wont to say (Plut. Ages. 31) ὅτι γυνὴ Λάκαινα καπνὸν οὐχ ἐώρακε πολέμιον: cp. Theopomp. fr. 292. διαταχθείε: for the singular cp. Anab. vii. 3. 47 of laweis οξχονταί μοι δίλλος δίλη διώκων.

ἐφύλαττον. According to Plutarch (Ages. 32) the defence of Sparta was organized by Agesilaus. He not only defended the city against the enemy, but found means to check the disaffection that threatened to spread among the Spartiates themselves, nipping two dangerous conspiracies in the bud: cp. esp. ch. 33 τοῦ δὲ σωθῆναι τὴν Σπάρτην τότε πάντες αἴτιον ὁμολογοῦσι γενέσθαι τὸν ᾿Αγησίλαον, ὅτι τῶν ἐμφύτων αὐτῷ παθῶν, φιλονεικίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀποστὰς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀσφαλῶς: cp. § 23 note, and the conspiracy of Cinadon iii. 3. 5 ff.; Corn. Nep. Ages. 6. 2, 3; Polyaen. ii. 1. 4; Valer. Max. vii. 2.

ώς . . . ἐσομένους : accusative absolute : cp. ii. 3. 19 δοπερ τον ἀριθμον τοῦτον ἔχοντα τινὰ ἀνάγκην : this extreme measure was necessitated by the defection of the Perioeci : cp. § 25 note, and Plut. Ages. 32 πολλοὶ τῶν τεταγμένων εἰς τὰ ὅπλα περιοίκων καὶ εἰλώτων ἀπεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τοὶς πολεμίους.

§ 29. ἐξακισχιλίους. Diodorus (xv. 65) must be mistaken in putting the number at 1,000 only and in making their enrolment take place after Epaminondas' retirement from Laconia into Arcadia. In any case it is impossible to reconcile this enrolment of Helots with Xenophon's general statement in vii. 2. 2 ἀποστάρτων πάντων τῶν εἰλώτων, when he is commenting on the desperate position of Sparta after Leuctra.

ol . . . μισθοφόροι : cp. § 21 note.

άλλαι . . . πολεων: enumerated vii. 2. 2.

§ 30. 'Αμύκλας: some three miles south of Sparta.

ταύτη διέβαινον: cp. Plut. Ages. 32 ἐρρύη δὲ πλείστος ἐαυτοῦ καὶ μέγεστος τότε ὁ Εὐρώτας, χιόνων γενομένων, καὶ τὸ ῥεῖμα μᾶλλον ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος ἡ τραχύτητος ἐγένετο σκληρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν τοῖς Θηβαίως. Diodorus (xv. 65) represents Epaminondas as descending the slopes of Mount Taygetus (!) to the Eurotas and there suffering a severe reverse from Agesilaus. It is, however, difficult to believe that the philo-Laconian Xenophon would have passed over a Spartan victory in silence.

τούτων τε... καταλείποντες δέ: for τε... δέ cp. i. 1. 34; iv. 5.15.

Γαιαόχου: this temple of Poseidon, mentioned by Pausanias

(iii. 20. 2) was between Therapne and Amyclae. Pausanias (iii. 14. 6) also mentions a hippodrome in this neighbourhood.

§ 31. φαινόμενοι: opposed to ένέδραν ποιήσαντες.

iriδραr: ascribed to Agesilaus and described at length by Polyaen. ii. 1. 27.

ποιήσαντες: the subject must be of Λακεδαιμόνιοι in general, who are then divided into parts οδτοι μέν . . . ol δ' lππεῖς: cp. iv. 4. 1.

ἐν τῆ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, sc. oἰκίᾳ: in Amyclae; cp. Paus. iii. 16. 2. § 32. τὸ μὲν μὴ... θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι, lit. 'that the Thebans would no more advance against the city now seemed to be a matter for greater confidence': i.e. the Lacedaemonians now saw less reason to fear any further attempt upon their city.

"Ελος καὶ Γύθειον: the former at the mouth of the Eurotas, the latter on the west side of the bay.

προσέβαλλον: the tense seems to imply that the attempt was unsuccessful.

περιοίκων: cp. §§ 25, 28 notes.

§ 33. of 'Αθηναίοι: cp. §§ 2, 19 and notes. The Athenians now found themselves obliged to give up their policy of peace at any price: it was obviously not their interest to see the Spartans humbled too far and to allow the Thebans to assume in their place the headship of a larger and stronger Land Confederacy than the Spartan Confederacy had ever been.

πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων. Xenophon, perhaps out of partiality for the Spartans, represents the initiative as coming from the Athenians: but it is hard to see, what could have been the mission of these Lacedaemonian envoys, except a request for assistance: cp. Callisth. fr. ap. Eustrat. p. 54 b.

ύπολοίπων...αὐτοῖς: for a list of the allies remaining faithful to Sparta cp. § 29 and vii. 2. 2. For the order of the words cp. iii. 5. 3.

öθεν δή, i. e. in consequence of the perplexity of the Athenians. "Αρακος: if this conjecture be right, perhaps the same as the admiral mentioned ii. 1. 7, iii. 2. 6: cp. Critical Note.

*Ωκυλλος: mentioned together with Etymocles iii. 2. 12.

Φάραξ: perhaps the same as the admiral mentioned v. 4. 22.

ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς: cp. Arist. Nic. Eth. iv. 3. 25 οὐδ' οἱ Λάκωνες [τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἔλεγον] πρὸς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους, ἀλλ' & πεπόνθεσαν εὐ.

rovs rupdarous. King Cleomenes expelled the Pisistratidae in 511: Her. v. 64.

ύπὸ Μεσσηνίων. The Spartans were hard pressed by a Helot revolt, c. 464-462: cp. Thuc. i. 102; Plut. Cim. 16.

§ 34. τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, i. e. the φόρος assessed in 478 B.C. by Aristides for the Delian Confederates: cp. Thuc. i. 96; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 23. 5.

τών Λακεδαιμονίων ... συμβουλομένων: cp. Thuc. i. 95 τους 'Αθηναίους νομίζοντες Ικανούς εξηγείσθαι και σφίσιν εν τῷ τότε παρόντι επιτηθείους. The author of the 'Αθ. πολ. 23. 2, and Isocrates (xii. 52) give the opposite version—ἀκόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

§ 35. δεκατευθήναι: cp. the same expression vi. 3. 20.

eπεκείντο: similarly used v. 2. 1.

ήμῶν: a sudden transition from indirect to direct narration.

αὐτούς, i. e. the Athenians.

dναστάτους: for the facts cp. ii. 2. 19; vi. 3. 13.

toφίσιν: cp. Critical Note: σφίσιν for αὐτοῖς may perhaps be paralleled in i. 7. 5, though there the usage is not quite so harsh.

§ 36. πλεῖστος . . . λόγος, i.e. the Lacedaemonians urged most especially.

κατὰ τοὺς δρκους... παρὰ τοὺς δρκους must be referred, not to the renewal of the King's Peace, made at Athens (§ 2), but to the Peace of 371 (vi. 3. 18): cp. § 10 note.

σφῶν, i.e. the Lacedaemonians.

έπιστρατεύοιεν: this use of the optative in oblique narration may be paralleled by iii. 2. 23 ἐπιληίδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις: Goodwin, M. T. 675. For the facts alluded to cp. § 10 ff.

τοις Λακεδαιμονίοις: instead of σφίσιν for the sake of clearness. τοις περί Πρόξενον: cp. § 6 ff.

§ 37. διοριζομίτων: apparently means 'while these distinctions as to the justice or injustice of the Mantineans' action were being drawn by the assembly.'

παρὰ τοὺς δρκους: as appears indeed from the context, the Corinthian speaker is thinking of the Athenian renewal of the King's Peace, cp. § 2.

ταῦτα... δρκων: the construction is harsh, 'and that too against those very oaths which you yourselves, &c.'

ώς ... είρηκότος: for the participial construction with ώς cp.ii.4. I.

ορθώς τε και δίκαια: for a similar combination of adverb and adjective, cp. ii. 3. 17; vii. 1. 9.

§ 38. II postins: he was the great friend of King Agesilaus (v. 3. 13), and a few months later advocated in a speech, which Xenophon reports at length (vii. 1. 2-11), this same policy, maintaining that the only security for Greece was for Sparta to hold the Hegemony by land and Athens by sea.

ἄρξαι . . . 'Ελλήνων: cp. Pelopidas' answer to Artaxerxes at Susa two years later, vii. 1. 36.

§ 39. ὁπότε... εἶχετε: the comparison would have been more exactly expressed, had Xenophon written ħ τὸ πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους (i.e. the Lacedaemonians) ἔχειν.

§ 40. el δε . . . φοβούνται: an answer to § 35 επέκειντο ήμεν.

τῶν προπεπονημίνων: a kind of genitive of content: 'in order that they may have a succour in what their past labours have obtained for them.'

§ 42. ώς ... γενήσεσθαι: for ώς with infinitive instead of ὅτι with a finite verb cp. iii. 4. 27. But see Critical Note.

§ 43. ὑπὸ βαρβάρων: for ὑπό cp. Dem. xlix. 50 οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος ὑπ' ᾿Αθηναίων ἢν.

έν Θερμοπύλαις: cp. Her. vii. 223.

ἐπεισφρέσθαι: cp. Critical Note. A word used elsewhere in this sense of 'introducing' only by Euripides and by him only in the active voice.

πῶς οὖν οὐ ... παρέχεσθαι : Construe : πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον (ἐστὶ) καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτούς, ὧν τε ἔνεκα (i. c. τούτων τε ἔνεκα ὅτι) ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ὧν (SC. ἔνεκα) ἐλπὶς (ἐστὶ) καὶ αὐθις γενέσθαι (αὐτοὺς ἄνδρος ἀγαθούς);

§ 44. παρόντων . . . αὐτοῖς: the dative is dependent on παρόντων: for the order of the words cp. § 33.

§ 45. ἀκούων... ὅκι... ∦κουον. The dependent clause repeats the participle, which is placed first to emphasize the contrast with παρῶν ὁρῶ.

ἐπικουρίαs: for the sentiment cp. Isocrates, iv. 52 [οl ᾿Αθηναῖοι] άπαντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν κοινὴν τὴν πόλιν παρέχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἀεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαμύνουσαν.

§ 46. $\Theta\eta\beta alovs$: for the Theban party at Athens, on whom these envoys must have placed their hopes, cp. v. 4. 34.

rore: cp. ii. 2. 19 for the fact.

καλὸν λέγεται, 'of your ancestors a noble deed is told': ὅτε
... γενέσθαι is the subject to λέγεται; for ὅτε cp. vi. 4. 5.

in τŷ Καδμεία. The story, also told by Isocrates (iv. 55), was that after the defeat of the Seven against Thebes, the Thebans refused to allow Adrastus the Argive king to bury his dead: thereon he applied to Athens for help, and the Athenians sent an army which compelled the Thebans to permit the burial.

§ 47. σχόντες, 'checking.'

διεσώσατε. The Heraclidae, according to the legend, driven from the Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, sought refuge at Athens. The Athenians assisted them, defeated Eurystheus, and restored them to the Peloponnesus: cp. Her. ix. 27; Diod. iv. 57. It is a curious coincidence, almost too remarkable to be merely accidental, that Isocrates (iv. 54-60) in supporting the same thesis tells these two same legendary stories to the credit of the Athenians. Isocrates wrote this Oration about 380, so that it may very well have been known to Xenophon.

τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας: cp. vi. 3. 6 and note.

ψήφφ ἀκινδύνφ: in 404 the Spartans were strong enough to have nothing to fear from any opposition on the part of their allies.

- § 48. δπότε . . . ἀγαλλόμεθα: Hertlein strikes out oi before συναγορεύοντες: then the meaning will be 'seeing that we too pride ourselves on advocating aid, &c.' δπότε is causal: cp. Cyr. viii. 3. 7; Critical Note.
- § 49. των μεν αντιλεγύντων: cp. ps.-Dem. lix. 27 στε γαρ Λακεδαιμονίους ύμεις εσώζετε πεισθέντες ύπο Καλλιστράτου, τότε αντειπών [ό Χενοκλείδης] εν τῷ δήμφ τῷ βοηθεία, ἐωνημένος τὴν πεντηκοστὴν τοῦ σίτου ἐν εἰρήνη, καὶ δέον αὐτὸν καταβάλλειν τὰς καταβολὰς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατὰ πρυτανείαν, καὶ οῦσης αὐτῷ ἀτελείας ἐκ τῶν νόμων, οὐκ ἐξελθῶν ἐκείνην τὴν στρατείαν, γραφείς ὑπὸ Στεφάνου τούτου ἀστρατείας καὶ διαβληθείς τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ῆλω καὶ ἢτιμώθη: for Callistratus cp. vi. 2. 39; 3. 1-17.

έψηφίσαντο: cp. Diod. xv. 63 δ γὰρ τῶν 'Αθηναίων δῆμος, μεγαλόψυχος ὧν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, τὴν μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων Ισχὺν οὐ κατεπλάγησαν, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν πανδημεί. Dem. xvi. 12 οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἔπεισαν ὑμᾶς, πάντων Πελοποννησίων ἐλθόντων (for the embassy cp. § 20 note) ὡς ύμας και μεθ΄ ύμων αξιούντων έπι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους lέναι, τούτους μεν (the Peloponnesians) μη προσδέξασθαι (και δια τοῦθ, δπερ ην ύπολοιπον αὐτοῖς, έπι Θηβαίους ηλθον), ὑπερ δε τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων σωτηρίας και χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν και τοῖς σώμασι κινδυνεύειν.

'Ιφικράτην: last mentioned, vi. 4. I.

έγένετο: cp. iii. I. 17.

έν 'Ακαδημεία: cp. ii. 2. 8.

ĕφασαν: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

προθύμως: cp. Diod. xv. 63 'Ιφικράτης μέν οδν, προθύμους έχων τοὺς στρατιώτας, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ σπουδήν.

§ 50. ἀπεληλύθεσαν: cp. § 30.

dyorres . . . φέροντες: the former of living animals, the latter of goods and chattels: the usual combination is φέρειν καὶ dyeιν: cp. iii. 2. 2, 8, 11, 14, 30.

χιμών: cp. Introd. p. lxvii: the length of the Theban invasion is variously stated: according to Diod. xv. 67 it lasted 85 days, but according to Plutarch (Ages. 32) three months or (Pel. 25) four months.

§ 51. ἀπεχώρουν: Plutarch (Ages. 32) mentions a story of the scandal-monger Theopompus, that after the Boeotarchs had already determined to retire, Phrixus came from Agesilaus with 10 talents as a bribe to hasten their departure.

έκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, i. e. from Messenia: Xenophon (cp. Introd. p. xxxii, and vii. 1. 27, 28) here omits altogether the most important result of the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus, which was the revival of the Messenian state and the building of a new city, called Messene, under Mount Ithome, of which Epaminondas was the founder. The Messenian exiles gathered from Italy, Sicily, Libya and elsewhere, where they had found refuge, to take part in the new foundation: cp. Diod. xv. 66; Paus. iv. 26, 27; Plut. Pel. 24, Ages. 34.

άλλο τι: cp. iv. 5. 13.

où ψέγω. Grote (ix. 457) with justice sees in this passage evidence of Xenophon's philo-Laconism, pointing out that the main object of the Athenian expedition, the retirement of the Thebans, was effected, and that the despatch by Iphicrates of all his cavalry must have been meant, not merely for reconnoitring purposes, but to harass the Thebans' march: cp. Stern, p. 180.

τὰ μὲν μάτην: cp. Diod. xv. 65 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ᾿Αθηναῖοι μέν, ὑστερηκότες τῶν καιρῶν, ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν ᾿Αττικήν, οὐδὲν πράξαντες μνήμης ἄξιον.

हैनो रक् 'Oreie: this mountain, 1600 ft. high, stands about three miles SW. of Corinth.

Κεγχρειάs. The sea-port of Corinth on the east side of the isthmus.

§ 52. ldeîr... karol. Xenophon enlarges on this notion in the Hipparchus 7. 6; 8. 12.

δίοι . . . ἀποχωρήσαι: for the moods cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

dπώλοντο. Plutarch (Pel. 24) seems to exaggerate this reverse: dπιόντες δ' ἐπ' οίκου διὰ Κεγχρειῶν 'Αθηναίους ἐνίκων ἐπιχει-ροῦντας ἀψιμαχεῖν περὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ κωλύειν τὴν πορείαν. For the still more exaggerated story in Paus. ix. 14. 3, cp. the criticisms of Grote (ix. 457) and Stern (p. 180).

BOOK VII

CHAPTER I.

\$\$ 1-14. Ambassadors from Sparta and her allies came to Athens to arrange the terms of the new alliance. After many speeches, Procles of Phlius supported the proposal of the Council, that the Athenians should hold the command by sea and Sparta by land. The Assembly preferred Cephisodotus' proposal, that the two powers should exercise the supreme command by turns of five days each. \$\$ 15-17. The allied forces guarded the Isthmus at Oneum. The Thebans, however, surprised the Lacedaemonian and Pellenian detachments, whereon the Spartan commandant foolishly made a truce, allowing them free passage. \$\$ 18-22. The Thebans with their Peloponnesian allies attacked Sicyon and Pellene and ravaged the Epidaurian territory: then they fought several skirmishes before Corinth, wherein some reinforcements sent by Dionysius did prodigies of valour against them. The Thebans soon turned homewards. Dionysius' troops after an attack on Sicyon returned to Syracuse. \$\$ 23-26. So far the Thebans and the revolted allies of Sparta had worked heartily together. Now Lycomedes of Mantinea pointed out to the Arcadians that they were likely to become the tools of the Thebans just as formerly they had been of the Lacedaemonians, whereas the supremacy over the Peloponnesus rightly belonged to them. Just then certain successes won against Chabrias and the Lacedaemonians increased the pride of the Arcadians. Thus distrust arose between them and the Thebans and Eleans. § 27. Ariobarsanes' envoy, Philiscus, summoned the Greeks to Delphi to make a general peace. The attempt failed because the Thebans refused to recognise the dependence of Messene upon Sparta. §§ 28-32. With the help of the second reinforcements from Dionysius, which the Athenians wished to use against the Thebans in Thessaly, Archidamus took Caryae, and ravaged Parrhasia. The Arcadians and Argives attempted to cut off the Sicilian troops on their return to Sparta: but Archidamus coming to their aid, gained a complete victory without the loss of a man, The Thebans were not displeased at the tidings. \$\$ 33-38. Following the lead of Thebes, who wished thereby to gain the supremacy in Greece, many states sent envoys to the Persian Court. Pelopidas was held in highest honour, and at his proposal the king dictated as terms of peace, that Messene should be independent and that Athens should haul up her ships. On their return the Athenians put Timagoras, one of their envoys, to death: the Elean

envoy approved of the terms, but the Arcadian spoke contemptuously of the \$5 39, 40. The Thebans summoned deputies to king's wealth and power. hear the king's terms: the deputies, however, refused to swear to them. The Arcadians were the first to leave, the rest followed. Then the Thebans sent round messengers to the separate states to induce them to swear. The Corinthians refused, and all the rest copied their example. **§§** 41-43. Epaminondas invaded Achaea, and without introducing any political changes persuaded the Achaeans to join the Theban Confederacy. His policy was, however, soon reversed. The Thebans sent out harmosts, who expelled the aristocrats and set up democracies in the Achaean states. The aristocrats quickly effected their return, and sealously supported Sparta. At Sicyon Euphron with the help of the Argives and Arcadians effected a democratical revolution. At first he himself and four others were elected generals: then he got rid of his colleagues, and by the help of mercenaries made himself tyrant.

? 369-368 B.C.

§ 1. πρέσβεις . . . αὐτοκράτορες : Cp. Diod. xv. 67 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ παραδόξως ἀποτετριμμένοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὰς ᾿Λθήνας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἄρχειν ᾿Λθηναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐποιήσαντο κοινὰς τὰς ἡγεμονίας.

ή συμμαχία: cp. vi. 5. 49, when the vote of the Athenians to aid the Lacedaemonians πασδημεί amounted practically to an alliance; now the exact terms on a more permanent footing had to be settled.

inì τοῖε ἴσοιε καὶ όμοίοιε: for the formula cp. §§ 13,45 and Thuc. v. 79.

Προκλής: cp. vi. 5. 38.

§ 2. $τ\hat{η}$. . . βουλ $\hat{η}$: the Athenian Council of Five Hundred: cp. i. 7. 7.

την κατὰ θύλατταν . . . την κατὰ γῆν: for the doctrine cp. Introd. p. xxviii; vi. 5. 38.

§ 3. πρῶτον μὰν . . . τοῦτο: the maritime advantages of Athens are similarly stated in ps.-Xen. Rep. Athen. 2.

olnovon: intrans. of states, as in iv. 8. 26; vii. 5. 5, in the sense of 'to be situate.'

Lo dreu: for the position of the prep. cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 14 τῶν στρατιωτῶν Lo dreu κ.τ.λ.

§ 4. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε: elliptical, sc. e.g. ἐνθυμήθητε.

πρός γάρ . . . συλλίγονται, 'all men most gladly gather round the power which has first become strong.'

- § 5. αὖτη ή ἐπιμέλεια, i.e. this care for the sea.
- § 6. ἐπολέμουν, i. e. in the Peloponnesian War 431–404.

κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας: by five invasions in the first seven years of the war, and in the last ten years by the occupation of Decelea. κατὰ θάλατταν: at Aegospotami, ii. 1. 28.

- § 7. οὖτως . . . πεφυκότων: for the absence of the subject cp. i. I. 26; ii. 2. 16; 4. 29.
- § 8. τὸ πείθεσθαι: accusative of respect: for the sentiment cp. Mem. iv. 4. 15 [ὁ Λυκοῦργος] τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μάλιστα ἐνειργάσατο αὐτῷ [τῷ Ἐπάρτη]; and ibid. iii. 3. 15, where a contrast is drawn between Spartan discipline and Athenian laxity, except on the sea, § 18. οὐχ ὁρῷς, says Socrates, ὡς εὐτακτοι μέν [οἰ λθηναῖοι] εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ναμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι πείθονται τοῖς ἐπιστάταις, οὐδένων δὲ καταδεέστερον ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι τοῖς διδασκάλοις;
 - § 9. πλείστοι καὶ τάχιστα: cp. vi. 5. 37.
 - § 10. åπαξ, i. e. at Leuctra.
- § 11. δλλοις μὲν . . . αὐτοὺς δέ: the two clauses are correlative rather in form than in thought.
 - § 12. Κηφισόδοτος: cp. vi. 3. 2.

#δη: 'ipso facto,' i. e. according to the Council's προβούλευμα so generally approved.

ἐπιβάτας . . . ναῦται : Cp. v. I. II.

§ 13. όπλίτας . . . ἱππίας, who would be taken from the muster roll of Athenian citizens.

ekelvων: genitive dependent on δούλων; cp. iv. 8. 33.

ποιούμενος: for the present, rather than the future, cp. vii. 4. 5 βοηθῶν παρείη.

Elwar raira: Timocrates' answer.

§ 14. "Εστιν οδν... loairepor, 'is there then a fairer plan than that, &c.': for the neuter without τι cp. vi. 2. 39 σῶφρον.

τούτων: plural after εἴ τι ἀγαθόν: Oecom. 7. 37 δε ἀν κάμνη τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοι ἐπιμελητέον πάντων ὅπως θεραπεύηται.

οί `Αθηναίοι . . . έψηφίσαντο: cp. de Vectigal. 5.7 άλλα μην καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ βιασθέντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀλλ' εὖ πάσχοντες ἐπέτρεψαν 'Aθηναίοις περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας θέσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο: cp. Diod. xv. 67 quoted § I. No opposition seems to have been offered to Cephisodotus' foolish proposal, which rendered any consistent policy in a campaign impossible.

§ 15. στρατευομένων δ'... "Ονειον. According to Diod. xv. 68 Chabrias advanced to Corinth, where he gathered round him an army of 10,000 men, made up of Athenians, Megarians, Pellenians, and Corinthians, and where he was joined by the Lacedaemonians and their allies to the number of 10,000 more. The allied armies then fortified the isthmus from Cenchreae to Lechaeum with palisades and trenches to check the passage of the Thebans under Epaminondas.

ol Θηβαίοι: according to Diod. (l.c.) invited by the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, and numbering 7,000 foot and 600 horse.

Πελληνείς: for their bravery cp. iv. 2. 20.

ήνικ' . . . καθανύσαι: construe ήνικα with φοντο, αν with καθανύσαι: for καθανύσαι cp. v. 4. 20.

αμα κνέφο, 'at dawn.' Diod. (l. c.) represents Epaminondas as first challenging the Lacedaemonians to open fight in the plain and then forcing their position by assault: cp. Polyaen. ii. 2. 9.

§ 16. arisonarro = 'had arisen and were going': the same phrase is used in ii. 4. 6.

§ 17. ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος: SO iv. 4. 4.

τφ̂... πολεμάρχφ. It may be conjectured that neither Agesilaus nor his son Archidamus would care to submit to the commands of an Athenian general under the arrangement of § 14.

έκ τοῦ . . . βλέποντος, i.e. from the side of the hill facing Sicyon: cp. vii. 2. 6 τοῦ τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ὁρῶντος.

πάλιν ἀπελθείν, i. e. northwards.

πρὸς Θηβαίων, 'in favour of the Thebans.'

έαυτών: for the plural cp. iv. 8. 24.

§ 18. εὐθὺε . . . πρὸς Σικυῶνα. According to Diod. xv. 69 Epaminondas first made unsuccessful attempts upon Troezen and Epidaurus before he marched upon Sicyon and forced it to join the Theban side. From a comparison with §§ 22, 44; vii. 2. 2; 3.2 it appears that on this occasion the Sicyonian Assembly passed a formal resolution renouncing the Lacedaemonian alliance and joining the Thebans.

Πελλίρην. Probably the attack was successful: for in vii. 2. 2, 11 we find the Pellenians on the Theban side, which, however, they soon left again for the Lacedaemonian: cp. vii. 4. 17.

avrêr, i. e. the Epidaurians.

iπεροπτικώς: for the adverb with the objective genitive dependent on it cp. v. 4. 25 ἀπολυτικώς αὐτοῦ εἶχον: the construction, however, is harsh without ἔχοντες. Trans.: 'in a manner showing their utter contempt of all their enemies.' Cp. Appendix, p. 361.

τας επί Φλειουντα lόντι, 'the door you pass on your way to Phlius': cp. Thuc. i. 24 Ἐπίδαμνός έστι πόλις εν δεξιά έσπλεοντι τον Ιόνιον κόλπον.

§ 19. ψιλοί. According to Diod. xv. 69 the fighting was on a much larger scale: first the Boeotians drove the Corinthians, who had come out to meet them, back into the city, some of them even venturing in the heat of their pursuit within the walls. There they were met by Chabrias and his Athenians, who slew some of them and forced back the rest. The whole Boeotian force then came up to their support, but the Athenians ἐκ τόπων ὑπερδεξίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι repulsed them with considerable loss. Plutarch (Mor. 193 f quoted below), however, confirms Xenophon's narrative as to the small scale of the operations.

τοῖς ἐπιλίκτοις. The famous lepòs λόχος of 300 ἐπίλεκτοι seems to have been first organized by Gorgithas after the freeing of Thebes in 379-378; it continued unconquered until its destruction by Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea 338.

τὰ μνήματα: cp. iii. 2. 14; vi. 2. 20.

τροπαίον: cp. Plut. Mor. l. c. τοῦ δὲ Χαβρίου περὶ Κόρινθον
δλίγους τινὰς τῶν Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη φιλομαχοῦντας καταβαλόντος
καὶ στήσαντος τροπαίον, ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας καταγελῶν ἔφη, Ἐνταῦθα δεῖ οὐ
τροπαίον, ἀλλὰ Ἑκατήσιον ἐστώναι' τὴν γὰρ Ἑκάτην ἐπιεικῶς ἐν ταῖς
πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἰδρύοντο τριόδοις.

§ 20. ἡ... βοήθεια: for the relations between Sparta and the elder Dionysius cp. v. 1. 28 note. The use here of the definite article is not very intelligible: it may simply refer to the succours as well known (cp. v. 4. 61), or it may be that Xenophon has forgotten to mention any definite application of the Spartans for aid.

Kehroùs . . . "Ιβηρας: cp. Diod. xv. 70 éκ δὲ τῆς Σικελίας ? xxn. hell. τ

καὶ "Ιβηρες δισχίλιοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἐκπεμφθέντες. ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, εἰς μῆνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰληφότες. Diodorus goes on to say that they much distinguished themselves and were highly honoured by the Lacedaemonians. It appears too from CIA. ii. 51 that at the same time the Athenians, anxious once more to renew their attempt (cp. § 28) to gain Dionysius' favour, voted him a golden crown.

τὸ πεδίον: between Corinth, Sicyon, and the sea.

§ 21. δρμων, sc. οἱ Θηβαίοι.

§ 22. of $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\hat{i}$... olvade. According to Diod. xv. 72 the Thebans were so dissatisfied with the small results of this campaign that on his return home they listened to the charges of treachery brought against Epaminondas by his enemies, and acted on them so far as to deprive him of his Boeotarchship.

els Σικυῶνα, 'into the territory of Sicyon': cp. iv. 4. 15 els Φλειοῦντα. This incursion proves that the Sicyonians had joined the Thebans: cp. § 18 note.

Dépas: the site of this fort is unknown.

πρώτη: cp. § 28 δευτέρα βοήθεια; Xenophon must mean the first and second occasions of assistance given to the Lacedaemonians against the Thebans, as in v. 1. 28 and vi. 2. 33, 35. Dionysius had already in 387 and 373 sent similar succours to the Lacedaemonians.

dπέπλευσεν probably marks the end of the summer 369: cp. Diod. xv. 70 and Introd. p. lxviii.

§ 23. Λυκομήδης: for the part played by Lycomedes as one of the founders of Megalopolis, and afterwards as a general of the new Arcadian League cp. vi. 5, 6, 13 notes and Diod. xv. 67.

drðeήs: for the positive, where the comparative as in iv. I. 6 would be expected, cp. Thuc. i. 70 της δυτάμεως δεδεά πράξαι.

αὐτόχθονες. So Herodotus (viii. 73) calls the Arcadians and Cynurians the only autochthonous peoples of the Peloponnesus living on their original territories: cp. Thuc. i. 2.

πλεΐστον . . . φύλων: so Polybius, ii. 38; iv. 32.

έπικούρων. Herodotus (viii. 26) speaks of certain Arcadians βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοί offering their services to Xerxes, when he was marching against Greece: they frequently appear as mercenaries in the Peloponnesian War; cp. Thuc. iii. 34; vii. 57.

els ràs 'Abhras: cp. § 22 els Zikvûra.

§ 24. σωφρονήτε: transition to oratio recta without έφη, as in § 44.

κατά μέρος, 'by turns.'

§ 25. epplaxiorum...'Apyelum. Schneider supposed that this was an incident of the Theban attack upon Epidaurus narrated in § 18: but Grote (x. 19) is probably right in regarding it as a separate expedition. Indeed, according to Diod. xv. 67, the Arcadians immediately after the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus had in a similar manner under the leadership of Lycomedes stormed the Lacedaemonian town of Pellene some ten miles north of Sparta on the river Eurotas; and too § 26 compared with § 22 implies that it was a later expedition.

Xaβρίου: cp. § 15 note.

χρώμετοι, i. e. 'although not only the men they had to face, but the country they had to cross, was hostile to them.'

'Aoimp. Strabo (viii. 363) also speaks of an Asine in Laconia on the west coast of the Laconian Gulf between Gythium and (Ps)amathus: cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. It is however difficult to believe, notwithstanding Xenophon's encomium, that the Arcadians would have ventured at this time to penetrate far into the southernmost peninsula of Laconia. Grote accordingly supposes that the Messenian Asine is meant (cp. Smith's Dict. of Geography). If his hypothesis be right, it follows that Asine had not been incorporated in the new independent district of Messenia.

Λακαίνης, poetical form for Λακωνική, as in § 29: cp. Her. vii. 235; Eur. Andr. 151.

γεγενημένον: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361.

§ 26. ἀπαιτοῦντες: cp. vi. 5. 2.

ds . . . ἀφηρέθησαν: in 397 B.C., cp. iii. 2. 30.

αὐτούς, i. e. τοὺς ᾿Αρκάδας.

'Αρκάδες . . . εἶναι : cp. Polyb. iv. 77 ἡ (Τριφυλία) τῆς μὲν προσηγορίας τέτευχε ταύτης ἀπὸ Τριφύλου τοῦ τῶν 'Αρκάδος παίδων ένός.

δυσμενῶς είχον: actual hostilities did not break out till 365: cp. vii. 4. 12.

? 368-367 B.C.

§ 27. Φιλίσκος . . . παρ' `Αριοβαρξάνους: cp. Diod. xv. 70 Φιλίσκος μεν ύπ' `Αρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλείς κατέπλευσεν έπὶ τὴν

Ελλάδα, παρακαλών τοὺς Ελληνας διαλύσασθαι μέν τοὺς πολέμους, elρήνην δέ κοινήν συνθέσθαι. It is difficult to suppose that the Persian, whether the king or the satrap, took the initiative: Grote accordingly (x. 20) conjectures that it was at the instance of the Athenians: Stern (p. 191) with more probability supposes that the Spartans, remembering the Peace of Antalcidas and its renewal in 371, now tried to effect once more by foreign aid what they could not gain by their own prowess. The latter hypothesis is to some extent confirmed (1) by the part which Dionysius of Syracuse, the warm ally of Sparta, seems to have played in the congress (cp. CIA. ii. 51 and Köhler's comments on it in Mitth. d. arch. Instit. i. 15); (2) by Philiscus' raising mercenaries apparently to aid the Lacedaemonians; and (3) by the Thebans sending ambassadors to Susa in the following year to counteract the influence of the Spartan envoy Euthycles at the Persian Court, § 33.

χρήματα . . . πολλά, i. e. to hire mercenaries: v. infr.

συνήγαγε. It is to be supposed, whether Philiscus' mission emanated from the king or from Ariobarzanes, that the meeting of deputies from the various Greek states, including the Lacedae-monians and their enemies the Thebans, could be convened under no less authority than that of the Great King himself: cp. v. I. 30. The general change in the posture of affairs in Greece is marked by the congress meeting at Delphi instead of Sparta or Athens.

όπως ἀν...γένοιτο: for δπως ἄν with opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Meσσήρηρ. It is in this casual manner that Xenophon first notices the foundation of Messene, which was the most important result of the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: cp. vi. 5. 51 note. Also according to Isocr. vi. 11 the allies in their anxiety for peace were eager for the Spartans to abandon their claim to Messenia: but according to Diodorus (xv. 70) the negotiations failed, as in 371 B.C., because the Thebans once more refused to recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian cities.

ξενικόν . . . Λακεδαιμονίων. Xenophon makes no further mention of these mercenaries. Diodorus (l. c.) states ἀπογνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης ὁ μὲν Φιλίσκος καταλιπών τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δισχιλίους

έπιλέκτους μισθοφόρους ἔχοντας τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν; but he too says nothing more about the mercenaries. The motives therefore, whether of Ariobarzanes or Artaxerxes, remain quite in the dark: for it is difficult to suppose that Ariobarzanes was already meditating his revolt from Darius, which did not take place till 362 B.C. It must have been at the time of the Delphian Congress that the Athenians honoured Ariobarzanes and Philiscus with the citizenship: cp. Dem. xxiii. 141. It does, however, appear from the last words of the sentence that Persia still meant to support Sparta: cp. § 33.

§ 28. τούτων . . . πραττομένων: cp. Introd. p. lxviii.

'Aθηναίων. According to Diodorus it was not till later in the summer that the Athenians became the allies of Alexander of Pherae, after that he had seized Pelopidas and Ismenias: but monumental evidence (CIA. ii. 52 and 52 b c) shows that in this year Athens formed an alliance with Dionysius of Syracuse, and tried to strengthen her power in Mytilene and Leucas, while later on Iphicrates was sent (Aeschin. ii. 29) with a squadron into Macedonian waters; so that we must suppose, that the successes of the Thebans in the North in 369 had already roused the Athenians to make every effort to counteract them.

léναι . . . ταναντία: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

Oerraliar . . . Θηβαίοις. This is the only hint that Xenophon, whose narrative becomes more and more a Peloponnesian, not to say a Spartan, Chronicle, gives us of the Theban interference in Thessalian affairs, although in vi. 4 he went out of his way to insert a digression on Thessalian affairs, describing the death of Jason and the fortunes of his successors down to the reign of Tisiphonus in 358 B.C. It appears, however, from Diodorus (xv. 67, 71), Plutarch (Pel. 26-29), and Pausanias (ix. 15) that the first Theban expedition into Thessaly under Pelopidas was simultaneous with the second invasion of the Peloponnesus in 369, and was sent in response to an invitation of the Thessalians to liberate them from the tyranny of Alexander of Pherae, who had shortly before murdered his kinsman Polyphron, the Tagus of Thessaly, and attempted to succeed him in that office. Pelopidas seized Larisa and Crannon, limited the powers of Alexander to Pherae only, and reorganized the whole Thessalian constitution. He also interfered

in Macedonian affairs in favour of Alexander the son of Amyntas, who was a claimant for the throne. At the end of the season he returned to Bocotia.

'Αρχίδαμος: cp. vi. 4. 18-26.

Kapúas: cp. vi. 5. 25; Polyaen. i. 41. 5.

Παρρασίους: in SW. Arcadia: cp. Paus. vi. 8. 2.

μετ' αὐτῶν, i.e. with Dionysius' contingent and τὰ πολιτικά.

Mηλέαs: this is Müller's conjecture for Mηδέαs: for the situation of Malea cp. vi. 5. 24.

δε εἰρημένος: personal construction instead of δν εἴρητο παραμένειν: cp. Cyrop. vi. 2. 38 τῶν μὶν προειρημένων ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν.

§ 29. ὑπετέμνοντο... ἐπὶ στενόν: pregnant construction, ' cut him off in a narrow defile into which they had forced him': see Critical Note. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι: cp. § 27 note.

γένοντο, i.e. the united forces of Archidamus and the Sicilian mercenaries: cp. § 31.

 $\ell\nu \dots \ell\kappa r \rho o \pi \hat{p}$, i.e. in the place where a cross-road turns off to the territory of the Eutresii. The Eutresian villages a few miles north of Megalopolis are enumerated by Pausanias (viii. 27. 3).

els The Adrana, the destination of their expedition: the battle was fought in Arcadia.

čκβás, i. e. out of the narrow defile into the χωρίον ἐπίπεδον.

§ 30. ϵφασαν: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

ἀναβλόψωμεν: cp. Plut. Ages. 33 πρότερόν γε (i.e. before this 'Tearless' Victory) φασιν οὐδὲ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀντιβλέπειν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰσχυνομένους ἐψ' οἶς ἔπταισαν.

§ 31. aloious, i. e. on the right-hand side.

[οδ ... λέγεται]: struck out by Cobet, Breitenbach, &c. as the interpolation of some scholiast who wished to recall the Heraclid descent of the Spartan kings: cp. Critical Note.

δεξάμενοι els δόρυ: having waited for the enemy till they came within spear throw: iv. 3. 17 els δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι.

Κελτών: cp. § 20.

§ 32. οὐδὲ εἶs : cp. Diod. xv. 72 ἔπεσον γὰρ ᾿Αρκάδων μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, Λακεδαιμονίων δ΄ οὐδείς. προείπον δ΄ αὐτοῖς αἰ Δωδωνίδες ἰέρειαι διότι ὁ πόλεμος οῦτος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄδακρυς ἔσται : cp. Plut. Ages. 33.

ёфаσа»: ср. § 30.

αρξαμένους ... εφόρων πάντας, i. e. 'from the least to the greatest.'

κλαίει»: this victory was known as ή ἄδακρυς μάχη: cp. Diod. l. c. ¶χθοντο: for this feeling cp. §§ 22, 23.

367-366 B.C.

§ 33. δπως δν...λάβοιεν: for opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv. ηγεμονίαν... Έλλάδος. This phrase exactly represents Xenophon's attitude towards the Thebans: in his view they simply wanted to supplant the Spartans, and take from them their rightful and hereditary Hegemony. If the Spartans with all their traditional claims could not effectively exercise this, no other state, he thought, possibly could fill their place.

ἐν ἐκείνφ: Morus reads παρά, i.e. with the King of Persia: cp. § 34.
 The MSS. ἐν yields no satisfactory meaning: cp. Critical Note.

Εὐθυκλῆς . . . βασιλεί: cp. § 27 note and Plut. Pel. 30 of δὲ Θηβαίοι παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ᾿Λθηναίων αἰσθόμενοι πρὸς τὰν μέγαν βασιλέα πρόσβεις ἀναβαίνοντας ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας ἔπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πελοπίδαν. No other authority throws any further light on these negotiations of the Spartans certainly and probably of the Athenians also, which we may naturally conjecture arose out of Philiscus' mission of the previous year.

Helowibus. This is the first mention in Xenophon's narrative of the great Theban liberator: cp. § 28 note. In 368 the Thessalians had again complained at Thebes against Alexander of Pherae, when Pelopidas, relying on the reputation he had gained in Thessaly the previous year, ventured northwards without an army to act as mediator: after many adventures he was seized by Alexander and kept as a prisoner, and only rescued by Epaminondas at the head of a powerful Theban army shortly before this embassy to Persia: cp. Diod. xv. 71; Plut. Pel. 27-29.

'Arrioχos. Pausanias (vi. 3. 9) also speaks of an Antiochus, a παγκρατιαστής, whose statue he had seen at Olympia, but represents him as a native of Lepreum.

'Αρχίδαμος: possibly the same as the Olympic victor mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 1. 3; 17. 5.

'Apyrior: probably the same as the Elean democrat mentioned vii. 4. 15. Stern (p. 201), however, arguing that the other Theban allies, viz. the Argives and Messenians, must have sent envoys at the same time, conjectures that a line must have fallen out of the

text in which the names of the Argive and Messenian envoys were given: cp. Grote, x. 37.

ol 'Aθηναίοι: for the interests of Athens at stake cp. § 36 note.

§ 34. Inti dyirorro. The presence of all these envoys from the various jealous and hostile Greek states is paralleled by the instance of 409: cp. i. 3. 13.

έπλεονέκτει. Plutarch (Pel. 30) tells the story with the most elaborate details.

μόνοι, sc. οί Θηβαίοι: cp. Her. ix. 31.

συνεμάχοντο . . . στρατεύσαιντο: the indicative expresses a definite fact, the optative the reflection of the speaker: cp. however Goodwin, M. T. 672.

obe έθελήσαιεν: for the facts cp. iii. 4. 3 ff.: for the opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 693.

§ 35. συνεβάλλετο: cp. Plut. 1. c. οὐ γὰρ ἦρέμα διῖκτο τῆς 'Aσίας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἡ δόξα τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγώνων, ἄλλ', ὡς πρῶτος περὶ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἐξέδραμε λόγος, ἀεί τινος καινοῦ προστιθεμένου κατορθώματος αὐξανομένη καὶ ἀναβαίνουσα πορρωτάτω κατέσχεν.

ήττημένοι: cp. § 30.

Tιμαγόρας. Demosthenes (xix. 137) says that the king gave him 40 talents: cp. Plut. l. c.

§ 36. γραφήναι: so v. I. 30 τὰ γεγραμμένα and vi. 3. 12 βασιλεὺς . . . ἔγραψε of the Peace of Antalcidas.

Meσσήνην . . . léval. Grote (x. 38) with great probability conjectures that these words are not the exact words of the treaty, but that there was also included a clause assigning Triphyllia to Elis (cp. §§ 26, 38), and another recognizing the autonomy of Amphipolis (cp. Dem. xix. 137) at that time threatened (cp. following note) by the Athenians. But the whole point of the treaty was that it really made Thebes the προστάτης of the new Peace in the same way as the Spartans in 386 had been προστάται . . . τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης (v. 1. 36).

drikeur ras raûs. The activity of the Athenians at sea at this time has to be gathered rather from monumental than literary sources: thus CIA. ii. 52 c is a decree of 368-367 praising the Mytilenaeans ότι καλῶς καὶ προθύμως συνεπολέμησαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν παρελθόντα (against the Lacedaemonians [?] 378-371); CIA. ii. 52 b is a decree of the same year recording negotiations between Athens

and Leucas; and CIA. ii. 52 is a decree of 368-367 recording an alliance of Athens with Dionysius I of Syracuse. Moreover, Diodorus (xv. 71) speaks of an Athenian expedition of 30 ships under Autocles as sent out in 368 to assist Alexander of Pherae against Pelopidas; and it appears from Aeschines (ii. 29 ff.) that about the same time the Athenians despatched Iphicrates to Amphipolis ἐπὶ κατασκοπῷ μᾶλλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ πολιορεία τῆς πόλεως: cp. Corn. Nep. Iphic. 3. Altogether, therefore, the Thebans had good reason to fear the growing maritime activity of Athens: cp. §§ 27, 28 notes.

§ 37. ἀπήγγειλεν, i. e. interpreted.

lξήνεγκε: perhaps out of the cabinet, where the scribe wrote out the Terms of the Peace.

el δέ τι . . . διδάσκειν: the content of the προσγεγραμμένα.

§ 38. Τιμαγόραν: cp. Dem. xix. 191 Λίων Τιμαγόρου κατηγόρει συμππερεσβευκώς τέτταρ' ἔτη, and 137 [βασιλεὐε] ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ Τιμαγόρου καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλανθ' ὡς λέγεται δεδωκώς αὐτῷ... πρῶτον μέν ᾿Αμφίπολιν πάλιν ὑμετέραν δούλην κατέπειμψεν, ἡν τότε σύμμαχον αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλην ἔγραψεν εἶτ' οὐδενὶ πώποτ' ἔδωκε χρήματα τοῦ λοιποῦ. Plutarch (Artax. 22) says that the condemnation of Timagoras was due to his taking bribes, but in Pel. 30 adds that it was rather due to exasperation δτι Θηβαίοις ἐγεγόνει πάντα—ā reason which agrees better with Xenophon's μετὰ Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοιτο.

έθέλοι . . . βουλεύοιτο: pres. opt. representing imperf. indic. in orat. recta; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.

προυτίμησε . . . ήλαττοῦτο: cp. § 36 note.

τοὺς μυρίους: the Pan-Arcadian assembly at Megalopolis: cp. vi. 5. 6 note.

ol γε, emphatic: cp. Resp. Athen. ii. 17 ἀρέσκει οl γε [ἔμοιγε Kirchhoff] and Anab. i. 1. 8 δοθήναι οl ταύτας τάς πόλεις: otherwise rare in Attic Greek except as an enclitic.

πλάτανον: given to Darius Hystaspes by Pythius the Lydian: Her. vii. 27.

§ 39. συνεκάλεσαν, i. e. to Thebes, as appears from the context.

δ Πέρσης... σφραγίδα: cp. the similar conduct of Tiribazus in 387, v. 1. 30; cp. i. 4. 3.

ταῦτα, i.e. τὰ γεγραμμένα: a rather unusual construction. Λυκομήδης: cp. § 23. τὸ συμμαχικόν, i.e. the terms of the alliance between the Thebans, Arcadians, Eleans, &c.: cp. § 32.

§ 40. ὑπίστησαν, 'resisted': cp. Anab. iii. 2. 11.

περιβολή: cp. the Latin 'affectatio imperii'; and for the fact § 33.

§ 41. Ἐπαμεινώνδαs. This is Xenophon's first mention of the great Theban general: cp. Introd. p. xxviii.

προσαγαγέσθαι: cp. Diod. xv. 75 Ἐπαμεινώνδας δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον τοὺς Ἁχαιοὺς καί τινας ἄλλας πόλεις προσηγάγετο, Δύμην δὲ καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυδῶνα φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἁχαιῶν ἡλευθέρωσεν: cp. iv. 6. 14. Epaminondas thus secured the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf on both sides in the Theban interest, and thereby a safe approach by sea to the Peloponnese.

δπως... νοῦν: the object of this expedition evidently was to effect by force what the Thebans had just failed to effect by negotiations.

σφίσι, i. e. the Thebans.

τό "Ονειον: cp. § 15.

§ 42. προσπεσόντων, 'having supplicated.'

φυγαδεῦσαι: the subject must be τοὺς ᾿Αχαιούς, the Achaean democrats.

§ 43. ἀντιστασιωτῶν. It is not quite clear, whether Xenophon means the Achaean democrats or the Theban opponents of Epaminondas: but the former is more probable, as ἔδοξε Θηβαίοις follows immediately.

κατεσκευακώs: for the meaning cp. ii. 2. 5.

άρμοστάs: cp. vii. 3. 4, 9 and iv. 8. 8: the Thebans imitate ever more closely the old imperious policy of Sparta.

οὐκέτι ἐμέσενον, 'no longer remained neutral' as before.

§ 44. dρχαίουs νόμουs, i. e. under an oligarchy: hence it appears that when two years earlier (§ 18) Epaminondas had forced Sicyon to join the Theban side, he had permitted the oligarchical constitution to stand unaltered.

δ Εθφρων: cp. Diod. xv. 70 Εθφρων δ Σικυώνιος, διαφέρων θράσει και απονοία, συνεργούε λαβών 'Αργείους ἐπέθετο τυραννίδι. κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τετταράκοντα τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐφυγάδευσε, δημεύσας αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων κυριεύσας μισθοφόρους

ήθροισε καλ τῆς πόλεως έδυνάστευσεν. Diodorus antedates the affair some three years.

μέγιστος: cp. vii. 3. 8 φιλαίτατος δυ Λακιδαιμονίοις.

τύχη, impersonal: 'when a chance offers.'

§ 45. em tois . . . opolous : cp. § 1.

§ 46. πιστούε: to be construed with ἐποιήσατο.

χρημάτων: cp. vii. 3. 8.

όπως . . . διεπρώττετο: διαπραττέσθαι is constructed with the infinitive, more usually without, but sometimes with δστε: cp. iv. 4.7. δπως is here used, because the dependent clause also depends on συνηκολούθει.

τὰ μἐν . . . τὰ δέ, adverbial: 'partly . . . partly.' It appears from vii. 2. 11 that a Theban commandant and garrison must have been present in Sicyon during the whole course of Euphron's proceedings.

CHAPTER II.

\$\$ 1-9. Though hard pressed by the Argives and Sicyonians, the Phliasians persisted in their friendship with the Lacedaemonians. They had already proved their fidelity at the time of the Theban invasion of Laconia; and again, when the Thebans were once more about to enter Peloponnesus, they delivered their city from the Argives and their allies, even after a traitorous party had actually seized the acropolis. \$\$ 10-16. Next year the Phliasians again repelled an attack of the Argives and Arcadians. At another time the Theban governor of Sicyon together with Euphron and the Sicyonians and Pellenians entered the Phliasian territory on a marauding expedition, but was speedily driven out with considerable loss. Again the Phliasians released a Pellenian prisoner without a ransom. \$\$ 17-23. The Phliasians were hard pressed for provisions: some they got by forays, some by purchase from Corinth. Chares acted as escort of their convoys. On one occasion he was persuaded to join them in an attack upon the Sicyonians, who were fortifying the outpost of Thyamia. The enemy were taken by surprise, and the Phliasians made the outpost into a fort of their own.

366-365 B.C.

§ I. entrereixinorus: cp. iii. 2. I note.

Τρικάρανον: cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρικάρανον, φρούριον τῆς Φλειασίας; it is the hill with three low summits, which forms the NE. boundary of the Phliasian plain. The Heraeum is stated by Pausanias (ii. 13. 4) to be near the acropolis—on the slope of the hill: cp. §§ 6, 11.

Ovaplar: must have been on the north side of Tricaranum; Xenophon in § 20 returns to the Sicyonians engaged in fortifying their outpost.

ἐν τῷ συμμαχίᾳ: the fidelity of the Phliasians to the Lacedae-monian alliance is the theme of the whole chapter: cp. esp. § 17 and vii. 3. 1.

έμοι δε δοκεί: cp. Introd. p. xxxi.

μικρά πόλιε: Phlius, according to v. 3. 16, numbered πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες.

§ 2. φίλοι . . . εγένοντο. Xenophon seems to refer to the year 379, when after the surrender of the town by the democrats Agesilaus regulated the constitution in the oligarchical interest: cp. v. 3. 25. From this time onwards the Phliasians had remained faithful to Sparta.

περιοίκων . . . Είλώτων . . . συμμάχων : cp. vi. 5. 25, 28 note.

vi. 4. 9. Again, the Phliasian cavalry fought at Leuctra, vi. 4. 9. Again, the Phliasians enthusiastically joined Archidamus' army of rescue after the disaster (vi. 4. 18), supported Agesilaus in Arcadia in the following year (vi. 5. 14-17), and hurried to the Spartan assistance at the time of the first Theban invasion in 369 (vi. 5. 29: cp. the speech of the Phliasian Procles, vii. 1. 1-11).

¿βοήθησαν: cp. vi. 5. 29.

els Πρασιάς: cp. Thuc. ii. 56 τῆς Λακωνικῆς πόλισμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον: Paus. iii. 24. 4. The town lay on the Cynurian coast.

Πελληνείς . . . τότε: cp. vii. 1. 18 note; 4. 17.

§ 3. ἀλλ' οἰδ': ἀλλά is used as if λαχόντες had been a finite verb owing to the long parenthesis ἦσαν δ' οδτοι . . ἀφέστασαν: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

ferayos: cp. iii. 5. 7.

δυτων . . . 'Αμύκλας: cp. vi. 5. 30.

βοῦν βένια: cp. Anab. iv. 8. 24 βένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἤλθον βόες. § 4. els τὸν Φλειοῦντα: cp. vii. 1. 23 els τὰς ᾿Αθήνας.

οδδιν διαφέρον ή: διαφέρον adverbial like διαφερόντως. For ή el cp. iii. 4. 19.

§ 5. adds..."Overor: for the occasion cp. vii. I. 15: the Argives also took part cp. § 8.

'Haler: cp. Appendix, p. 361.

προσήνεγκαν . . . λόγον, 'made an offer,' i.e. to the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans.

ol σκοποί: the context shows that the Phliasian patriots are meant: the Tricaranum did not fall into the hands of the Argives till two years later; cp. § 1.

ώς . . . ἐπιόντον: cp. iii. 4. I note for the participial construction.

§ 6. τὰ δπλα, 'the outpost': cp. ii. 4. 6; iv. 5. 6.

πεμπάδοs. Xenophon means apparently that ten squads of five guarded the post by night, and that by day one member of each squad was left on duty.

"Ηραιον: cp. § 1 note. δρώντος: cp. vii. 1. 17.

§ 7. πολιορκούμενοι, 'hemmed in.'

τδ... μέσον, i.e. the space inside the acropolis, which was, as appears from Paus. ii. 13. 3-5, of considerable extent.

§ 8. εχώρουν, sc. οί πολίται: 'the citizens came to close quarters with them with reckless desperation,' Dakyns.

ύπ' αὐτῶν: i. e. by the citizens.

of 'Appelos: omitted in § 5.

κατὰ κεφαλήν. The acropolis evidently was on a hill above the city on the north side, so that the Arcadians and their allies coming from the south along the Nemean road would have to circle round the city walls (ἐκυκλοῦντο) before they reached the acropolis: κατὰ κεφαλήν ought to mean 'down from above,' 'from a higher level' (cp. § 11), so that the acropolis itself must have been built on the slope of the hill, and the Argives must have got round to its upper side.

readings cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361. The meaning evidently is, that the patriotic Phliasians who had rushed into the acropolis with the retreating conspirators had to fight simultaneously

against the enemy on the wall, against the Argives and their allies trying to scale the wall from outside, and against such of them (abrêr) as had mounted on to the towers.

abrous, i. e. the towers.

τεθερισμένα: according to Paus. ii. 13. 2 the acropolis contained a cypress grove and several temples.

ol . . . ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. iii. I. 22.

§ 9. εξήλαυνον, i. e. out of the city.

dπεχώρουν, i. e. to unite with the Thebans for their attack upon Sicyon: cp. § 5 with vii. 1. 18.

τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα: cp. iii. 2. 4 note for the article.

πιείν . . . φερούσας: infin. of purpose, cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

ਾ ਹੈਆ: denotes a reference to a proverbial expression: cp. Hiero, 3. 5 νομίζω τῷ ὅντι αὐτόματα τάγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένω γίγνεσθαι; Symp. 2. 24 τῷ ὅντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς λύπας κοιμίζει.

κλαυσίγελως: cp. vii. 1, 32; Cyrop. vii. 5. 32; and Hom. Il. vi. 484 ή δ' ἄρα μιν κηώδει δέξατο κόλπφ δακρυόεν γελάσασα.

§ 10. τῷ ὑστέρφ ἔτει: 368 B.C. This attack on Phlius may have taken place just after the Arcadians rescued the Argives at Epidaurus from Chabrias and the Athenians and Corinthians: cp. vii. I. 25.

er miss elyon, lit. 'they held the Phliasians in between their own territories': i. e. Phlius lay between the Argolis and Arcadia.

τοῦ ποταμοῦ, i.e. the Asopus: cp. Paus. ii. 5. 2.

φυλαττομένους: ironical, 'holding aloof from the corn in the plain, lest they should trample it down, as if it belonged to their friends,' both ἀπὸ φιλίου καρποῦ and μὴ καταπατήσειαν are dependent οπ φυλαττομένους.

§ 11. addis: the date is fixed to 366 by the presence of Euphron (cp. Introd. p. lxix), so that Xenophon has now brought his Phliasian digression down almost to the same date as his general narrative: cp. vii. 1. 46; 2. 1, 20 about Thyamia.

δ... ἄρχων: cp. vii. 1. 43 and 46 note.

Πελληνέας: cp. vii. 1. 18; 2. 2.

Ευφρων . . . μισθοφόρους : cp. vii. I. 46.

τοῦ Τρικαράνου: cp. § 1.

κατά . . . πύλας: on the NE. side of the city.

κατὰ κεφαλήν αὐτῶν, 'above them': cp. § 8.

§ 12. οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, 'did not allow them to enter the plain': cp. ii.
4. 11. To give any force to ἀνά, one must suppose that there was a dip in the ground between the Phliasians and the enemy.

§ 13. κύκλφ τοῦ Τρικαράτου, i.e. meaning to join the Pellenians, they fetched a compass up the slopes of Mount Tricaranum to avoid a ravine (φάραγξ) formed by a stream which flows from east to west just to the south of the city.

δστε . . . ἀφικέσθα: the more usual construction is δστε μή: τὴν σύντομον, sc. δδον.

μκρον... προπέμψαντες, having 'escorted their retreating foes a little way up the steep,' Dakyns.

την παρά το τείχος, sc. οδόν, i.e. along the east wall of the city.

§ 14. defauerwr: sc. των Πελληνέων: gen. abs. cp. i. 1. 26.

§ 15. λαμπρόν: adverbial with παιανίζοντες.

ώσπερ...περιδεδραμηκότες (better παραδεδραμηκότες: cp. Critical Note), 'like men who had raced to see a sight,' Dakyns.

§ 16. πρόξενον: Schneider writes it as a proper name. πῶς οὐκ . . . φαίη: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

§ 17. εθργοντο, i.e. by the ἐπιτείχισμα which the Argives had (§ 1) established upon Mount Tricaranum, apparently just after the incursion described above, §§ 11-15.

τιμήν, i. e. the money to pay for the provisions.

τοὺς πορίζοντας διαπραττόμενοι. This seems very otiose: Madvig therefore proposes τοὺς κομίζοντας, sc. τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, 'getting men to procure the provisions.' Hartman conjectures διαπορεύοντες, but the word can hardly mean, as he would have it, 'to escort safely through the midst.' Dobree's conjecture τὴν παραπομπήν (the following τὴν παραπομπήν being rejected) yields the best sense: cp. Critical Note.

ἐγγυητάς, i. e. to go bail for the beasts of burden in case they
fell into the hands of the enemy.

§ 18. Χάρητα: cp. § 10 and Diod. xv. 75 Φλειοσίοις δε (367–366 B.C.) πολεμουμένοις υπ' "Αργείων Χάρης, υπ' "Αθηναίων πεμφθείς στρατηγός, μετὰ δυνάμεως εβοήθησε τοῦς Φλειοσίοις πολιορκουμένοις" νικήσας δε τοὺς "Αργείους δυσὶ μάχαις καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν περιποιήσας τοῦς Φλειοσίοις ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς "Αθήνας.

dγένοντο: the subject is by no means obvious. Hartman's correction dγένετο (i. e. Chares) should be adopted: cp. Critical Note.

els την Πελλήνην. By this time the Pellenians must once

more have joined the Lacedaemonians (cp. vii. 4. 17) and so become friendly to the Phliasians, perhaps in consequence of the generous treatment of their countryman narrated in § 16.

dyopásarres: apparently in Pellene, notwithstanding τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ἀνούμενοι of the previous section.

§ 19. Tryou . . . Tryotto, 'set to work': cp. v. 3. 2 and Cyrop. vii. 1. 27 is de fodeto 'Artayirons en Tryo onta tou Kûrov, entribetat kal airis.

μέχρι πόρρω: cp. Isocr. xv. 4 μέχρι πόρρω της ήλικίας.

§ 20. χωρίον, i.e. Thyamia: cp. § 1. A comparison of these two sections fixes the dates of these occurrences.

τροπήν: cp. Critical Note.

draκοlrωσα, 'consult': cp. vi. 3. 8 and vii. 1. 27: in this sense the active is more common.

देशारहर (χικώς: used absolutely, 'you will have secured a stronghold (Thyamia) whence to harass the enemy.'

§ 21. δσα els πεζόν, sc. έστί, 'made the preparations necessary for infantry': vi. 1. 10; 2. 27 πάντα δσα els ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο.

§ 22. aὐτοῦ: cp. Appendix, p. 362.

της δρας: a kind of partitive genitive dependent on μικρόν πρό δύντος ηλίου.

§ 23. κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη: a strange expression, meaning apparently 'ordering out by the voice of the herald': in such cases it is usually constructed with an infinitive, as in Cyrop. iv. 2. 32: 5.

41. Hartman conjectures ζεύξαντες: cp. Critical Note.

τωσπερ . . . τείχος: the work was slow in completion: cp. vii. 4. I.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-5. Aeneas, general of the Arcadians, resolved to put an end to the tyranny of Sicyon. Euphron fled to the harbour, which he delivered over to the Lacedacmonians. With the help of some mercenaries he once more made himself master of the city, though the Theban harmost still retained the acropolis. Then he set out to Thebes to persuade the authorities to recognise his supremacy in Sicyon. His enemies followed him and murdered him there.

§§ 6-1a. The Theban magistrates brought the assassins before the Council. All denied the charge save one who defended the righteoueness of the act. The Thebans acquitted the accused: but the Sicyonian democrats buried Euphron in their market-place and still worship him as their founder.

§ 1. περί τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, i. e. 366: cp. Introd. p. lxix.

Alréas: another Aeneas of Stymphalus is mentioned in Anab. iv. 7. 13. Casaubon conjectured that the Aeneas of the Hellenics was Aeneas Tacticus, the author of the Treatise on Siege Operations.

στρατηγός. Freeman, comparing Diod. xv. 62 (Λυκομήδης δ Μαντυντύς, στρατηγός δν τῶν 'Αρκάδων) conjectures that he was the single Federal General at the head of the whole League: cp. Federal Government, p. 159.

τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι : Cp. vii. 1. 44.

els την ἀκρόπολιν. The citadel was at the time held by a Theban harmost, who must, therefore, have given his support to Aeneas: cp. § 4; vii. 2. II.

drev δόγματος, i.e. not by decree of the people, but through the caprice of Euphron: cp. vii. 1. 46.

§ 2. τὸν λιμένα: some three or four miles distant from the city. Πασίμηλον: probably the same Pasimelus as in iv. 4. 4, 7.

τῆ συμμαχία ἀνεστρίφετο, i.e. he began once more to pose as an ally of Sparta. For his previous connexion with Sparta cp. vii. 1. 44. ψῆφος ἐδίδοτο: cp. vii. 1. 18.

§ 3. ἐαυτόν: cp. Appendix, p. 362. δημον καταστήσαι, 'had set up a democracy': cp. vii. I. 44. ὑμᾶς, i. e. the Lacedaemonians.

§ 4. $d\lambda\lambda\lambda$ $\gamma\delta\rho$: the force of the particles seems to be: 'however $(d\lambda\lambda\delta)$, what effect Euphron's speech had on the Lacedaemonians, I pass over for the present; for $(\gamma\delta\rho)$, since I have begun, I wish, &c.': cp. vii. 2. I.

Θηβαίου άρμοστοῦ: cp. vii. 2. II.

§ 5. τοῖε ἄρχουσι: apparently the Boeotarchs.
ἀποσφάττουσι: for the date cp. Introd. p. lxix.

§ 7. ωμολογήκει: cp. Appendix, p. 362.

ύπερορᾶν . . . είδείη : for the moods cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555. τύνι μήν, correlative to ὑπερορᾶν μέν.

τίνι μήν, correlative to ύπεροραν μέν. τοὺς περὶ Αρχίαν καὶ Ύπάτην: Cp. V. 4. 2, 7.

οὐ ψῆφον . . . ἀλλά: this parenthetical remark separates the verb ἐτιμωρήσασθε from its object τοὺς . . . 'Υπάτην. Cp. Appendix, p. 362.
τῶν φανερῶς προδοτῶν: for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii,

3. 38; 4. 2; v. 4. 14; vii. 3. 8.

§ 8. παραλαβών μέν: the three counts in the accusation are distinguished by μέν... γε μήν... καὶ μήν.

φιλαίτατος: cp. vii. 1. 44: cp. Critical Note.

τὸν λιμένα: cp. § 2.

ol βέλτιστοι: the assassins of Euphron belonged to this party; cp. § 5.

§ 10. ἐκὼν ... ἀπεχόμενον. The meaning, though obscure, seems rightly to be explained by Breitenbach, "he came of his own free will," which he would not have done, had he been our enemy: rather would he as an enemy have kept at a distance from Thebes.' This explains ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως.

ποῦ ἔχων. The participle refers to φησί τις; construe ἔχων ἀποδεῖξαι, 'where can he show a treaty subsisting between Greeks and either traitors or' &c.—so that such a traitorous tyrant as Euphron could not justly be put to death. Cp. Appendix, p. 362.

§ 11. αγωγίμους ... συμμαχίδων, 'liable to arrest in any of the allied states': the speaker means that the Sicyonians as the allies of the Thebans had by treaty the right to demand of them the surrender of any fugitive like Euphron: cp. Plut. Lys. 27 Λακεδαιμόνοι ... εψηφίσωντο τοὺς φεύγοντας εξ' Λθηνών αγωγίμους εξυαι πανταχόθεν, ἐκοπόνδους δὲ τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τοῦς ἄγουσι: cp. Critical Note.

τετιμωρηκότας ἔσεσθαι: for the periphrasis cp. vii. 5. 18 and Anab. vii. 6. 36 κατακεκονότες ἔσεσθε.

πεποιηκέναι, SC, έμέ,

αὐτούς, i.e. you yourselves.

§ 12. ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾳ. Plutarch (Arat. 53) records that the Sicyonians paid a similar honour to Aratus, notwithstanding an ἀρχαῖος νόμος μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τειχῶν ἐντός.

ώς ἀρχηγέτην: so the Amphipolitans honoured Brasidas, Thuc. v. 11.

ol πλείστοι, 'the masses.'

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. Oropus was seised by some exiles. The Athenians marched to recover the place, sending for Chares from Thyamia. The Sicyonians recaptured their harbour. Being unsupported by their allies, the Athenians retired, leaving Oropus in the hands of the Thebans to await arbitration. §§ 2, 3. Lycomedes persuaded the Arcadian Ten Thousand to allow him to

negotiate an alliance with Athens. He was successful in his mission, but \$\$ 4, 5. The Athenians planning a perished on his return voyage. surprise upon Corinth, the Corinthians dismissed their Athenian garrison and refused to admit Chares and his fleet. \$\$ 6-11. The Corinthians, weary of war, asked the Thebans if they would consent to a peace with themselves and their allies. Receiving a favourable answer, they laid their proposals before the Spartans; and though the Spartans refused to end the war so long as Messene remained independent, the Corinthians, Phliasians, and others made their peace with the Thebans. The Arzives, however, failed to comply with its conditions. \$\$ 12-14. Some Sicilian troops sent by Dionysius the Younger helped the Lacedaemonians to recover Sellasia. The Eleans having seized Lasion, the Arcadians invaded their country, defeated them in battle, captured many of their cities, garrisoned the Cronion, and penetrated as far as the market-place of Elis. §§ 15, 16. Previous to this the democrats in Elis had allied themselves with the Arcadians and seised the acropolis. Being expelled from thence and exiled, they had seized on Pylos. §§ 17, 18, Afterwards the Arcadians made another attempt to capture Elis, but were prevented by the Achaeans: in revenge they seized Olurus, which, however, after a long siege was recovered by the Pellenian oligarchs. §§ 19-25. Once more the Arcadians invaded Elis. To create a diversion Archidamus and the Lacedaemonians seised Cromnus. - The Arcadians thereupon besieged the Spartan garrison in Cromnus, and foiled all Archidamus' efforts to relieve it, in one skirmish wounding Archidamus and \$\$ 26, 27. The Eleans captured Pylos, slaying many of his followers. putting all the democratical exiles to death. The Lacedaemonians succeeded in rescuing most of their troops besieged at Cromnus. The remainder fell into the hands of the enemy. \$\$ 28-32. The Arcadians strengthened their garrison at Olympia, meaning with the help of the Pisatans to celebrate the Olympic festival. When the day arrived, the Eleans attempted to dispossess them, and actually penetrated as far as the Great Altar, having performed prodigies of valour beyond belief. §§ 33-35. The Mantineans having refused to handle the sacred treasures were condemned by the Ten Thousand of breaking up the Arcadian League. Their example spread, and the Ten Thousand voted to use no more of the treasures. This vote strengthened the oligarchs, so that their opponents in alarm invited Theban interference. Then the Arcadians made peace with the Eleans and restored to them the presidency over the temple of Zeus. \$\$ 36-40. While the Arcadians were celebrating the peace at Tegea, the Theban commandant at the solicitation of certain Arcadians arrested all the oligarchs on whom he could lay hands. Next day the Mantineans demanded the release of their fellow citizens and offered to go bail for all the rest, until they should be duly tried. The Thebans released them all. An accusation was brought against the commandant at Thebes. Epaminondas threatened to march into Arcadia.

§ 1. *δυθεν . . . ἐξέβην* : for the phrase cp. vi. 1. 19. τειχιζόντων : cp. vii. 2. 23.

'Ωρωπός . . . κατελήφθη. Oropus, a sea-port on the Euripus, near the mouth of the Asopus, as commanding the frontier and the road across it as well as the passage of the Euripus, had always been a bone of contention between the Boeotians and Athenians. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War it had been held by the Athenians (Thuc. ii. 23); in 412 it was betrayed to the Boeotians (Thuc, viii. 60), but shortly afterwards must have become independent, for in 402 the Thebans in response to some Oropian fugitives, who as the result of internal dissensions had been exiled. made themselves masters of the city, rebuilt the town seven stadia away from the sea (Diod. xiv. 17), and after an interval incorporated it with Boeotia. Once more the Oropians seem to have recovered independence, perhaps in accordance with the Peace of Antalcidas; for Isocrates about 373 (xiv. 20) speaks of its restoration to Athens by the voluntary act of the Oropians themselves, probably as the result of some further internal troubles; and in the same speech (§ 37) speaks of constant intrigues on the part of the Thebans to recover the town. Diodorus (xv. 76) gives a different account of the Athenian loss of Oropus here recorded (which, however, is not irreconcileable with Xenophon's) — Θεμίσων Ερετρίας τύραννος 'Ωρωπόν κατελάβετο' ταύτην δε τήν πόλιν οδσαν 'Αθηναίων παραλόγως απέβαλε. των γάρ 'Αθηναίων στρατευσάντων έπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πολύ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ύπερεχόντων, οί Θηβαίοι βοηθήσαντες αυτώ και παραλαβόντες έν παρακαταθήκη την πόλιν ούκ απέδωκαν. Probably, therefore, of φεύγοντες effected their return to Oropus by the aid of the tyrant Themison: cp. Dem. xviii. 99; Aeschin. iii. 85.

 $d\pi'$ αὐτό», i.e. against Oropus; Hartman, however, supposes that after κατελήφθη a whole sentence in which the name of Themison appeared, has fallen out, and accordingly refers the pronoun to him: cp. Critical Note.

ό λιμήν: cp. viii. 3. 2.

μάχρι δίκης: whether this arbitration ever took place, and what share the Athenian general Chabrias and the statesman Callistratus had in the affair, is a matter of hopeless uncertainty owing to the confusion of the authorities: cp. Grote, x. 47; Schaefer, Dem. 93 sqq. Oropus at any rate long remained in the hands of the Thebans.

§ 2. ὁ Λυκομήδης: cp. vii. 1. 23. τοὺς μυρίους: cp. vi. 5. 6; vii. 1. 38.

πράττει»: for the attitude of the Arcadians towards the Thebans cp. vii. 1. 23-26.

dyaθόν: cp. Appendix, p. 362.

§ 3. δαιμονιώτατα: cp. vi. 4. 3 ήδη γάρ, ώς δοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ήγεν.

ol φυγάδες: probably Arcadian oligarchs: cp. Paus. viii. 27. 3-5. Xenophon's brevity leaves the whole matter very obscure.

§ 4. εἰπόντος . . . ἔφη . . . ἀκούσαντες δέ: the same anacoluthon as in iv. 8. 9. Demotion is otherwise unknown.

'Αθηναίοι έφρούρουν: cp. vii. 1. 19, 25, 41 notes.

τὰ δίκαια: of soldier's pay: cp. Anab. vii. 7. 14 τότε ἀπιίναι, δταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται.

§ 6. ἡναγκάζοντο, i. e. the Athenians: cp. § 3.

κρατουμένους: for the fact cp. the speech of the Corinthian Cliteles, vi. 5. 37.

- § 7. ἐσομένης, SC. εἰρήνης.
- § 8. ἐν καιρφ̂ : so iii. 4. 9.
- § 9. ταύτης στερηθήναι: cp. Isocr. vi. 11 προθύμως οἱ σύμμαχοι συμβεβουλεύκασιν ὑμῖν (τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις), ὡς χρή Μεσσήνην ἀφέντας ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. οἶς ὑμεῖς δικαίως ἀν ὀργίζοισθε πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποστασιν ἡμῶν...τὴν γὰρ δόξαν, ἢν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐν ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κτησάμενοι κατίλιπον, ταύτην ἐν ὁλίγφ χρόνφ πείθουσιν ὑμᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢς οδτ' ἀπρεπεστέραν τῷ Λακεδαίμονι συμφορὰν οὕτε δεινοτέραν οὐδέποτ' ἀν εὐρεῖν ἢδυνήθησαν κ.τ.λ. Isocrates wrote this oration about 366 B. C.
 - § 10. αγασθέντες . . . οἱ Θηβαίοι: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

cφ' vere έχειν την laurên ladorous, i.e. on the basis of the Persian rescript, that each state should be autonomous and Messene independent (cp. vii. 1. 36; Isocr. vi. l. c.). This probably accounts for Diodorus' (xv. 76) erroneous statement, that the peace was effected through the intervention of the Persian king, and was universally accepted by the Greek states, putting an end to δ τε Λακωνικός καὶ Βοιωτικός πόλεμος, which had lasted five years since the battle of Leuctra.

§ 11. ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας: CP. § 1.

ы́s . . . ? хоттаs, i. e. as though they (the exiles) were occupying

it as a portion of their own (i. e. Argive) territory: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 362.

παραλαβόντες, i. e. the Argives took the post on Tricaranum away from the exiles.

δίκας: Cp. § Ι μέχρι δίκης.

§ 12. περί τοῦτον τὸν χράνον, 367 : Diod. xv. 73.

Σελλασίαν: cp. vi. 5. 27 and Diod. xv. 64 ή μεν οδν πρώτη μερίς των Βοιωτών την πορείαν έποιζσατο έπι την Σελλασίαν καλουμένην πόλιν, και τούς τήδε κατοικούντας δπέστησε των Λακεδαιμονίων.

365-364 B.C.

Λασιῶνα: cp. iii. 2. 30, and for the claims of the Eleans which had been confirmed by the Persian king cp. vi. 5. 2, 6; vii. i. 26, 38. For the seizure cp. Diod. xv. 77 οἱ γὰρ ᾿Αρκάδων ψυγάδες δρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἦλιδος κατελάβοντο τῆς δνομαζομένης Τριφυλίας χωρίον δχυρόν δ προσηγόρευται Λασιών. ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων περὶ τῆς Τριφυλίας ἡμφισβήτουν ᾿Αρκάδες καὶ Ἡλείοι, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκατέρων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ὑπεροχὰς ἐναλλὰξ ἐκυρίευον τῆς χώρας. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς τῶν ᾿Αρκάδων κρατούντων τὴν Τριφυλίαν, προφάσει τῶν φυγάδων ἀφηροῦντο ταύτην τῶν ᾿Αρκάδων οἱ Ἡλείοι.

§ 13. παραγγείλωντες. According to Diodorus (l. c.) the Arcadians first sent envoys to demand the restoration of the place, and when this was refused, summoned troops from Athens, their new ally (§ 6), and with their help made the attack.

ol τριακόσιο: probably picked foot soldiers, the four hundred being horsemen, as appears from §§ 16, 31: cp. vii. 2. 10, and Critical Note.

έκ πολλοῦ, 'at a great distance,' opposed to δμόσε: cp. iii. 3. 9. els χείραs: cp. ii. 4. 34.

πολλούς: cp. Diod. l. c. πλείους τῶν διακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλον.

§ 14. τῶν ᾿Ακρωρείων: cp. iii. 2. 30 and Diod. xv. 77 εὐθὺς γὰρ οἰ μὲν ᾿Αρκάδες μετεωρισθέντες τῷ προτερήματι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν, καὶ εἶλον πόλεις Μάργανα καὶ Κρόνιον, ἔτι δὲ Κυπαρισσίαν καὶ Κορυφάσιον.

Θραύστου: near the source of the Peneus: cp. Diod. xv. 17.

τὸ Κρόνιον: the hill which overhangs Olympia on the north side, called in the next sentence τὸ 'Ολυμπιακὸν ὅρος.

Mapyaréas: cp. iii. 2. 25.

ένδόντων=προδόντων: cp. Thuc. iv. 76.

προκεχωρηκότων: for the gen. abs. cp. ii. 4. 29.

την πόλιν, i. e. Elis.

aurêr, i. c. rêr 'Hacler.

§ 15. διαφορά: for the previous dissensions at Elis in 398 B.C. cp. iii. 2. 27.

'Αργείον: cp. vii. 1. 33.

- § 16. Πύλον: on the Peneus seven or eight miles east of Elis on the road from Olympia to Elis; Paus. vi. 22. 5.
- § 17. αὐτῶν "Ολουρον: for the genitive cp. Dem. xxiii. 154 καταλαμβάνει Σκῆψω καὶ Κεβρῆνα καὶ "Ιλιον αὐτῶν. Olurus was evidently in the district of Pellene; Leake placed it at the entrance to the valley of the Sys.

πάλι»... els τὴν συμμαχίαν: cp. vii. 2. 18 note. It appears from the next section that the discontented democrats must in consequence have joined the Arcadians.

§ 19. Κυλλήνης: cp. iii. 2. 27.

iππαρχοs: a similar official at Elis is mentioned by Plutarch (Philop. 7).

aἴτιος . . . συνάψαι: for the absence of the article cp. vii. 5. 17 αἴτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο σωθῆναι πάντα τὰ ἔξω.

σύμμαχοι. Little is heard of Elis after its reduction by King Agis in 397. In 374 the Eleans had furnished the Spartans with a contingent of ships against the Athenians in Corcyra (vi. 2. 3), but after Leuctra they had taken the Theban side. The immediate cause of their seeking the Spartan alliance again must have been their hostility against the Arcadians.

§ 20. ἀπολαβεῖν. This is Jacob's conjecture, in the sense of 'to cast off': cp. i. 1. 16 ναῦς...ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Xenophon, however, only thus uses the verb in the passive: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 362.

'Aρχίδαμος: Agesilaus' son: cp. vii. 1. 28.

μετά τῶν πολιτῶν: Cp. iv. 4. 19.

Κρώμνον: cp. Athenaeus (x. p. 452 a), who tells an anecdote of the siege, πολίχνιον δ' έστὶν ἰδρυμένον πλησίον Μεγάλης Πόλεως.

τῶν δώδεκα λόχων: cp. Appendix, p. 347, and vii. 5. 10.

§ 21. της Σκιρίτιδος: from this passage we may infer that the

inhabitants of this district as well as of Caryae and Sellasia (vi. 5. 27; vii. 4. 12) had revolted from Sparta at the time of Epaminondas' first invasion.

§ 22. δι' οδ, 'across,' or 'over which.' ὑπὸ τούτφ, 'at the foot of this hill.'

τοὺς ἐπαρίτους: cp. § 33 and vi. 5. 6 note; vii. 5. 3; Diod. xv. 62, 67 οἱ καλούμενοι ἐπίλεκτοι ὅντες πεντακισχίλιοι; Hesych. ἐπαρόητοι: τάγμα ᾿Αρκαδικὸν μαχιμώτατον καὶ οἱ παρὰ ᾿Αρκάσι δημόσιοι φύλακες.

eis δύο, 'in double file': so iii. 1. 22.

§ 23. κατὰ κέρας, 'in column': cp. vi. 2. 30 ἐπὶ κέρως; Hipparch. 4. 3 ἢν διὰ στενῶν όδῶν ἐλαύνης . . . els κέρας ἡγητέον.

§ 25. πλησίον δντων, sc. τῶν ᾿Αρκάδων.

άνελόμενοι: cp. Polyaen. i. 41. 4 'Αρχίδαμος κραταῦντων 'Αρκάδων αὐτὸς ήδη παρειμένος ὑπὸ τραύματος Φθάσας ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως, ὅπως μὴ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλουτο.

§ 26. ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον: cp. § 16.

τοίς Πυλίοις: mostly Elean democrats, § 16.

Θαλαμῶν, a strong fortress in Elis, the site of which is placed by Leake (Morea, ii. 204) on the Achaean frontier near the modern village of Santameri: cp. Polyb. iv. 75.

έγγὺς διακοσίων: for the genitive cp. Anab. v. 7. 9 έγγὺς μυρίων: contrast ii. 4. 32; iv. 2. 16.

Mapyavéas: cp. § 14.

§ 27. (τοῦ) κατὰ τοὺς 'Αργείους: cp. Critical Note; 'the stockade opposite the Argives,' i.e. that part of it which the Argives had to defend. For the Argives cp. § 11.

ώξυλάβησαν: άπαξ λεγόμενον: cp. Hescyh. ὀξυλαβήσαι τὸ ὀξίως λαβίσθαι τοῦ πράγματος.

Θηβαῖοι, probably Thebans left as garrisons in some of the Arcadian towns by Epaminondas on his first invasion of the Peloponnese: cp. vii. 1. 42; 3. 4; and § 36.

§ 28. περὶ τοὺε 'Ηλείους εἶχον: for the phrase cp. v. 4. 57 περὶ τοῦτον ἦν.

την . . . 'Ολυμπίαν: Cp. § 14.

'Ολυμπιακοῦ ἔτους, i.e. Olympiad 104, 364 B.C.: cp. Introd. p. lxxi.

πρώτοις: cp. iii. 2. 31 note.

ό . . . μὴν . . . ai ἡμέραι: according to Boeckh (comment on

Pindar, Ol. iii. 19) the festival was celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, which sometimes fell in the [Elean or Olympian] month of Apollonius, and sometimes in Parthenius, i. e. in the Attic month of Hecatombaeon (July). After all the contests had been introduced it lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth day of the month inclusive: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 270.

'Axatoús: for the alliance cp. §§ 17, 18.

§ 29. τὰ δρομκὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου: the names and order of the contests seem to be preserved in a distich quoted by Eustathius, commenting on Hom. Il. xxiii. 621

άλμα ποδών δίσκου τε βολή και ἄκοντος έρωή και δρόμος ήδε πάλη, μία δ' ἔπλετο πάσι τελευτή.

ol . . . ἀφικόμετοι, i.e. the competitors left in for the wrestling, the last of the five events.

ἐν τῷ δρόμφ, i.e. the stadium, just outside the Altis or Sacred Enclosure on its eastern side.

τοῦ βωμοῦ: the great altar of Zeus, standing nearly in the centre of the Altis.

τὸ τέμενος. It appears from the context that the τέμενος must have included land outside the Altis, on the western bank of the Cladeus.

τὴν "Αλτιν: cp. Paus. v. 10. Ι τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τὸ ἰερὸν τοῦ Διός, παραποιήσαντες τὸ ὅνομα, "Αλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι.

'Abyraler de inneis: for the Athenian alliance cp. §§ 1-6, 13 note.

§ 30. τάπὶ θάτερα: cp. vi. 2. 7 note.

καταφρονούμενοι . . . καταφρονούμενοι : for the anaphora cp. ii. 3. 55; v. I. 35.

§ 31. τοῦ βουλευτηρίου: to the south of the Temple of Zeus.

τοῦ τῆε 'Εστίας ἱεροῦ . . . θεάτρου: the sites of these two buildings have not been indentified.

τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ: the temple of Zeus in the SE. portion of the Altis.

άλλοι τε ... καὶ αὐτός: the subject of the finite verb forms only a part of the persons denoted by the participle: cp. iv. 4. I.

τῶν τριακοσίων: cp. § 13.

Στρατόλας: cp. § 15.

§ 32. σκηνώματα: for the crowds assembled at Olympia cp. Justin. xiii 5 praesente universa Graecia in mercatu Olympiaco.

discorrance powers, used absolutely like discretizate in i. 3. 4.

θεδε . . . ποίησειαν: cp. Aristides, Eleus. Orat. p. 452 τὴν δ' ἐπ' ᾿Αλφειῷ μάχην σιωπῶ πλὴν δσα καὶ ταύτη σύμβολον οὐ φαῦλον ἐπέστη παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἡ τῶν ἀποστερουμένων τόλμα καὶ νίκη.

368-362 B.C.

§ 33. τοῖε lepοῖε χρήμασι: cp. Diodorus' account of the same event (xv. 82) 'Αρκάδες μετὰ Πισαίων κοινή τεθεικότες ὑπήρχον τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν 'Ολυμπίων, καὶ ἐκυρίευον τοῦ ἰεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αἰτῷ χρημάτων.

τοὺς ἐπαρίτους: cp. § 22.

Μαντινείε ἀπεψηφίσαντο: Diodorus (l. c.) states just the opposite: τῶν δὲ Μαντινέων ἀναλαβόντων εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους βίους οὐκ δλίγα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἔσπευδον οἱ παρανομήσαντες διακατέχειν τὸν πρὸς Ἡλείους πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ δῶσιν ἐν εἰρήνη λόγον τῶν ἀναλωθέντων. τῶν δὲ δλλων ᾿Αρκάδων βουλομένων συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, στάσιν ἐκίνησαν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς. γενομένων οὖν δυοῦν ἐταιρειῶν συνέβαινε τῆς μὲν τοὺς Τεγεάτας, τῆς δὲ τοὺς Μαντινεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι. Χenophon's account, however, is evidently to be preferred, confirmed as it is by numerous and consistent details, and more especially by the peace with the Eleans (§ 35) brought about by the Mantineans and the rest of the Anti-Theban party.

τὸ γιγρόμενον μέρος, i.e. the Mantinean share towards the payment of the Epariti.

τούς μυρίους: cp. vi. 5. 6; vii. 1. 38.

§ 34. καθίσταντο els τοὺς ἐπαρίτους, i.e. began to enroll themselves among the Epariti.

देस' देस्टांग्ठाड, 'in the power of the opposite party,' i. e. the Anti-Mantinean party.

διακεχειρικότες: cp. Anab. i. 9. 17 πολλά δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο.

hamerica: this illustrates the utter confusion of states and parties in the Peloponnesus: the democratic Mantineans, say their opponents, supported by the more oligarchically inclined of the rest of the Arcadians, are likely to seek aid from the Spartans, who in 385 had destroyed their city (v. 2. 7) and done their utmost to prevent its restoration after Leuctra (vi. 5. 4).

§ 35. oi µév, i. e. the Thebans.

ol δὲ τὰ κράτιστα . . . βουλευόμετοι: cp. vii. 5. I Μαντινεῖε τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 'Αρκάδων οl κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, i.e. the oligarchical party: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

τοῦ . . . leροῦ, 'the temple.'

αποδιδόντες, i.e. to the Eleans.

οἴεσθαι, pleonastic: gramatically dependent on ἐνόμιζον.

§ 36. Teyearêr: cp. Diod. xv. 82; and for the local feud between Tegea and Mantinea cp. vi. 5. 10 and Thuc. v. 65.

έν Τεγές . . . τῶν Βοιωτῶν: cp. the Theban harmosts in the Achaean towns (vii. I. 43) and in Sicyon (vii. 2. 11).

τῶν ἀρχόιτων οὶ φοβούμενοι: cp. § 34 οὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων διακεχειρικότες τὰ lepà χρήματα.

τοὺς σκηνοῦντας, 'those who were feasting': cp. Cyrop. iv. 2. II; διασκηνῶν iv. 8. I8; and συσκηνοῦσι v. 3. 20.

ή δημοσία οἰκία: its use is not further specified.

§ 37. πολλοί δέ: cp. Appendix, p. 362.

noar δ' of άφεῦντο, 'while not a few had been allowed to pass the gates.'

οὐδεὶs . . . ἀπολεῖσθαι : a parenthesis explanatory of οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφεῖντο : the only persons troubled with any apprehension were those who were afraid of giving account of τὰ ἰερὰ χρήματα.

έγγύς: Mantinea was about twelve miles distant from Tegea.

§ 38. οὐθένα ἀξιοῦν ἔφασαν, 'they said that they claimed that no one '&c.

§ 39. ὅτι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι, cp.ii. 1.2: for the opt. mood cp. Goodwin, M. T. 677.

ώς δεῖν: for ως with the infinitive instead of a finite verb cp. iii. 4. 27; vi. 5. 42.

§ 40. Topagar: cp. iii. 5. 21.

τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν: for the transition to *orat. rect.* without ἔφη cp. i. I. 27 note.

ήμῶν δι' ὑμᾶς . . . καταστάντων, i.e. in 370 B.C., cp. vi. 5. 19 note: for the strained relations between the Thebans and Arcadians cp. vii. 1. 22, 23, 32, 39.

CHAPTER V

\$\ 1-3. Fearing that Thebes would enslave the Pelopounesus the Mantineans and their allies, who were oligarchically inclined, appealed for aid to Athens and Sparta. It was agreed that each state should hold supreme command in its own territory. §§ 4-7. Meanwhile Epaminondas set out at the head of a large army from Thebes, and waited for a while at Nemes to intercept the Athenian contingent. Hearing that they would go by sea, he went on to Tegea. § 8. Xenophon's admiration for Epaminondas' generalskip. \$\$ 9, 10. The enemy were strongly posted at Mantinea, and Agesilans was already on his way to join them, when Epammondas resolved to march upon Sparta. A Cretan brought the news to Agesilaus, who had just time to turn back and guard the city. \$\$ 11-17. Repulsed in his attack upon Sparta, Epaminondas returned to Tegea, where he rested his hoplites, sending his cavalry on to Mantinea. That morning the Athenian cavalry had arrived at Mantinea, and, weary as they were, succeeded in repelling the Thebans. §§ 18-22. Thus Epaminondas felt himself forced to draw on a general engagement, for which his troops made sealous preparations. Marching out of Tegea, by a clever manageure he led the enemy to expect that he would not fight till the morrow. Much to their surprise he suddenly wheeled round and advanced upon them. §§ 23-25. Epaminondas had strengthened one of his wings at the expense of the other. With the stronger he met the enemy, drove them back, and thus threw the whole army into flight. His death, however, utterly paralysed his troops, so that they could make no use of their victory. \$\$ 26, 27. The battle was completely indecisive in its results, and afterwards the confusion and disorder in Greece were worse than before,

362 B.C.

§ 1. ol κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου: the aristocrats, cp. vii. 4. 35. 'Aχαιοί: the oligarchs had regained the upper hand in the Achaean towns: cp. vii. 1. 43.

καταδουλώσαιντο: cp. vii. 1. 33 βουλευόμενοι . . . δπως αν τήν ήγεμονίαν λάβοιεν τῆς Έλλάδος, and Introd. p. xxviii.

- § 2. τί γάρ: transition to oral. rect., cp. vii. 4. 40: translate: 'why else do they wish us to fight except that we may harm &c.': for η without άλλο cp. Memor. iv. 3. 9 τί ἐστι τοῖε θεοῖε ἔργον ἡ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύει»;
- § 3. 'Αθήναζε: for the alliance cp. vii. 4. 6, and CIA. ii. 57 b, esp. lines 14, 15 [τοὺς 'Αθηναίους] δέχεσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν καθὰ ἐπαγγάλλονται οἱ 'Αρκάδες καὶ 'Αχαιοὶ καὶ 'Ηλεῖοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι. The Phliasians

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are not mentioned by Xenophon, perhaps, as Köhler conjectures, because they were not present at the battle of Mantinea. The alliance was not merely defensive, but also guaranteed the permanence of the constitutions, whether oligarchical or democratical, of the contracting parties. For the date cp. Introd. p. lxxi.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων, who were now composed chiefly of oligarchs: cp. vii. 4. 34. If we may believe Pausanias (viii. 8. 10), this was done by the Mantineans without the consent of the Arcadian κοινόν: περιληφθέντες δε επικηρυκευόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καλ ελρήνην λδία πρός αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τοῦ ᾿Αρκάδων κοινοῦ πράσσοντες, οὕτω διὰ τὸ δέος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν μετεβάλοντο ἐκ той фажрой.

αὐτόθεν, 'at once,' without long negotiations, as vii. I. 2-14. ήγήσουτο: for the fut. opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 130.

§ 4. Ἐπαμεινώνδας . . . Εὐβοᾶς . . . Θετταλών πολλούς. Χεπορhon has passed over in silence the efforts of Epaminondas to realize the Theban ήγεμονία της Έλλάζος in the north of Greece and to enforce the Persian rescript of 367 (vii. 1. 36) 'Αθηναίους ἀνέλκειν ràs ravs. In the interval the Thebans had in 364 sent two expeditions into Thessaly against Alexander of Pherae, in the first of which Pelopidas had been slain in the moment of victory at Cynoscephalae, and in the second the Theban commanders Malcitas and Diogiton had defeated the tyrant in several battles, and had forced him to liberate all the towns, which he had subjugated, and to become the subject ally of Thebes. In 363 to strike a blow at the naval powe of Athens Epaminondas had at the head of a Theban fleet, which he had created by his own efforts, penetrated as far as Byzantium: Byzantium left the Athenian Confederacy, and the important islands of Chios and Rhodes and the town of Ceos followed the example. During Epaminondas' absence the Thebans at home, as the excuse of an alleged conspiracy, wrecked their vengeance on Orchomenus, their only possible rival left in the Bocotian Confederacy, razing the town level with the ground, slaying some of the inhabitants and selling the rest into slavery, cp. Diod. xv. 78, 79; Grote, x. 63-73; Stern, 216-225; Introd. p. xxxiii. At this juncture the affairs in the Peloponnesus, just recorded by Xenophon, interrupted Epaminondas' schemes of Hegemony by sea, and demanded his instant attention in the south.

Εὐβοᾶs: cp. vi. 5. 23 note.

'Αλεξάνδρου: cp. vi. 4. 34; vii. I. 28 note; and Plut. Pel. 35 (Θηβαῖοι) 'Αλέξανδρον ἡνάγκασαν ... ὀμόσαι ... ἐφ' οδε ἄν ἡγῶνται Θηβαῖοι καὶ κελεύσωσιν ἀκολουθήσειν.

rûn drartien airê, i.e. the Thessalian states just liberated by the Thebans from the yoke of Alexander.

Φωκείς: cp. vi. 5. 23.

σφίσιν αυτοίε: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 362.

§ 5. 'Apyeious: cp. Arist. frag. 99 a.

Meσσηνίους: cp. vi. 5. 33, 51; vii. 1. 27.

Mεγαλοπολίται. This is Xenophon's first mention of the Megalopolitans: cp. vi. 5. 6 note.

'Ασεάται: cp. vi. 5. 11.

Παλλαντιείε: cp. vi. 5. 9.

§ 6. Neµéq: cp. iv. 2. 14.

ώς . . . συνελόντι είπεῖν, ' to put it shortly.'

- § 7. τὸ . . . πορεύεσθα ἀπεγνωκέναι : for the accusative cp. Diod. xv. 53 τὸ μὲν ταύτη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διέξοδον ἀπέγνω; but the genitive in Anab. i. 7. 19 ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι.
- § 8. οὐκ ἄν ἔγωγε κ.τ.λ.: cp. Introd. p. xxviii. Polybius (referring to Epaminondas) ix. 8 διόπερ εἰκότως οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἐπιμέμφονται τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔργοις, φάσκοντες τῷ μὲν ἡγεμόνι πεπρᾶχθαι πῶν, ὅσον ἀγαθῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπεναντίων κρείττω, τῆς δὲ τύχης ἤττω γεγονέναι τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν.

สัสเทพิ สบ้างบิ ซีกเ: cp. Ages. 8. 4 างบิาง สัสเทพิ 'Αγησιλάου: here the clause introduced by ซีกเ forms the object to สัสเทพิ.

πράττοιτο: cp. Appendix, p. 362.

τῶν . . . ἐτέρων, ' the enemy ': cp. iv. 2. 15.

**petrress. According to Diod. (xv. 84) Epaminondas had 30,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, the enemy only 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.

§ 9. Πελλήνη: a city of Laconia, about six miles north of Sparta, in the upper valley of the Eurotas, Paus. iii. 21. 2; Strabo, viii. 386. Polybius (ix. 8) incorrectly says that Agesilaus had already penetrated as far as Mantinea: cp. § 10 note.

δειπνοποιήσαμενος: cp. Polyb. ix. 8 [Επαμεινώνδας] δειπνοποιήσασθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ καθ δραν παραγγείλας έξηγε τὴν δύναμιν ἄρτι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιγιγνομένης. § 10. Κρής: cp. Diod. xv. 82 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ^{*}Αγις (!) . . . ἐξέπεμψέ τινας Κρῆτας ἡμεροδρόμους, δι' ὧν κ.τ.λ.; Plut. Ages. 34 Εὐθύνου δὲ Θεσπιέως, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησίν, ὡς δὲ πενοφῶν, Κρητώς τινος, ἐξαγγείλαντος τῷ 'Αγησιλάφ. According to Polybius (l. c.) and Polyaenus (ii. 3. 10) a deserter.

 $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\eta$: Polybius (l. c.) makes Epaminondas reach Sparta before Agesilaus.

ἐν ᾿Αρκαδία ἀκῆσαν. The presence of this advanced guard in Arcadia perhaps accounts for Polybius' statement just quoted that Agesilaus was at Mantinea.

τὸ ξενικόν, 'the mercenaries.'

τῶν λόχων δώδεκα: cp. Appendix, p. 347, and vii. 4. 20.

ol toeis: for the article cp. i. 1. 18.

§ 11. έπεὶ . . . έγένετο: cp. Polyb. ix. 8 προσμίξας δὲ περὶ τρίτην ώραν τῆ πόλει.

έν τῆ πόλει: cp. Isocr. v. 48 (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἡναγκάσθησαν διακινδυνεύειν . . . ἐν μέση τῆ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀρχείοις περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικών τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον.

†πλέονες: the sense of this corrupt passage must be, 'where he could not use his superior numbers to advantage': cp. Critical Note. For ἔνθεν cp. Appendix, p. 362.

τοῦτο λαβών το χωρίον κατέβαινε: cp. Polyb. (ix. 8) κατέσχε τῆς πόλεως τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστραμμένους τόπους; and ibid. v. 22 τῆς Σπάρτης... κειμένης ἐν τόποις ἐπιπέδοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ περιεχούσης... διαφόρους ἀνωμάλους καὶ βουνώδεις τόπους.

obs driβaurer: if these words be genuine (cp. Critical Note), they must mean that Epaminondas did not force his way into the higher parts of the city.

§ 12. τὸ . . . γενόμενον: for the accusative instead of the genitive cp. i. 7. 31 and Cyrop. vii. 2. 22 οδκ αλτιθμαι οδδέ τάδε τὸν θεόν.

ifeστι . . . ifeστι: for the anaphora cp. vii. 4. 30 and infr. §§ 18, 22.

τοις απονενοημένοις: for the sentiment cp. vi. 4. 23.

'Αρχίδαμος: son of King Agesilaus: cp. v. 4. 25; vii. 4. 20: cp. Plut. Ages. 34 ἐν δὲ πρώτοις τὸν 'Αρχίδαμον ἀγωνιζόμενον ὑπερηφάνως τἢ τε ρώμη τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τἢ κουφότητι τοῦ σώματος, δξέως ἐπὶ τὰ θλιβόμενα τῆς μάχης διαθέοντα διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ πανταχοῦ μετ' δλίγων ἀντερείδοντα τοῖς πολεμίοις.

διαβάs... κώλυμα, trans. 'having crossed the only thing which seemed to present some obstacle to the enemy's advance.' What the thing was, is not specified.

#ρὸς δρθιον: it is rather difficult to harmonize this with the κατέβαινε of the previous section, though perhaps any hillock occupied by the enemy would justify the expression.

ol πῦρ πνέοντες: cp. Soph. Antig. 1146 là πῦρ πνεόντων χοράς' ἄστρων.

ol νενικηκότες: cp. vi. 5. 23 ol Βοιωτοί . . . ἀγαλλόμενοι τῆ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκη.

§ 13. πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ: cp. ii. 3. 24 πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ.

§ 14. τῶν δέ: the Thebans, opposed to ἐκείνοις . . . ηὐτυχηκόσι: genitive absolute.

προσκαρτερήσα, i. e. in addition to the fatigue of the thirty miles march from Sparta to Tegea, the advance on Mantinea was made by night: cp. Polyb. ix. 8.

σίτου συγκομιδής: about July, cp. Introd. p. lxxi.

§ 15. $\delta \nu$ ' $1\sigma\theta\mu\hat{\varphi}$: the isthmus is nearly fifty miles distant from Mantinea.

τὰs Κλωνάs: some twelve miles south of Corinth on the road to Argos: cp. Paus. ii. 15. 1. Epaminondas had heard (§ 7) that the Athenian contingent was advancing by sea.

προσελαύνοντες: cp. Polyb. ix. 8 ήδη δὲ τῆς Θηβαίων πρωτοπορείας συναπτούσης πρός τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος Ιερὸν δ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἐπτὰ σταδίοις, δοπερ ἐπίτηδες συνεκύρησεν, ἄμα καὶ τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους ἐπιφαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν τῆς Μαντινείας ὑπερκείμενον λόφον.

§ 16. av: refers to the brave defence of their city by the Spartans.

έν Κορίνθφ δυστυχήματος: the lapse of time (let alone the definite roîs ἐππεῦσιν) seems too great to allow this to be referred to the skirmish recorded in vii. 1. 20, 21. Breitenbach conjectures with great probability that the Corinthians themselves, who were by no means friendly towards the Athenians (cp. vii. 4. 4, 5), must in some way have obstructed the passage of the cavalry through their territory, and that Xenophon, who was living in Corinth at the time, found it convenient to give no further details.

είδου . . . συνέρραξαν: the battle was evidently fought just outside the gates of Mantinea: cp. Polyb. l. c. and Plut. Glor. Athen. 346 [Αθηναῖοι] δλίγοι μὲν ὅντες ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ

όδοῦ δὲ κεκμηκότες, οἰδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντος, δμως εὐθύς εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ δ' ἰππεῖς διεσκευασάμενοι καὶ προσεξελάσαντες ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας αὐτὰς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἔθεντο καρτερὰν ἱππομαχίαν καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα ἀφείλοντο τὴν Μαντίνειαν.

. § 17. ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί: thus modestly Xenophon refers to the death of his own son Gryllus, who with his brother Diodorus took part in the fray on the Athenian side; cp. Ephorus (frag. 146 a) δ δὶ Γρύλλος τεταγμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἐππέας (ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη περὶ Μαντίνεων) ἰσχιρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν. Euphranor painted a picture in the Ceramicus at Athens (of which there was a copy at Mantinea) apparently representing Gryllus in the act of striking the Theban commander: the Mantineans afterwards set up an equestrian statue in honour of Gryllus. Cp. Paus. i. 3. 4; viii. 9, 8; 11. 5; ix. 15. 5; Plut. Glor. Athen. 346. Diodorus and Pausanias hopelessly confuse this cavalry engagement with the great battle of Mantinea fought two or three days later.

§ 18. ἐξήκεν...τὰν χρόνον: cp. § 9 ὁρῶν...τὸν χρόνον προβαίνοντο. The Boeotarchs entered upon office about the time of the winter solstice, so that on this occasion there can have been no question, as in the first invasion of the Peloponnesus (vi. 5. 24 note), of Epaminondas' own period of command coming to an end. To what time then does Xenophon refer? Dodwell believes that it must be the time for which the mercenary troops had been engaged, and compares vii. 1. 28 ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος, ὁς ἢν εἰρημένος. Schaefer believes that the Theban government had fixed a definite time for the length of the campaign. Stern (p. 238) conjectures that Epaminondas' Peloponnesian allies were becoming impatient for the σίτου συγκομιδή, so that he could no longer rely on their continued support.

λελυμασμίνος . . . ἔσοιτο : for the periphrasis cp. vii. 3. 11.

δοτε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ: an anacoluthon after ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐνθυμούμενος, due to the length of the intervening clauses.

dναλύσοιτο: cp. Dem. xiv. 34 τὰς προτέρας ἀναλύσονται πρὸς τοὺς Ελληνας άμαρτίας.

καλήν . . . ήγήσστο ἐστσθα: the indicative, repeating the notion of the participle λογιζομένφ, is more vivid than the more regular construction ἐσωτο would have been.

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άρχην Πελοποννήσου: cp. § I.

§ 19. &s = &ore: cp. v. 2. 9.

πόνον . . . ἀποκάμνειν: for the accusative cp. Thuc. ii. 51 τὰς δλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογεγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι εξέκαμνον.

§ 20. έλευκοῦντο: cp. ii. 4. 25.

ἐπεγράφοντο . . . ρόπαλα: cp. iv. 4. 10 τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῷν ἀσπίδων belonging to the Sicyonians: Paus. iv. 28. 5 (Μεσσήποι) σημεῖα ἐπὶ ταῖε ἀσπίσι Λακωνικὰ ἔχοντες; Aristoph. Achar. 1095 καὶ γὰρ σὰ μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν Γοργόνα. This passage seems to mean that the Arcadians painted clubs on their shields, the club being the symbol of Heracles, the patron deity of the Thebans. Grote (x. 97) contests this interpretation.

§ 21. ἐξήγαγεν, i. e. out of Tegea: § 14.

συντομωτάτην: between ten and twelve miles.

τὰ πρὸτ ἐσπέραν ὅρη: known as the Maenalian mountains; so vi. 5. 15.

roîs πολεμίοιs: apparently drawn up in the narrowest part of the plain, some three or four miles south of Mantinea: cp. Paus. viii. 11. 4, 5. Xenophon, however, is absolutely silent about the movements of the Spartans and their allies, and it is difficult to supply his omission from other sources; in fact their position has to be inferred from what he says of Epaminondas' manœuvres.

§ 22. $i \xi \epsilon r \delta \theta \eta \dots \dot{\eta} \phi \delta \lambda a \gamma \xi$. This must mean that Epaminondas brought his army from column into line opposite the enemy.

iπὸ τοῖε ὑψηλοῖε. Epaminondas seems to have marched under the Maenalian mountains from somewhere near the site of the modern Tripolitza to the Pelagian wood.

την εν ταῖς ψυχαῖς . . . παρασκευήν: cp. iii. 4. 20 την γνώμην παρασκευάζουτο ώς άγωνιούμενοι.

παραγαγών . . . ἔμβολον, 'having brought the regiments which were marching in column into line (εἰς μέτωπον) he thus strengthened the beak-like formation around himself.' Xenophon's brevity makes it impossible to follow exactly Epaminondas' evolutions: he evidently means to describe the manœuvre by which the Theban general here, as at Leuctra, vastly increased the depth of the phalanx on the left wing; on his arrival at the mountain Epaminondas must have formed his marching column, headed by himself and his Boeotians, into line by making his men face to the right (ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ).

Then to strengthen το περί έσυτον έμβολον he must have changed his line (or part of it) once more into column by making the men face to the right (or left) and brought rous em népus mopevouisous like the other, so that when the command to front was again given, the phalanx on the left wing would be of the desired depth. According to Diodorus (xv. 85) the Thebans were posted on the left with the Arcadians next them and the Argives on the right; in the centre were the Euboeans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Messenians, Malians, Aenianians, Thessalians, and the other In the opposing army the Mantineans with the other Arcadians held the right wing; next them stood the Lacedaemonians, and further on the Eleans, Achaeans, &c., the Athenians forming the left wing. It is remarkable that no authority mentions the commander-in-chief on the Lacedaemonian side; in all probability he must have been some nameless Mantinean according to the terms of the alliance (§ 3) όπως εν τή εαυτών εκαστοι ήγήσουντο. Neither does it appear who was in command of the Lacedaemonians themselves. Diodorus (xv. 84) puts the numbers of Epaminondas' army at more than 30,000 foot and not less than 3,000 horse, of the enemy at more than 20,000 foot and about 2,000 horse.

§ 23. τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρφρον...προσήγε: for the simile cp. Rep. Lac. 11. 10 τὸν λόχον ἔκαστον ὅσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρφρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρίφουσι: cp. Grote, x. 102 'His column (ἔμβολον) would cut through the phalanx of the enemy, like the prow of a trireme impelled in sea-fight against the midship of her antagonist.' The words ἐμβαλῶν διακόψειε continue the metaphor.

τῷ ἰσχυροτάτφ . . . τὸ ἀσθενίστατον. These words prove that the deep formation applied only to the Thebans and Boeotians on the left wing; the Argives occupied the right: cp. Diod. xv. 85.

βάθος ἐφεξῆς: cp. Critical Note. Rüstowand Köchly's conjecture ἐφ' ἔξ for ἐφεξῆς is almost certain: it explains the comparison δοπερ ὁπλετῶν φάλογγα; the commentators explain the MSS. ἐφεξῆς as equivalent to συνεχές, i. e. without intervals for the ἄμιπποι, which is very otiose, as it is followed immediately by the more exact expression ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων: cp. iii. 4. 13 ἐππεῖε δοπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι.

πεζών ἀμίππων: restored by Morus from Harpocration: foot-

soldiers interspersed between the files of the horsemen: cp. Thuc. v. 57 km/γs πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἄμιπποι ἴσοι. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 24. τοῦ ἐππικοῦ ἔμβολον: Diodorus (xv. 85) states that in both armies the cavalry were posted on the wings; this is quite consistent with the present passage, although these words seem to refer only to the cavalry on the left wing; for the ἐππίας καὶ ὁπλίτας mentioned just below as opposite to the Athenians were on Epaminondas' right wing.

τῶν ἐαυτῶν: ἐαυτῶν is genitive dependent on τῶν: cp. vii. I. 13 τῶν ἐκείνων δούλων.

dπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου: cp. § 22: this is the only indication Xenophon gives of the disposition of the wings.

την... συμβολήν. Here, as in general, after he has described with some minuteness the disposition of the troops previous to the engagement, Xenophon has little to say about the course of the battle, and it is impossible to supply his omissions from Diodorus' rhetorical narrative based, as it probably is, upon Ephorus. For Polybius (xii. 25) singles out Ephorus' description of this battle as 'extremely incorrect and absurd, arguing great ignorance both of the ground where it was fought and of the possible movements of the armies': cp. Grote, x. 104.

§ 25. ἐκείνος ἔπεσεν: the honour of striking the blow was claimed by more than one warrior; cp. Paus. viii. 11. 4 Ἐπαμεινώνδαν δέ ἀποθανείν Μαντινείς μεν ύπο Μαχαιρίωνος Μαντινέως φασίν ανδρός. ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σπαρτιάτην λέγουσιν είναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα Έπαμεινώνδαν, τίθενται δε Μαχαιρίωνα δνομα καὶ οδτοι τῷ ἀνδρί. 🛭 δε δε 'Αθηναίων έχει λόγος, όμολογούσι δε αὐτφ καὶ Θηβαίοι, τρωθήναι τὸν *Επαμεινώνδαν ὑπὸ Γρύλλου (Xenophon's son). Plutarch (Ages. 35) ascribes the death-blow to a Lacedaemonian Anticrates, whose descendants the Spartans honoured under the name of Maxaspiores, ώς μαχαίρα ποτάξαντος. Pausanias (l.c.) goes on to describe the death of Epaminondas: ώς δε ετέτρωτο ο Επαμεινώνδας, εκκομίζουσων ετι ζώντα έκ της παρατάξεως αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τέως μέν την χείρα έχων έπὶ τῷ τραύματι εταλαιπώρει καὶ ές τοὺς μαχομένους ἀφεώρα, ὁπόθεν δε ἀπέβλεπεν ές αὐτοὺς ἀνόμαζον Σκοπήν οἱ ἔπειτα, λαβόντος δὲ ἴσον τοῦ ἀγώνος πέρας, ούτω την χείρα απέσχεν από του τραύματος, και αυτόν αφέντα την ψυχήν έθαψαν ένθα σφίσιν εγένετο ή συμβολή: cp. Paus. ix. 15. 5, 6.

αὐτοῖε . . . αὐτοῖε : datives of the agent : cp. Oec. 2.14 ἀποφεύγειν μοι πειρậ ; Mem. ii. 10. 1 ἄν τις σοι ἀποδρậ.

διίπεσον, i.e. slipped away through the broken ranks of the enemy.

έπὶ τοῦ εἰωνύμου. If the disposition of the forces be correctly described in § 24, the cavalry interspersed with the ἄμμπποι must have left them behind, and then the ἄμμπποι and πελτασταί must have wheeled to the left against the centre of the enemy; this seems to be implied in ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰωνύμου.

§ 26. ἀπάσης της 'Ελλάδος: cp. Diod. xv. 86 οδδέποτε γὰρ 'Ελλήνων πρὸς 'Ελληνας ἀγωνιζομένων οθτε πλήθος ἀνδρών τοσοῦτο παρετάξατο οθθ ήγεμόνες ἀξιολογώτεροι τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν οθτε ἄνδρες δυνατώτεροι ταῖς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνδραγαθίαις.

ἀντιτεταγμένων, SC. ἀπάντων τῶν Ελλήνων.

μεκρούς: the numbers of the slain are not recorded.

§ 27. οδτε χώρα...πλέου ἔχοντες: this is rather an exaggeration: Messenia and Megalopolis at least benefited: cp. next note.

ἀκρισία και ταραχή: cp. Dem. xviii. 18 ἔπειθ ή Πελοπόννησου ἄπασα διειστήκει και οδθ οι μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὖτως ἴσχυον ὥστ' ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οδθ οι πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἤσαν, ἀλλά τις ἢν ἄκριτος και παρὰ τούτοις και παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν ἔρις και ταραχή. After the battle a general peace was concluded, in which the Messenians were allowed to share as a separate state. On this account the Spartans refused to consent to it και μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλίγων ὑπῆρχον ἔκοπονδοι, Diod. xv. 89: cp. Polyb. iv. 23; Plut. Ages. 35.

ἐμοὶ . . . γραφέσθω: cp. De re Equest. 10. 17 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ . . . μέχρι τούτων ἡμῶν γεγράφθω, and ibid. 12. 14 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ . . . γεγράφθω ἡμῶν.

APPENDIX

§ 1. NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

dπαιδή δ' dγγύε, κ.τ.λ. Diodorus (xiii. 48-51) gives a much fuller and more rhetorical account of the battle, and conceives it quite differently. Plutarch (Alc. 28) seems to follow Xenophon in the main, but to add details from the same source as Diodorus, i.e. probably Ephorus and Theopompus.

According to Diodorus, the several divisions of the Athenian fleet united at Cardia, and then sailed up the Hellespont to Proconnesus, taking care to pass Abydos by night, that the increase in their numbers might not be noticed by the enemy. Mindarus, with the help of Pharnabazus, had just taken Cyzicus by storm. Next day the Athenians disembarked their soldiers, under Chares, close to the Cyzicene territory, and with their fleet in three divisions, under Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes, sailed against the enemy at Cyzicus. Alcibiades went ahead in order to προκαλέσασθαι τους πολεμίους, the other two generals aiming to surround them and cut them off from the city. Mindarus saw only Alcibiades' ships, and, despising their numbers, sailed out to meet them; whereupon Alcibiades by pretending flight drew him πορρωτέρω της πόλεως, till suddenly he faced about, and Theramenes and Thrasybulus, seeing his signal, sailed towards the city and cut off the Peloponnesians. Mindarus, now seeing the whole Athenian fleet (nothing is said about any mist), fled to shore at Cleri, where Pharnabazus was encamped. Alcibiades hotly pursued him, sunk some of his ships, took others, and tried to

drag others off the beach. The Peloponnesian land forces and the troops of Pharnabazus now came to the assistance of Mindarus, whereupon Thrasybulus disembarked his marines and sent word to Theramenes to bring up the soldiers under Chares. Meanwhile Mindarus, supported by the mercenaries of Pharnabazus and also by Clearchus, firmly stood his ground. When however Theramenes arrived with the reinforcements and joined Thrasybulus, first the mercenaries broke the line and fled, and then Clearchus was obliged to retire. Theramenes and his troops now went off to the help of Alcibiades. Mindarus was thus obliged to divide his forces: one division he sent to oppose Theramenes, while he himself at the head of the other made a brave resistance against Alcibiades, until after many heroic exploits he was himself slain. His death was the signal for a general flight among the Peloponnesians; but the Athenians were unable to pursue them far, because their retreat was covered by Pharnabazus, who now arrived on the scene.

According to Plutarch, Alcibiades, on arriving in the Athenian camp, hearing that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were in Cyzicus, determined to fight, and exhorted his troops accordingly. Then he sailed with the whole fleet to Proconnesus, where he ordered έντος περιβάλλειν τὰ λεπτά πλοία, that no news of his intended attack might reach the enemy, his precaution being much aided by a great thunderstorm and thick mist. Then the whole fleet set sail, and when the mist gradually lifted, Alcibiades saw the Peloponnesian fleet πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. Thereupon he ordered the other generals to keep behind out of sight, while he himself, sailing on in front with forty ships, προυκαλείτο τούς πολεμίους. The Peloponnesians, despising his small numbers, sailed to meet him, and at once joined battle; but when the rest of the Athenian fleet came up, they turned and fled. At this juncture Alcibiades, deemhevous with twenty of his fastest vessels, made for the shore, disembarked, and slew many of the enemy, as they fled from their ships. Mindarus (who is not mentioned as being on board the Peloponnesian fleet at all) and Pharnabasus now came up to the rescue, but in vain: for Alcibiades quickly slew Mindarus and put Pharnabazus to flight.

§ 2. POLITICAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 411-404 B.C.

411-410 B. C. After the expulsion of the Four Hundred in the spring of 411 B. C. the Athenian constitution, remodelled 1 chiefly through the influence of Theramenes, became a modified democracy, which Thucydides 2 declares to have been the best government that the Athenians ever enjoyed within his memory. The two leading features were the abolition of all paid offices of whatever kind, and the limitation of the full citizenship to such Athenians as could furnish themselves with arms at their own expense. It was thus the nearest approach that we read of in Greek history to Aristotle's ideal moderate , or model democracy, being based chiefly on the middle class, and combining in itself the best elements of oligarchy and democracy.

But though this constitution had already received the approval of Alcibiades, and the Assembly persuaded by Theramenes had actually passed a decree for his recall, the breach still remained open between the Athenians in the city and the Athenians on board the fleet. The latter could not have been less than 10,000 in number, and had just unmistakeably shown their democratical zeal in suppressing the simultaneous conspiracy of the oligarchical party in their midst7: in fact, it was not until the return of Alcibiades four years later, in 407, that this breach was finally healed. Till then the city and the fleet were almost as much separated as two independent states; the city annually elected the usual number of ten generals; the fleet still retained at its head Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Thrasyllus, and apparently the other generals whom they had chosen at the time of the revolution. Theramenes and Thrasyllus alone acted as a sort of go-betweens: for the former, being sent out by the city in 410 to try to prevent the Boeotians

Diod. xiii 47.

¹ Diod, xiii. 38, 42. It is a most shadowy conjecture to suppose that the paper constitution described in Arist. 'Ao. sol. 30, 31, was the work of Theramenes, or was ever put into force: cp. Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 71.

viii. 97.
Ar. Pol. iv. 8. 3; As. Tol. 33. 2.
Thuc. viii. 75, 76. ³ Thuc. viii. 86, 97. Diod. xiii 38. ⁴ Thuc. viii. 76.

and Euboeans from building a dam across the Euripus, and failing in that object, finally joined Alcibiades at the Hellespont, and did not return to Athens till three years afterwards: while the latter, after the victory at Abydos in the autumn of 411, was despatched to Athens for reinforcements.

When at last these two divisions of the Athenian people again united, the union was due on the one side to a return at Athens, more or less complete and certainly rapid, to the old extreme form of democracy, and on the other to the extraordinary successes of the paurish's $\delta\chi\lambda_{00}$ under the command of Alcibiades. It is these changes and their connexion with each other that must now be traced.

At the same time that the Four Hundred had been deposed, Thucydides tells us 1, a board of Nomothetae had been appointed with the object of adapting the old Solonian laws to the new constitution². Four months were assigned them for their work. But it would appear that nothing was really done: for six years afterwards Nicomachus, one of their number and called draypapeus rur νόμων³, had not yet sent in an account of his office, and c. 399 B. C. he was accused of having taken bribes to alter illegally and otherwise tamper with the special laws assigned to him for revision 4. Thus the new constitution was never really put upon a permanent legal footing, and party feeling, which had shown itself in the condemnation of the most extreme of the oligarchical leaders, like Antiphon and Archeptolemus, was still too much excited to allow things to remain long as they were. In the early autumn of 411 B. C. 6 the Athenians at home had been greatly encouraged by the news of their partial success at Cynossema. In the winter the general Thrasyllus, who had been one of the democratical leaders at Samos, had arrived at Athens with the tidings of a fresh victory at Abydos, and with a request for reinforcements for the fleet. And in the spring of 410 B. C. Alcibiades totally annihilated the Peloponnesian fleet under Mindarus at Cyzicus. The completeness of his victory was vividly confirmed by the despatch written by Hippocrates, Mindarus' secretary, to the Spartan

viii. 97.
 Lysias, xxx. 2, 11, 28.
 Cp. Lysias, l. c.
 Cp. Aθ. πολ. 34. 1 τούτουτ (the 5,000) μεν οῦν ἀφείλετο τὴν πολιτείαν ὁ δῆμοτ διὰ τάχους.
 Thuc. viii. 106.

government for immediate help, which was accidentally captured and brought to Athens.

410-409 B.C. Once more the democratical party became active and powerful under the leadership of Cleophon the demagogue. Thus when the Spartans 1, in dismay at their defeat, sent Endius at the head of an embassy to offer as terms of peace, that both parties should accept the status quo, that the Peloponnesians would withdraw their garrison from Decelea, if the Athenians would-withdraw theirs from Pylos, and that an exchange of prisoners should be arranged, the Assembly, notwithstanding the efforts of the emerciaoraros, voted their rejection on the motion of Cleophon. over it must be remembered that, whatever the Athenians at home might wish or decide, it was undoubtedly at the moment Alcibiades' interest to continue the war. 'The Athenians,' says Diodorus, 'excited by their recent good fortune, thought that with their forces under the leadership of Alcibiades they would soon recover their old supremacy.'

Nor were their hopes entirely unfounded; for the victory at Cyzicus meant much more than the annihilation of the Peloponnesian fleet. It meant relief from the financial distress which had prevailed at Athens ever since the Sicilian disaster, and more especially since the loss of Euboea. Immediately after the battle Alcibiades set up a custom house on the Bosporus to exact toll from all passing ships; once again some of the Hellespontine and Thracian cities began to pay tribute; and once again the corn ships sailed as of old into Piraeus. Money had been the basis of the Periclean democracy, and now money opened the way for a return to it. The fleet at the Hellespont maintained itself by marauding expeditions, and cost the home government nothing. Thus it was found possible to vote as much as twenty-three talents towards the expenses of certain sacrifices and festivals and of the διωβελία³, which was now at the proposal of Cleophon first distributed among the poorer citizens to relieve the distress caused by the war, and which seems to have been the first of the distributions of public money to be restored. As the revenue continued to improve, the old system of payment for all offices

² i. 1. 35.

1 'A0. TOA. 28.

¹ Diod. xiii. 52, 53; Philoch. fr. 117. ² CIA. i. 188; i. 7. 2 note.

little by little came once more into force, though the several dates of its reinstitution cannot be ascertained. Aristophanes in the Frogs¹, which was exhibited in 405 B.C., complains of the huge sums swallowed up by the δικαστικός μισθός, showing that by that time the change was complete.

There is equal difficulty in tracing the steps whereby the restrictions on citizenship, imposed after the dissolution of the Four Hundred, were gradually removed. Payment for public services evidently meant the readmission of the poorer citizens to the full discharge of all civic duties. But the means whereby this was brought about are unknown. All we can say is that Xenophon describes the Athenians as meeting for the trial of the generals after Arginusae in 406 B.C., warras kard φυλάς, as if by that time none were excluded from the Assembly.

One constitutional change can however be referred with certainty to this year on the authority of the historian Philochorus. The members of the old Council of Five Hundred, which it appears had already been restored , henceforward were to sit like the dicasts, in ten divisions denoted by the first ten letters of the alphabet. The reason of this measure is not stated, but in all probability it was directed against the members of the oligarchical clubs 4, who were wont to sit together, and thus by their united action to acquire an influence totally disproportionate to their numbers. Gilbert has ingeniously conjectured that these democratical changes were carried through by a board of συγγραφείε, on the ground that Demophantus, the proposer of a decree of which more will be said hereaster, συνέγραψεν, and not, as usual, είπεν; and that an inscription of this year mentions συγγραφείε, though it does not explain the nature of their office; and further that on the analogy of Thucydides (viii. 67), when Pisander proposed to appoint ten ξυγγραφείε αὐτοκράτορες, and of Xenophon (Hell. ii. 3. 2), when the Thirty were chosen, of τούς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι, it may very well be argued that they were extraordinary magistrates chosen to draw up a new constitution, and this time in a democratical direction.

¹ 141 sq.; 1466 sq. ² Philoch. fr. 119. ³ Cp. Andoc. i. 96.

Cp. Thuc. viii. 66; and esp. vi. 13.
 A practice set on foot by Thucydides, son of Melesias; see Plut.
 Pericles c. 11.

Beitr. z. inn. Gesch. Athens, p. 341 sqq. CIA. i. 58.

Two documents of this year illustrate still farther the growing power of the democrats. The first is the above-mentioned Psephism of Demophantus, preserved in Andocides' speech on the Mysteries 1, which decreed that all Athenians, both in the city and in the fleet, should swear to hold as a public enemy, who might lawfully be put to death, any one who should attempt to overthrow the democracy, or who should hold any office after the democracy had been overthrown. This oath was to be taken just before the Great Dionysia in the spring of 409 B.C. and finds its parallel in the oath sworn to by the Athenian democrats at Samos in 411 B.C.² The second is a psephism proposed by Erasinides, who was afterwards one of the generals at the battle of Arginusae, that Thrasybulus, one of the assassins of the oligarch Phrynichus, should be rewarded with a golden crown and the gift of citizenship, and that a proclamation to that effect should be made at the same Dionysia. Moreover at the same time the prosecutions against those implicated in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred, which had been suffered to lapse after the punishment of the worst offenders, seem to have been revived, and to have gone on with more or less vigour until the Amnesty of Patroclides in 405 B. C. Not only were individuals attacked, but whole classes, like the soldiers who had supported the Four Hundred, were punished with partial disfranchisement⁵, so that e.g. it was made unlawful for them to speak in the Assembly, or to become members of the Council. Lysias says that it was these prosecutions that ruined the democracy; for that numerous sycophants accused innocent persons for the sake of their wealth, while they left the guilty untouched, if only they were sufficiently bribed.

Meanwhile Alcibiades had pursued a career of unbroken success on the Hellespont and Bosporus. In the winter of 409-408 he had been joined by Thrasyllus at the Hellespont with a considerable reinforcement from Athens, and the two generals combined to defeat the satrap Pharnabazus, first at Abydos, and then

¹ Andoc. i. 96 ff. Gilbert, Gesch. Ath. p. 344, proves against Droysen and Herbert that this decree belongs to the period after the Dissolution of the Four Hundred, and not to that after the expulsion of the Thirty. Cn. Grote vii. 321.

Cp. Grote, vii. 321,

Thuc. viii. 75.

CIA. i. 59.

Cf. Thuc viii. 92.

Cf. Thuc viii. 92.

Or. xxv. 14, 15.

408-407 at Chalcedon, after which he was reduced to come to terms and to submit to see Chalcedon once more pay tribute to Athens. These successes were followed by the capture of Selymbria and Byzantium. On the other side the Athenians had indeed to set the loss of Pylos in Messenia, and of Nisaea, the port of Megaralosses serious in themselves, but with little effect upon the revenue. Anytus, the demagogue, who had been despatched to relieve the former place was, on his return, accused of treachery, and only escaped, it was said, by bribing his judges 1. In the autumn of 408 B.C., therefore, Athens had regained the whole of the Thracian and Hellespontine provinces of her old empire, besides many of the islands in the northern Aegean. The Peloponnesian fleet had been annihilated. Pharnabazus, who had so long and so ably supported the Spartan cause, had been forced to consent to an armistice, and to promise a safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the Persian king. And all this had been mainly due to the courage and capacity of a single man, and him an exile; for Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission to return home granted him in AII B.C.² So far indeed he had acted almost as a sovereign prince. Much still however remained to be done: Euboea and most of Ionia were still in open revolt. Before attempting their reconquest, Alcibiades seems now to have felt that a return to Athens was necessary for him, if ever there was to be a complete reunion between the city and the army. In the spring of 407-406, therefore, he sailed with all his ships to Samos: thence he despatched his friends and colleagues Thrasyllus and Theramenes to Piraeus with all the spoils of war and captured vessels and a crowd of prisoners to prepare the way for his reception, while he himself sailed with the remainder of the fleet to Caria, to collect still more money. The Athenians at home were by this time just as ready on their side to welcome him, and even before the arrival of Thrasyllus and Theramenes had chosen among the

¹ Arist. 'A0. wol. 27. 5; Diod. xiii. 64, 65.

² Diod. xiii. 68. Gilbert (Beitr. 361) refers to this year a newly discovered fragment of Androtion, recording a Spartan embassy to Athens in the archonship of Euctemon, 408–407, to negotiate the ransom of Lacedaemonian prisoners. But the text is too doubtful to base much argument upon it.

generals for the following year, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon. The news of his election reached Alcibiades at Gythium in Laconia, whither he had sailed from Caria, and he at once set out for Piraeus, which he entered on the day of the Plynteria (June), when the shrine of the goddess Athena was covered with a veil. Arrived in the harbour, even now he hesitated to land, so suspicious was he of the real feelings of the people towards him; and it was not until he had seen Euryptolemus and other relatives among the crowd that had assembled to meet him, that he ventured to set foot on shore. Then his partisans closed round him so as to form a sort of body-guard, and escorted him in their midst in triumphal procession from Piraeus to Athens.

In the city opinion was still much divided 1: some said that he had been the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had plotted against him and procured his exile in order to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others maintained that he had been the real cause of all the Athenian misfortunes in the past, and would be just as dangerous in the future.

But for the moment Alcibiades with his marvellous personality carried all before him. The effect of his speeches in his own defence before the Council and Assembly was such that none dared raise a voice against him. It was at once decreed that the column set up to record his condemnation in 415 B. C. should be cast into the sea, that his goods should be restored to him, and that the curse which the Eumolpidae had pronounced against him should be recalled. He himself was proclaimed στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ by sea and land, as the only man able to restore Athens to her former power. The rich hoped to find in him a strong opponent to the ever-increasing encroachments of the extreme democrats. The poor saw in him a champion who would relieve them of their poverty, and whom they would be glad to support, even though he should assume to himself the rights of sovereign power and make himself tyrant of Athens. For the moment his enemies were silenced, although they continued, as events soon showed, as active as ever in their intrigues against him. The demagogues seem to have been especially bitter, so completely

¹ i. 4. 13–17.

² Diod. xiii. 69.

³ Plut. Alc. 35; Diod. xiii. 69; cp. Thuc. vi. 15.

were they overshadowed in the eyes of the people by their new rival for popular favour.

It was ominous too that Theodorus the high priest, in removing the old curse, had said that for his part he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth: while many of the pious and superstitious noted with foreboding that Alcibiades had landed on the Plynteria, the unluckiest day in the whole year.

Meanwhile Alcibiades was occupied in fitting out a new fleet of 100 vessels with the money that he had himself brought into the treasury. He chose Adimantus and Aristocrates, apparently out of the already elected generals for the year, to be his colleagues in the command. But before he sailed, hoping once for all to quiet the religious fears of the Athenians, as well as to assure them of his military prowess, he escorted with all his forces the annual procession along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, which ever since the fortification of Decelea by the Peloponnesians had been obliged to go by sea, King Agis now venturing to offer no opposition.

At last in September all was ready for his departure, for which none were more eager than his enemies; some, according to Plutarch, because they feared that he would soon make himself tyrant; others, we may certainly suppose, because they wanted a clear field left them in which to prosecute their own schemes.

But during the four months that Alcibiades had stayed in Athens, an entire change had come over the aspect of affairs in Asia. The able and energetic Lysander had succeeded the incapable Cratesippidas as admiral of the Spartan fleet; and Cyrus, the younger son of King Darius, had taken the place of the vacillating Tissaphernes as Satrap of Sardis, and had announced his intention of supporting the Peloponnesians with money and by all means in his power, even persuading Pharnabazus, notwithstanding his solemn promises, to hinder the Athenian envoys from proceeding to the Persian court.

Events soon proved the wisdom of Alcibiades' enemies in hastening his departure. His attack on the little island of Andros was only partially successful. Arrived at Samos, he tried in vain

¹ Plut, Alc. 23. ² Xen, Hell, i. 4. 22; Diod, xiii. 60. ³ i. 4. 7.

to draw Lysander out of the harbour at Ephesus to a general engagement. His overtures to Cyrus through the mouthpiece of Tissaphernes were rejected with scorn. Money and supplies soon ran short, and he was obliged to scour the neighbouring coasts on marauding expeditions, making in his requisitions, it would seem, but little distinction between friend and foe. To crown all, his lieutenant Antiochus, in defiance of his strict orders, ventured on a general engagement during his absence at Phocaea, and suffered a defeat at Notium; and do what he could, Alcibiades could not induce Lysander to give him an opportunity for revenge. Disappointed in their unreasonable expectations of a speedy conquest of Chios and even of all Ionia, the Athenians both at home and on board the fleet were now as vehement in their denunciations of Alcibiades as but shortly before they had been in his praises. All complaints against his conduct were eagerly listened to; and when Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason (not to be confused with the more famous Thrasybulus, the general), returned from the camp to Athens 1, and accused him of maladministration, of treasonable intrigues with Persia and the Peloponnesians, and of building forts of his own, like a sovereign prince, in Thrace², the people at once suspended Alcibiades from his command, ordered his colleague Conon to take his place, and in the annual elections, which happened to occur just at the same time, chose ten new generals, among whom Alcibiades was no longer one. Alcibiades himself, finding that he was equally unpopular with his own troops, did not wait to hear the result of the accusations against him at home, but retired to his forts in the Thracian Chersonese.

406-405 B.C. At this juncture democrats of all shades seem to have combined to support the constitution, if we may judge from the list of the new generals: for among them Thrasyllus, Leon, and Diomedon had all taken a prominent part in the counter movement against the oligarchs at Samos, in 411 B.C.4: Erasinides 5

¹ Gilbert refers a statement of Himerius (ap. Phot. Bibl. 377) to this affair: Κλεοφών 'Αλειβιάδην έγράφετο, and sees in it a formal γραφή spodosias. Cobet refers it to the year 415 B. C.

Diod. xiii. 73; Plut. Alc. 36.
 Plut. Lys. 5; Nep. Alc. 7; Just. v. 5. 4; Lysias xiv. 38.

¹ Thuc. viii. 73.

had proposed the decree to crown the assassin of Phrynichus the oligarch; Pericles was the son of the great Pericles and Aspasia; while Conon seems rather to have succeeded Nicias in the leadership of the more moderate party. The year was one of great financial distress, due to the difficulty of maintaining Conon's large fleet of 100 vessels, and to the Peloponnesians under the admiral Callicratidas once more taking the offensive by sea, and so cutting off the sources of Athenian revenue. To meet the deficiency all the gold in the Acropolis was coined into money 1. Still, when the news reached Athens that Conon with all his fleet was blockaded at Mytilene, within thirty days the Athenians fitted out a fleet of 110 vessels, making all the inhabitants of Attica, rich and poor, slave and free, serve alike on board. About August, 406, the two fleets met off the islands of Arginusae, and the Athenians under the command of eight of their ten generals gained a complete victory over the Peloponnesians, Callicratidas himself perishing in the fight. In the ordinary course of things such a victory would have sufficed to ensure for some time the political power of the successful generals. But unfortunately in the moment of victory the generals had neglected both to rescue the survivors clinging to the wrecks of the vessels which had been disabled in the battle, and to bury the corpses of the dead. The news of this neglect excited great indignation among the Athenians at home. A summons was immediately issued for their recall. Thereupon two of their number retired into voluntary exile: the remaining six returned to Athens, were hastily condemned almost without any form of trial, and all alike executed (November 406).

Although there seems to be no evidence for supposing the condemnation of the generals to have been due to an oligarchical conspiracy, its effect, no doubt, was to produce chaos once more among the political parties at Athens. The democrats still clung to their old war policy; and Cleophon was again successful in procuring the rejection of a peace which the Lacedaemonians offered about this time on the same terms as before ⁸—a fact which

¹ Aristoph. Frogs 720; Philoch. Frag. 120; CIA. i. 140.

Diod. xiii. 97; Aristoph. Frogs 33, 693.

² Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. I.

shows that the power of the demagogues was still as great as ever. Many, on the other hand, began to repent of their recent dismissal of Alcibiades, and even to advocate his immediate recall 1. His friend Adimantus had been one of the two2 generals elected to assist Conon. The financial distress was greater than ever, and to meet it an extraordinary board of magistrates, called Poristae , seems to have been appointed to consider ways and means. The fleet at Samos, paralyzed by the proceedings taken against its late generals at Athens, never followed up the results of its victory, though now commanded by the skilful Conon; and was soon unable to support itself by marauding expeditions, being entirely occupied in watching the movements of the enemy's fleet. For the Peloponnesians, after their disaster, had procured from the Spartan government the restoration of Lysander to the command; and he in the spring of 405 had completely restored its efficiency, being backed up, as before, by Persian gold.

It was probably about this time that the Athenians began to repent of their harsh treatment of the generals, who had won for them the victory of Arginusae: in the spring elections Theramenes, who had taken the leading part in the prosecution, was rejected on the $\delta o \kappa \iota \mu a \sigma i a$ after he had been actually chosen general, because he did not seem to be $\epsilon \bar{\nu} r \sigma v \hat{\tau} \pi \lambda i \beta e \epsilon^4$; and at the same time complaints seem to have been brought before the Assembly against those individuals, especially Callixenus, who had deceived the people in the trial. The Assembly listened favourably to the complaints, and decreed that the persons accused should be bound over to stand their trial, but amid the internal confusions of the following year they all escaped. It is remarkable that Theramenes was not included in the accusation.

It mattered little, however, what the Athenians at home did or did not do. The fate of Athens was settled once for all at the battle of Aegospotami (c. August 405), when Lysander, without the loss

¹ Aristoph. Frogs 1422, 1500 ff.

³ i. 7. 1. Beloch (Att. Pol. 313), relying on the words στρατηγός 'Αθηναίων in Schol. Aristoph. Frogs 679, thinks that Cleophon was also elected general at this time. The evidence is of the slightest.

³ Aristoph. Frogs 1505; cp. Gilbert, Gesch. Athens, p. 387; Beloch, Rh. Mus. 1884, p. 249.

Lysias xiii. 10, 13.

§ 2. POLITICAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 411-404 B.C. 323

of a single ship of his own, captured the whole Athenian fleet 1. The citizens were at first stunned by the news, reflecting that at last the misery that they had inflicted on less powerful states was about to return on their own heads. But next day the Assembly met and resolved to block up two of the three harbours at Piraeus, and to prepare the city for a siege. Really little could be done: for the Athenians had no fleet, and the corn supply was entirely cut off now that the Hellespont, as well as Euboea, was lost, and the Peloponnesians still harried the country from Decelea. Many weeks, however, passed before the appearance of the dreaded Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was employed in the interval in receiving the submission of the Athenian allies, and in sending all the Athenian citizens and cleruchs, whom he captured, back to Athens in order to increase the number of mouths to be fed on the ever diminishing supply of corn. At last in November he appeared and blockaded Piraeus at the same time that the two Spartan kings Agis and Pausanias advanced with the entire Peloponnesian forces close up to the city walls. Within the city, as a last despairing measure, the democrats carried a proposal made by Patroclides to grant an amnesty to all disfranchised citizens, more especially those who had suffered partial disfranchisement for the part they had taken in the Revolution of the Four Hundred 5. At the same time the full rights of Athenian citizenship4 were conferred on their faithful allies, the Samians. The exiles however were not recalled. None the less the oligarchs, who saw that their day of power would soon and certainly come with the surrender of the city, seem at the time to have remained quiet. But the forces that the Athenians could muster, even with the citizens all thus united, were so obviously incapable of offering a successful resistance, that so early as December, when the corn supply had completely failed, envoys were sent to Agis with offers of peace on condition that the Athenians became allies of the Lacedaemonians, and retained Piraeus and the Long Walls. Agis referred the envoys to the ephors at Sparta, who alone, he said, had powers to conclude a treaty. But when they reached Sellasia on the Lacedaemonian

¹ Arist. 'Ad. тол. 34. 2.
² ii. 2. 3.
³ Andoc. i. 73 ff.; Lys. xxv. 27; ii. 2. 11 and note.

⁴ CIA. iv. 2, 1b.

frontier, the ephors, on hearing the terms they had to offer, sent them back with an injunction not to return until the Athenians had come to a better decision. It appears however from the sequel of Xenophon's narrative 1 that they were at the same time informed that a peace might be concluded if the Athenians would consent to the demolition of ten stadia of their Long Walls. For when on their return the envoys announced before the Council the result of their mission, Archestratus was arrested for proposing submission to this condition, and at the same time Cleophon carried a decree in the Assembly forbidding any such proposal for the future on pain of death 3.

At this crisis Theramenes came forward and promised that, if the people would send him to Lysander, he would at least procure certain information as to whether in requiring the demolition of the Long Walls the Lacedaemonians meant the utter enslavement of Athens, or only a guarantee of Athenian good faith. Theramenes was accordingly despatched, but instead of returning at once with the necessary information, he stayed with Lysander for more than three months, waiting for the moment when the Athenians would be compelled by famine to accept any terms whatsoever. In the fourth month he returned, saying that he had been detained by Lysander, who had at last advised him to apply to the ephors, as they alone had power to conclude a peace. Meantime Cleophon had been put to death on a false charge of failure in his military duties 3, brought against him by the oligarchical conspirators, who were once again secretly active: and now hunger silenced all further opposition. Theramenes therefore and nine others were chosen to go to Sparta as ambassadors with full powers. At Sellasia the ten new ambassadors were again stopped by the ephors; but when they said that they were invested with full powers, they were invited to attend a conference of the Peloponnesian confederates at Sparta, which had been summoned to consider the fate of Athens. Here the Thebans and Corinthians advocated the total extirpation of the Athenian name; but the Lacedaemonians, guided, it would appear 4, rather by motives of self-interest than the patriotic senti-

4 Cp. ii. 2. 20 with ii. 3. 41.

¹ ii. 2. 14, 15.

² Lysias xiii. 8; Aeschin. ii. 76.

Lysias xiii. 15; cp. Xen. i. 7. 35 note.

ments which they openly professed, refused to allow a city, which had wrought so much for Greek freedom in the past, to be wiped out of the map of Greece, and decided to offer terms, far harder indeed than those offered four months earlier, but reasonable under the circumstances. The terms were to be that the Athenians should demolish their Long Walls and their arsenal at Piraeus, that they should resign all their foreign possessions, and confine themselves to their Attic territory, that they should readmit all their exiles, and become the allies of Sparta, recognizing the same friends and enemies and following her leadership by land and sea. The number of ships, which they were to be allowed to keep, was left to the discretion of Lysander 1.

The day after their return to Athens, Theramenes, as spokesman of the ambassadors, recited the Lacedaemonian conditions, and proposed their acceptance. Even now a few, headed by Cleomenes, one of the younger demagogues, raised some opposition, but the prevailing distress was too great for any farther delay. The peace was accepted, and on the 16th of Munychion (c. April) Lysander, coming from Samos, sailed into Piraeus along with many of the Athenian exiles. All the ships left in the dockyards were handed over to him, save twelve, which he permitted the Athenians to retain. Then his troops occupied the fortifications, and began the destruction of Piraeus and the Long Walls.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian War almost exactly twenty-seven years after its first outbreak in April 431 B.C.

§ 3. THE TRIAL OF THE GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSAE.

For this incident in Athenian history Xenophon, as being himself contemporary with the event, is undoubtedly the chief and the best authority. His account seems to be a simple and impartial statement of the facts of the trial, and the points of obscurity are apparently due, not to any wilful perversions, but to omissions as to

¹ ii. 2. 20; Diod. xiii. 107; Plut. Lys. 14; Arist. 'A0. vol. 34. 3.

³ Cp. Lysias xiii. 13.

questions of fact and of law, which it is difficult to supplement from any other sources. Diodorus (flor. 15 B. C.) gives only a meagre narrative of the trial, based on Theopompus (flor. 333 B. C.), and evidently here, as in other passages, holds a brief, in favour of Theramenes, though he condemns the treatment of the generals. Aristophanes' Frogs, exhibited in the year 405 B. C., shows us somewhat of the prevailing feeling at the time in Athens, and more especially as to the part played by Theramenes, which would seem to have incurred the general displeasure of the people. Plato (Apol. 32 b) and Xenophon (Mem. i. 1. 18; iv. 4. 2) more fully describe the bold resistance offered by Socrates to the unconstitutional demands of the Assembly. It may therefore be gathered that the whole literary opinion of the day strongly disapproved the condemnation of the generals.

In his own narrative (i. 6) Xenophon gives a very brief summary of events. In the battle at Arginusae the Athenians, he tells us, lost 25 ships, crews and all, except a few survivors, who made their way to shore. The generals in command had ordered the trierarchs Theramenes and Thrasybulus and some of the taxiarchs, with 47 ships, to rescue those still clinging to the wrecks, while they themselves sailed to Mytilene against Eteonicus. But a great storm arose and prevented the rescue, and also, it would seem, their own passage across to Mytilene. Euryptolemus, however, in the course of his speech adds several details. Immediately after the battle, he says, the Athenian fleet returned to the Arginusae islands, and there the generals held a council of war. Diomedon wished to rescue the survivors on the wrecks, Erasinides to sail at once against the enemy: but Thrasyllus pointed out that both

¹ Grote (vii. 430) points out that immediately after the battle the Peloponnesian despatch boat brought the news of Callicratidas' defeat to Eteonicus at Mytilene, apparently without any difficulty, although its course was NW.; and that afterwards the storm was not sufficient to stop the same boat from sailing out of the harbour and in again once more, nor yet to prevent Eteonicus' fleet from sailing SW. to Chios: in fact the wind was οδριος, which means not 'fair,' but 'favourable': though it is true that Conon at the same time thought it more prudent to wait till the wind was εἰδιαίτερος before he started in pursuit. Probably therefore it blew a strong gale from the N. or NE. Cp. Theramenes' speech (ii. 3. 35) and Diodorus (xiii. 100).

² i. 7. 17, 29.

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objects might be effected by leaving 47 ships under the command of the trierarchs, Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and of other subordinate officers, to look after the 12 disabled vessels [13 of them must therefore have sunk in the interval, cp. i. 6. 34], while they themselves sailed with the rest of the fleet against Eteonicus at Mytilene. They accordingly tried, he adds, to sail (§ 31, ₹πλεον), but the storm prevented the rescue. Diodorus (xiii. 100) here makes an important addition: the sailors of the 47 ships refused to work διά το τὴν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κακοπάθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κυμάτων, the general result being that the men clinging to the sinking ships were left to perish.

Afterwards the generals met together to draw up a despatch to the Athenian Council and people. Six of them wished to mention in it the orders given to Theramenes and Thrasybulus; but Pericles and Diomedon out of kindness to the trierarchs persuaded their colleagues to omit it. Accordingly in the despatch they merely wrote that the storm had prevented all rescue.

Xenophon goes on to relate that the Athenians at home, as soon as they heard the news, deprived all the generals of their command except Conon, and that they chose to be his colleagues Adimantus and Philocles. Diodorus states in addition that they summoned the generals home with all speed to stand their trial. Thereupon of the eight that had fought at Arginusae two, Protomachus and Aristogenes, retired into voluntary exile: the other six returned to Athens. Among the latter Erasinides was accused immediately on his arrival before a δικαστήριον (probably on a γραφή κλοπῆς δημοσίων χρημάτων) by Archedemus, who was at that time προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, other charges being made at the same time against his generalship. The result of the trial was apparently

¹ i. 7. 17.

² Diodorus (xiii. 101) gives quite a contradictory account of the despatch: he makes out that Theramenes and Thrasybulus had already returned to Athens before that the generals, suspicious that they might intrigue against them in the city, addressed a letter *πρὸτ τὸν δῆμον to explain that they had given orders to the trierarchs. Grote's attempt (vni. 429) to reconcile the two by supposing that Diodorus has confused a private letter addressed by the generals to their friends at Athens with the public despatch mentioned by Xenophon, is a mere subterfuge.

^{*} i, 7. 1; Diod. xiii. 101.

that a fine was imposed upon him and imprisonment until he should pay it.

Afterwards the generals jointly made a statement before the Council as to the battle and the severity of the storm, of which Xenophon unfortunately does not give the details. Possibly it may have been the same as the defence that they afterwards made before the Assembly, that they had indeed given orders to Theramenes and Thrasybulus to rescue the shipwrecked crews, but that the violence of the storm had rendered all rescue impossible. This hypothesis would account for Theramenes saying at the first meeting of the Assembly that in their despatch they blamed no one but the storm, and some two years afterwards maintaining in his defence against the accusations of Critias 1 that the generals had begun to accuse him first, so that he had acted, as indeed Critias had asserted, only in self-defence. Such too seems to have been the prevailing opinion as to his conduct at the time, if we may believe Aristophanes2; and Diodorus' account leaves much the same impression. On the other hand it is almost as easy to suppose that Theramenes, being in extremis, devised this defence, which, such as it is, seems excessively lame, on the spur of the moment, and that Diodorus invented his account of the trial to justify this subsequent defence. But, however this may be, on Timocrates' proposal, the Council resolved to arrest the generals, and bring them before the Assembly.

The question here arises, what particular form of judicial machinery was thus set in motion against the accused generals. It has been very generally assumed that the accusation was an εἰσαγγελία of the form which Harpocration (s. v.) defines to be applicable ἐπὶ δημοσίοις ἀδικήμασι μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναβολὴν μὴ ἐπιδεχομένοις, καὶ ἐψ΄ οἶς μήτε ἀρχὴ καθέστηκε μήτε νόμοι κεῦνται τοῖς ἄρχουσι καθ΄ οὖς εἰσάξουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἡ τὸν δῆμων ἡ πρώτη κατάστασις γίγνεται. In this case the ordinary procedure was (1) for the Council, if after the preliminary hearing the charge appeared to be beyond its own competence, to refer it either to a Heliastic court or, if the charge were very extraordinary, to the Assembly. Then

ii. 3. 35.
 Cp. Frogs 533, 964.
 Cp. Schömann, De Comit. Athen., p. 206.

⁴ Cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 8. 4; 43. 4; 59. 2; CIA. i. suppl. 27 b.

(2) the Assembly when it met might either itself consider whether there was sufficient evidence against the accused for the charge to lie, or, if there could be no manner of doubt upon that point, simply to determine what should be the method of the trial. Now Xenophon's narrative does to a certain extent support this theory: for Euryptolemus in his speech (§ 33) entreats the people not to convict the generals of moodogian duri the dounguias, and it is well known that in cases of mpodooia the eloayyedia was the ordinary form of procedure. Again in § 4 Theramenes maintains at the first meeting of the Assembly, that the generals δικαίους είναι λόγον ύποσχείν: and in § 281 Euryptolemus urges the people not to deprive the accused of all opportunity of legal defence: so that both passages might be taken to imply that at its first meeting the Assembly merely gave the case the usual preliminary hearing. On the other hand it must be remembered that neither Xenophon nor Diodorus speak of the charge as an eloayyelia, nor of the first meeting of the Assembly as summoned merely to consider the² justifiability of the accusation; that all the precise information we possess about this particular kind of procedure is subsequent to the νόμος είσαγγελτικός, the date of which is certainly not earlier than the archonship of Euclides 403 B.C.; and that in this particular case the proceedings were irregular throughout.

There is indeed an obvious reason why Timocrates should have proposed in the Council that the generals should be brought before the Assembly rather than before an ordinary Heliastic court: for Theramenes and his party would evidently expect to be able to work with much more effect upon the feelings of the Assembly, made up, as it was at this time, of the old, the young, and the infirm (the large majority of the able-bodied citizens being still on

¹ Cp. §§ 5, 23.

² § 7 may very well be taken to imply that this meeting was merely preliminary, for (1) the generals produced so favourable an impression that many lδιώται were ready to go bail for their appearance, and such appearance could only have been at a proper trial; (2) it was decided (δοξε) to adjourn the case els ετίραν ἐκκλησίαν, and this can only mean that the accusers, seeing things going so much in the generals' favour, contrived to defer the voting, which would evidently have resulted in a decision that there was no prima facie case against them.

board the fleet), than upon the feelings of a comparatively select body of sworn dicasts.

Accordingly at the first meeting of the Assembly Theramenes and his followers appeared as the most prominent accusers of the generals, maintaining that, if any one was to blame for the death of the shipwrecked crews, it was the generals themselves, who in their despatch had simply mentioned the storm as the cause. In reply the generals made only a short defence, as the legal time for speaking was not allowed them, relating how they had given orders to Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and other capable men to rescue the crews, while they themselves were sailing against the enemy; and repeating that really it was the storm which had prevented the rescue 1. Their defence was supported by the evidence of the pilots and sailors of the fleet; and short as it was, produced such a favourable impression, that many came forward to go bail for the generals, and it was quite evident that, had a vote been taken, it would have been in their favour. It was, however, too late in the evening for a show of hands to be seen; so that it was resolved that the case should be adjourned to a second meeting of the Assembly, and that meantime the Council should prepare a προβούλευμα as to the method by which the generals should be tried.

In the interval occurred the festival of the Apaturia, which the members of each family met to celebrate in common, and at which the youths, just come of age, were registered on the roll of their demes. This time many a place was seen to be vacant, and many a family appeared in mourning garb. Theramenes and his party, availing themselves of these natural feelings of grief to kindle great indignation against the generals, seem not only to have induced the kinsmen of the dead to attend the second meeting of the Assembly, but, at least according to Xenophon's narrative², to have gone so far as to suborn men to appear among the crowd of real mourners, clad in black garments and with shaved heads, just as if they had been kinsmen.

At the same time too they persuaded Callixenus to accuse the

² Cp. i. 7. 8 note.

¹ This is a direct contradiction to Theramenes' statement in ii. 3. 35 that the generals had asserted οίδο τε είναι σώσαι τοὺς ἀνδρας.

generals in the Council, which met according to the decision of the Assembly, and at his instigation drew up a most monstrous $\pi \rho o - \beta o \hat{\nu} \lambda \epsilon \nu \mu a$, that since the accusation and defence had been already heard at the previous Assembly (which of course was only partially true), at the next meeting the people should vote at once by tribes, without any further hearing of the case, upon all the generals collectively; that the votes should be deposited in urns, two such urns for each tribe, one for votes of acquittal, the other for votes of condemnation; and that if the generals were found guilty, they themselves should be put to death and their goods should be confiscated. Thus in defiance of all Athenian legal procedure and traditions no real trial was to be granted to the generals at all, the voters were to be intimidated, and sentence was to be passed upon all the accused collectively instead of separately.

Accordingly at the next Assembly Callixenus brought forward this $\pi \rho o \beta o i \lambda \epsilon v \mu a$: and the general excitement thus produced was still further heightened by the declaration of a sailor, who had saved his own life by clinging to a meal-tub, that his drowning companions had bidden him, if he should escape, tell the people that the generals had left the most patriotic of the citizens to perish.

Hereupon Euryptolemus, who was cousin to Pericles, one of the accused generals, together with some others, threatened Callixenus with a γραφή παρανόμων for making so unconstitutional a proposal; but they were howled down by the people and forced to withdraw their threat, one Lyciscus even proposing that they should be included in the same vote as the generals, unless they gave way. Now, however, some of the Prytanes, who were presiding over the meeting, refused to put the question to the vote; but when Callixenus menaced them with the same treatment, they all withdrew their opposition except Socrates.

Foiled in this attempt to procure justice for the accused, Euryptolemus now came forward with an amendment to the προβούλνυμα, or rather perhaps with an alternative proposal, in advocating which he was able to make a speech of considerable length in defence of the generals. In the course of it he stated and restated the facts of the case, adding that one of the accused had himself been among the shipwrecked mariners, and had only saved his own life

by his own exertions, and pointed out that two legal methods of procedure were open to the people. Either the generals might be tried before the people in accordance with the decree of Cannonus², which laid down certain most severe penalties against such persons as had injured the commonwealth: or they might be tried before a Heliastic court under the law against sacrilege and treason. But whichever of these two methods the people preferred, they ought to be tried separately, fair time being allowed for the accusation, defence, and taking of the votes. In conclusion, therefore, Euryptolemus formally moved that the former of these two methods should be adopted, namely, that the accused should be separately tried according to the decree of Cannonus.

When the two proposals were put to the vote, the people preferred that of Euryptolemus: but ὑπομοσαμένου Μενεκλέους a second vote was taken, at which the Council's proposal was adopted. Afterwards the eight generals were condemned to death, the votes being taken presumably on the method laid down in the προβούλευμα, and the six of them, who had returned to Athens, were immediately executed.

What however was the nature of this ὑπωμοσία? Viewed simply

1 ἐν τῷ δήμφ. Grote seems to be mistaken in laying so much emphasis on the fact that the people in the ἐκκλησία were not put on oath: for this passage alone, where Euryptolemus is emphasizing the proper legal procedure, would be sufficient to show that the Assembly had full competence to try such cases itself without referring them to a Heliastic court, and other analogous instances are produced by Schömann (De Comit. Athen., p. 206).

* τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα: cp. Aristoph. Eccl. 1089. Although there is no particular reason why the words δίχα ξιαστον should not have occurred in the decree, the balance of evidence seems on the whole to be against it. For in § 23 Euryptolemus insists just as much on the importance of separate trial for each of the accused, if the other constitutional alternative κατὰ τὸν νόμον . . . δε ἐστιν ἐκὶ τοῦ ἐεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις should be adopted instead. Moreover, in § 34 he seems to put the words δίχα ξικαστον into his amendment rather in opposition to the μιὰ ψήφι ο Callixenus' προβούλευμα than in close connexion with the κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα. Finally, the Scholiast on Aristophanes (ad loc.) gives quite a different interpretation of the word διαλελημμένον, which commentators have assumed to refer to the supposed δίχα ξικαστον of the decree, νίχ. κατεχόμενον ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολογεῖσδαι τὸν κατ' εἰσαγγελίαν ἀποκρινόμενον— an interpretation which fits in very well with Χεπορhon's δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν.

in relation to the context, the passage seems to mean that Menecles challenged the vote on some formal ground, which rendered it necessary for the imorarys to put the question to the vote again. Ordinarily, however, a ὑπωμοσία meant much more: it meant a determination in the mover of it to bring the question challenged under the cognizance of a court of law, and had the effect of suspending the validity of the resolution until the court had given its decision. But Xenophon never says a word about any such adjournment, and evidently implies that the second vote was taken immediately after the first and on the same day. We have therefore to suppose either that Menecles interposed a inωμοσία of a kind not otherwise known, or that the neglect to carry into effect the adjournment that it entailed was merely one more among the many unconstitutional incidents of the day, unless indeed we may believe the otherwise untrustworthy author of the Axiochus (Plato 368 e), who speaks of Theramenes and Callixenus having at a subsequent meeting * τῆ ὑστεραία suborned the proedri and so procured the condemnation of the generals.

However that may be, shortly afterwards the Athenians repented of their injustice, and voted that a public prosecution should be

1 It is impossible to attach much weight to this statement in the Axiochus, because, short as it is, it contains two obvious mistakes: (1) it speaks of πρόεδροι, although none were instituted before the archonship of Euclides, 403-402 B.C.; (a) it speaks of rpsquoplar leadquafferon, which is evidently a fallacious computation of the whole body of Athenian freemen. Moreover the whole dialogue, as Grote (Plato, cap. iv.) shows, is a late production, and possesses no authority.

^a Gilbert here raises the question as to what became of Socrates' opposition, which both Plato and Xenophon represent to have been unswerving; and finds its solution in the hypothesis of an adjournment, because at a second meeting Socrates would no longer have been triorarns. Probably, however, Socrates' scruple, which was a strictly legal one, was satisfied by his putting Euryptolemus' alternative motion to the vote, which contained a strictly legal proposal, although its rejection carried with it the passing of the Council's προβούλευμα; for this seems to be the force of the preposition in composition in the words διαχειροτονουμένων, διαχειροτονίας. Nor need the interposition of Menecles' ὑνωμοσία have made any difference, if the question was immediately put again on the same day: in this case all that Socrates had to do was to put Euryptolemus' motion over again: and then, when it was rejected, the προβούλευμα was ipso facto carried. Cp. Goodwin in the Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc. 1885, p. 172.

instituted against those who had deceived the people. Callixenus and four others were accordingly arrested, Theramenes not being among the number, which seems to show that some distinction was drawn between his conduct and that of the rest, possibly because it was felt, as Diodorus insists at some length, that he was driven to it by the exigencies of self-defence. But before the accused could be tried, they all escaped amid the political confusion of the following year. Callixenus indeed ventured to return with Thrasybulus and the exiled democrats in 403 B.C., but hated by all, says Xenophon, he died of starvation.

§ 4. SPARTA.

In the period covered by Xenophon's Hellenics, the three leading features of Sparta and the Spartan Constitution are the decrease of population or at any rate of the full Spartiatae or opon, the decay of the kingly power, and the increase of the power of the In the absence of materials nothing like a continuous history of these changes can be written: still for this particular period we are peculiarly fortunate; we possess not only the scattered notices which, as coming from a writer the circumstances of whose life made him specially qualified to speak with authority on all Spartan affairs, are of chief importance, but also a contemporary sketch 1 (c. 378) of the Spartan Constitution, which has been generally attributed, not without good reasons, to Xenophon himself, and which at the very least must have been written by a well-informed contemporary. To these we can add the wellknown criticisms of Aristotle in the Politics², which, though taken strictly they apply to a period some twenty or thirty years later, are most useful as confirming and supplementing the contemporary evidence. Finally, some further materials can be derived from the nearly contemporary Encomium of Agesilaus (c. 354-338), from antiquity onwards often, but without sufficient reason, attributed to Xenophon himself, Plutarch's Lives of Lysander and Agesilaus, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, &c.

¹ Cp. Roquette, p. 83.
² ii. 9.
³ Cp. Roquette, p. 101, and on the othe raide Class. Review, xiii. 343 ff.

Population.

Aristotle's 1 opinion on the cause of Sparta's ruin is well known: μίαν γάρ πληγήν (Leuctra) ούχ ύπήνεγκεν ή πόλις, άλλ' ἀπώλετο διά τήν όλιγανθρωπίαν. From the context it appears that he refers to the fully privileged Spartiates or δμοιοι, who contributed their share to the συσσίτια or public messes: for though there was enough land, he says, to maintain 1,500 horsemen and 30,000 hoplites, in his day there were less than 1,000; once on a time however there had been 10,000. Can we estimate the number of full Spartiates before Leuctra? At the time of the Persian Wars there were 8,000 s, but at the time of Leuctra these seem to have dwindled to some 1,500, for at that battle four morae contained 700 Spartiates of all ages up to 55. There were however six morae in all, or some 1,050 Spartiates between 20 and 55 years of age; consequently the total number cannot be put at more than 1,500. Long before Leuctra the conspiracy of Cinadon had in 396 B. C. made the Spartiates only too well aware of the insecurity of their position. Then in the market-place Cinadon could count only 74 Spartiates and more than 4,000 helots, neodamodes, hypomeiones, and perioeci, all of whom would 'gladly eat the Spartiates raw.' No wonder therefore that we find a growing aversion to employ Spartiates on foreign service: these 1,500 Spartiates had in the first instance to act as garrison against some 80,000 internal foes, all of whom were for various reasons anxious to break through the walls of the ever-narrowing oligarchy. Thus in 399 no Spartiates at all were despatched in Thibron's army 5, but 1,000 neodamodes; in 396 King Agesilaus volunteered to command in Asia at the head of 30 Spartiates, 2,000 neodamodes, and 6,000 allies; in 382 Eudamidas led 2,000 neodamodes, perioeci and Sciritae against Olynthus with no Spartiates at all. By 374 this custom had become notorious, and Polydamas the Pharsalian warns the Lacedaemonians that it is useless to send against so powerful a monarch as Jason νεοδαμώδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην. In 369 Ischolaus

¹ Pol. ii. 9, 16.
2 Her. vii. 234.
3 vi. 1. 1; 4. 15, 17. Cp. Ages. 2. 24 και αυτών Σπαρτιατών οὐ μείονων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῆ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχη ἡ λειπομένων.
4 iii. 3. 4 ff.
7 v. 2. 24.
8 vi. 1. 14.

had 1 as garrison in the frontier station of Oeum only 400 neodamodes and Tegean exiles to resist the Theban advance. Thus when their own numbers could not, after Leuctra, have been more than 1,000 able-bodied men, the Spartans had only too good reason to be afraid of the 6,000 helots who at this time, in response to the promise of freedom, volunteered to fight as hoplites against the Thebans, because, as Xenophon puts it, λίαν εδόκουν πολλοί είναι. But even this policy of wholesale manumission of helots, which seems to have been begun * in the course of the Peloponnesian War, and which raised them to the position of neodamodes, did not suffice to secure their fidelity; for in a later, perhaps exaggerated, passage 4. Xenophon tells us that after Leuctra all the helots and many of the perioeci revolted. Messenia of course was never recovered: but how the Spartiates succeeded with their small numbers in quelling the revolt in Laconia itself-which, however difficult a task, they certainly achieved—we are nowhere told. When once their military prestige was gone after the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea, and the disgrace of the Theban invasions, it was obvious that so narrow an oligarchy, composed of about 1,000 citizens, could never regain Messenia, still less their old Peloponnesian hegemony, and least of all their empire over the Aegean coasts. The amazing thing is that they ever won an empire at all and managed to keep it so long as they did.

Kings.

In the course of the fifth century the dual monarchy had lost much both in power and in dignity. The quarrels between the two royal houses had been almost constant. Prosecutions for misconduct, which generally resulted in condemnation, had been frequent—Cleomenes, Demaratus, Leotychides, Plistoanax, Pausanias, had all been driven into exile. This again had occasioned long minorities ; and the guardians of the infant kings had often played into the hands of the ephors or in other ways degraded the kingly office. Of the kings who reigned between 411 and 362 B.C. Xenophon mentions Pausanias, Agesipolis, and Cleombrotus of the

¹ vi. 5. 26. ² vi. 5. 29. ³ Thuc. iv. 80; v. 34; vii. 19. ⁴ vii. 2. 2; cp. Ages. 2. 24. ³ iv. 2. 9.

Agiad line and Agis and Agesilaus of the Eurypontid line: Plistoanax (426-408), Agesipolis II (371-370), and Cleomenes II (370-309) of the Agiads he passes over in silence, the last, doubtless, because he was a minor. The other five occupy an important position in his narrative: yet, notwithstanding the commanding influence of Agesilaus, they all appear as subordinate to the ephors. The honorary privileges of the kingship, however, enumerated by Herodotus¹, seem to have remained unimpaired. As of old, the kings held the traditional priesthoods and performed the traditional sacrifices. When they were at home they messed stogether, and they were always provided with a double portion. They consulted 4 the oracles on behalf of the state. In the field they were attended by a body-guard and by a retinue of polemarchs and officials. After death they were buried with more than human honours.

Again, their military powers were but little curtailed. Though the author of the Respublica Laconensis states (15.2) that Lycurgus only gave them the privilege στρατιάν δποι αν ή πόλις έκπέμπη, there is still some trace of the more independent power ascribed to them by Herodotus * πόλεμόν γε εκφέρειν επ' ήν αν βούλωνται. Thus c. 388 Agesilaus declared war against the Acarnanians, as he had promised them the year before; and again in 387 he threatened that he would πόλεμον εξοίσει against the Corinthians; of course it is possible, or, rather perhaps probable, that in both instances Agesilaus did not really act independently, but relied 10 on his influence with the ephors and Assembly. Once in the field, however, although in European campaigns there were two ephors 11, and in Asiatic campaigns 30 commissioners 18 always in attendance, the king enjoyed the full powers of commander-in-chief, unhampered by his colleague; for since the quarrels 15 of Cleomenes and Demaratus of old, the Spartans had, with only one exception 14,

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iii. 3. 4, 43; iv. 3. 14, 21; v. 1. 33; de Rep. Lac. 15. 1.
                                                              iv. 3. 4, 6; 5. 8.
  v. 3. 20; de Rep. Lac. 15. 4.
                                            iv. 7. 2.
                                          iii. 3. 1; v. 3. 19. vi. 5

10 Cp. ii. 4. 29; v. 1. 32.
12 iii. 4. 20; iv. 1. 5, 30, 34.
 de Rep. Lac. 13. 1, 7.
• iv. 6. 13; 7. 1; v. 1. 34.
11 ii. 4. 36; de Rep. Lac. 13. 5.
Her. v. 75.
ii. s. 7, 8. Agis being already at Decelea, Pausanias led the Pelo-
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adhered to the law made at the time μη εξείναι επισθαι αμφοτέρους τούε βασιλέαε έξιούσης της στρατιής; indeed it had become customary, exceptions being rare, for one of the kings always to be at home 1. As commander-in-chief, the king summoned s or not, as he chose, his council of war, but he was not bound to follow the advice of his councillors. He controlled all military operations, both strategical and tactical. He had full powers over life and death. He could make truces and enter into negotiations with the enemy, though the ratification and indeed the conditions of any permanent peace rested with the home authorities. In conquered states he could appoint harmosts as he would, and make any changes he thought fit for the proper administration of government. None the less the king was held responsible for the good or ill success of all his measures, and on his return home could be cited before a court composed of the other king, the 28 gerontes and the 5 ephors. Thus Pausanias, for his failure in Boeotia in 305, was brought to trial by his enemies at Sparta and condemned to death, only escaping by flight; and his friends pointed out to Cleombrotus just before Leuctra the danger of prosecution that he ran, if he again declined battle. Thus the kings still enjoyed and exercised to the full their ancient right of commanding the Spartan armies in the field. Only once was a king entrusted with the command of the fleet as well, when in 395 the government, wishing to strengthen his position in Asia, commissioned Agesilaus καταστήσασθαι ¹⁰ναύαρχον δυτινα αυτός βούλοιτο, and he abused their trust by appointing his incapable brother-in-law Pisander. The kings were, as Aristotle says 12, στρατηγοί diδιοι, and their form of kingship was στρατηγία διά βίου κατά γένος.

It is when we come to consider their political powers that we see the real weakness of the Spartan kings, even of such a king as Agesilaus himself. In earlier times the two kings had apparently 18, if united in their action, exercised independent powers; but the disasters to the dual kingship in the fifth century had rendered any

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<sup>3</sup> v. 3. 10. <sup>3</sup> iii. 5. 22; iv. 5. 7; vi. 4. 14; de Rep. Lac. 13. 1. <sup>3</sup> iii. 4. 5. <sup>4</sup> v. 1. 32, 33. <sup>5</sup> iii. 2. 29; v. 4. 15, 41. <sup>7</sup> iii. 4. 7; iv. 2. 5; iv. 2. 3, 4; Ages. 1. 37, 38. <sup>10</sup> iii. 5, 25. <sup>10</sup> vi. 4. 5. <sup>10</sup> iii. 4. 27. <sup>11</sup> Pol. ii. 9. 33; iii. 14. 6. <sup>10</sup> Her. v. 75; vi. 50.
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such action, even if still possible in theory 1, quite impossible in practice. Perpetual dissension was considered ⁹ the normal condition between the two kings, and even the philo-Laconian Xenophon notes almost with surprise that Agesilaus sincerely mourned the untimely death of his youthful colleague Agesipolis. Consequently we are not surprised to find that except in a few judicial functions of minor importance, like the marriage of heiresses, &c., which they certainly possessed in Herodotus' time 4 and probably still held, we hear of the kings in the fourth century exercising no powers of their own which were not shared by the gerontes or ephors. As members of the yepowaia—a body only thrice mentioned by Xenophon in the Hellenics—they of course took their share in its deliberations, and gave their votes in its judicial proceedings. Like other magistrates they also had the right? of initiating business and speaking in the Apella. But practically, even when the two kings are not at loggerheads, they appear powerless to effect their objects unless they can secure the support of the ephors or the majority of them, or the support of their own personal followers. Thus Pausanias³, wishing to checkmate Lysander's policy at Athens, 404-403, first wins over three of the ephors to his side, and finally receives commands from the ephors and Assembly to reconcile the democrats and oligarchs at Athens as best he could. Similarly Agesilaus was unable to coerce the Phliasians into submission until his friends at home at his instigation had carried ότι ή πόλις έπιτρέποι 'Αγησιλάφ διαγνώναι τὰ έν Φλειούντι δπως αὐτώ δοκοίη. In fact the author of the Encomium cites 10 as one of his virtues Agesilaus' submissive attitude towards the ephors; and in the same way Plutarch 11 states that Agesilaus got his way only by courting and flattering the ephors. Once, it is true—at any rate according to the latter authority 12—the Lacedaemonians after Leuctra chose Agesilaus ropobérns with full powers. but he used them only to suspend the harsh law against survivors

Cp. Plut. Agis, 19.
 Ar. Pol. ii. 9. 30 σωτηρίων ἐνόμιζων τῷ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασιάζειν τοὸς βασιλεῖς.

from a battle field; and again 1 at the time of the first Theban invasion we find Agesilaus not only taking all the military measures for defence, but quelling conspiracies by putting even Spartiates to death without trial—σύδενδε δίχα δίκης τεθανατωμένου протерог Zпартиатёг. Once too a king—it was Agesilaus—goes as ambassador. Nothing, however, more clearly shows the utter degradation of the kingship than the fact that in his extreme old age Agesilaus not only consented, but volunteered to serve as a mercenary leader in Egypt. Nor do we find throughout the whole period any attempt to reform the kingly office or revive its old powers, except we credit the very dubious story in Plutarch s of Lysander's scheme, discovered in his papers after death, to throw open the kingship to all Heraclidae, or, according to another version, to all Spartiatae. Kingship in any ordinary sense of the word had at Sparta become impossible, and nothing demonstrates this so clearly as the career of Xenophon's hero, Agesilaus himself,

The Ephors.

Many passages in the Hellenics illustrate the great powers of the ephors in this period, but no particular steps can be traced in their development. Writing about 360, Plato ' remarks to yap tur έφόρων θαυμαστών ώς τυραννικών έν αὐτή γέγονε, and some twenty years later Aristotle similarly describes their power as λίαν μεγάλην καὶ Ισοτύραννον. On what then was this power based and wherein did it consist? Any Spartiate was eligible for the office, and the five 7 ephors were elected by the whole body of the people: decisions of the majority * were binding on the rest. The only independent authority however attributed to them is jurisdiction in civil suits-probably their original function; their supremacy rested on their position as the executive magistrates both of the Senate and of the Assembly, whose decrees it was their business to carry into action. Often then, we must suppose, Xenophon and our other authorities attribute to the ephors alone actions which were really due to the voting of the deliberative bodies. They

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<sup>1</sup> Plut. Ages. 31-33. <sup>2</sup> vi. 5. 4. <sup>8</sup> Plut. Lys. 24. <sup>4</sup> Laws, iv. 712. <sup>5</sup> Pol. ii. 9. 20. <sup>7</sup> Ages. 1. 36. <sup>8</sup> ii. 3. 34; 4. 29. <sup>9</sup> Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 23; iii. 1. 10.
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had the right of summoning the Senate¹; they presided² over its meetings; they initiated business within it; they took part, either as accusers 4 or as judges 5 or as both, when it sat as the supreme criminal court. Similarly they summoned the Assembly, presided? over its meetings, introduced measures (which would mostly be those that had already received the approval of the Senate), and carried out its decrees. We need not be surprised therefore to find that Xenophon ascribes the same powers indifferently to the ephors, to the ephors and Assembly, to the okon telm or of it τέλει or of οίκοι άρχοντες, and to the κοινόν των Λακεδαιμονίων; nor to find that while Isocrates speaks of the yépowres as émorarouvres απασι τοις πράγμασι, Xenophon speaks rather of the ephors and barely mentions 10 the yéporres in the Hellenics. For the yéporres no man being eligible for election before he was sixty-were too old, Aristotle 11 tells us, to pursue any vigorous policy; so that, when the kings were reduced to political nonentities, there was no initiative force left in the state save the ephors. In all departments of administration, but more especially in the management of foreign affairs, the ephors appear in Xenophon's pages as practically supreme. Thus, though Agesilaus 18 receives the first warning of Cinadon's conspiracy, the traitor gives his information to the ephors, and it is the ephors who with the advice of 18 a few

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<sup>1</sup> iii. 3. 8. <sup>2</sup> Cp. Her. vi. 57. <sup>3</sup> Plut. Agis, 5. 8. <sup>4</sup> v. 4. 24. <sup>5</sup> Paus. iii. 5. 2. <sup>6</sup> ii. 2. 20.
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⁷ Thuc. i. 87; cp. Hell. v. 2. 11.

⁸ Td οἶτοι τέλη and the similar phrases seem to be used by Kenophoa in no very definite sense, but merely to denote in general terms the highest home authority at Sparta dealing with the matter in hand. Thus in Anab. ii. 6. 4, τὰ ἐν Σπάρτη τέλη are distinguished both from the πόλις and the ephors, and mean the senators and the ephors sitting as the criminal court (cp. Paus. iii. 5. 2); in Hell. iii. 2. 23, τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακε-δαιμοτίων is used as the equivalent of οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία two lines above (so too vi. 4. 2, 3). Other passages, where these or similar phrases occur, but where the precise authorities meant cannot be determined, are iii. 2. 6; 4. 27; 5. 23; v. 3. 23; vi. 5. 28.

are iii. 2. 6; 4. 27; 5. 23; v. 3. 23; vi. 5. 28.

* xii. 154; cp. Polyb. vi. 45 ol δὲ προσαγορευόμενοι γέροντες διά βίου, δι' δυ καί μεθ' δυ πάντα χειρίζεται τὰ κατά τὴυ πολιτείαν.

¹⁹ iii. 3. 5, 8; vii. I. 32. 11 Pol. ii. 9. 25. 12 iii. 3. 4 ff.
12 In iii. 3. 8 the ephors are said not even to have summoned ή μαρά αμλουμένη ἐπαλησία, but to have consulted only a few of the senators. In the absence of all further evidence it is of course impossible to determine the nature of the μαρά ἐπαλησία, but the context and the general use

of the senators take the necessary measures for the suppression of the conspiracy and for the execution of Cinadon and his accomplices. Similarly after Leuctra the ephors 1 on hearing the news at once arranged for the continuance of the games, the suppression of all outward signs of lamentation, and the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Thebans.

Again, in negotiations with foreigners or allies, the ephors play the most prominent part, though any ultimate decision rests with the Assembly. Thus in 404 the ephors refused ⁸ permission to the Athenian envoys to cross the Lacedaemonian frontier, and again some months afterwards allowed ⁸ Theramenes and his colleagues to enter Lacedaemon and introduced them to the Spartan Assembly. In 403 of **\textit{opos kall of the ephors carried ** on negotiations with Cyrus' envoys. Similarly in 384 the ephors ⁶ listened to the appeals of the Phliasian exiles and procured their restoration to their native city; and in 382 they first heard ⁷ the message of the Acanthian and Apolloniate envoys before they introduced them to the Assembly.

of the term $lan \lambda \eta \sigma la$ seem to point to its being composed rather of such of the $\delta \mu \sigma \omega$ as were actually present in Sparta, or to some particular section of them, and not of special officials like the kings, senators and ephors. For various views cp. Dict. Antiq. i. p. 703.

¹ vi. 4. 16. ² ii. 2. 13. ² ii. 2. 13. ⁴ ii. 4. 38. ⁸ iii. 1 1. ⁸ v. 2. 3. ⁷ v. 2. 11.

⁶ iv. s. 9; 6. 3; v. s. 3s; 3. s3; vi. 4. 3; cp. 5. 10; cp. v. 1. 33. ⁸ iii. s. s3, s5; 5. 6; iv. s. 9; v. 3. 13; 4. 47; vi. 4. 17; 5. 10, &c.;

Cp. v. 4. 14.

10 Cp. de Rep. Lac. 11. 2 of έφοροι προκηρύττουσι τὰ έτη els à δεί σχοτειμαθοι και Ισπείσι και δπλίταις: Cp. vi. 4. 17.

στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἐππεῦσι καὶ ὁπλίταις; cp. vi. 4. 17.

11 iii. 1. 1; 5. 6.

13 iii. 1. 8, 9.

14 iii. 1. 7; 2. 11; iv. 2. 2, 3; v. 4. 24; iv. 8. 23, 32; cp. de Rep. Lac. 8. 4.

them home to account for their conduct, and reversed I their arrangements. If one of the kings was in command, two ephors accompanied him—not indeed in far distant expeditions like those of Agesilaus in Asia Minor—without however any power of direct interference. To the ephors again the commanders, whether kings or ordinary Spartiates, referred the enemy as the ultimate arbiters of peace or war—not, as we have seen already, that they really possessed this power, but only that they practically exercised it through their control over the Assembly.

Whatever therefore may have been their original powers, Xenophon clearly shows that in the half century covered by his Hellenics the ephors exercised undisputed authority in all departments of government outside military commands. No Spartan—not even a king—ventured to question their power. In fact, the panegyrist of Agesilaus can find on higher praise to say of his hero, when he was summoned home from Asia, than that ἐπείθετο τῷ πόλει οὐδὰν διαφερόντως ἡ εἰ ἀν τῷ ἀφαρείῳ ἔτυχεν ἐστηκὰς μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε.

Admiralty.

The origin of the admiralty at Sparta, like that of other Lacedaemonian institutions, is shrouded in some obscurity. Herodotus (iii. 56) speaks of a Spartan naval expedition undertaken against Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, about 525 B. C., but does not mention who was the commander. He does, however, apply the title of ruύαρχος to Eurybiades at the battle of Salamis (viii. 42), but he calls king Leotychides, who commanded the Greek fleet at Mycale in 479 B.C., στρατηγός καὶ ναύαρχος (viii. 131), showing that at that date the office was not permanently separated from the kingship. From this time, with the doubtful exceptions of Pausanias the regent and Dorcis (Thuc. i. 95), we hear nothing of the admiralty till the time of the Peloponnesian War, after the outbreak of which till its close a tolerably complete list of admirals can be made out all the time that the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea. The list begins with Cnemus 430-429 B.C. (Thuc. ii. 66, 80, 93). Alcidas succeeded after a year's interval, 428-427 (Thuc. iii. 16, 26): then after another interval, Thrasymelidas was admiral in 425 (Thuc.

iv. 11); but this year the Spartans lost their entire fleet at Pylos, and built no more ships until after the Athenian disaster at In 413-412 Melancridas (Thuc. viii. 6) was admiral of the newly built fleet: he was followed in the two next years by Astyochus (Thuc. viii. 20) and Mindarus (Thuc. viii. 85), who perished at the battle of Cyzicus in the spring of 410 B.C. It is doubtful whether Pasippidas, who was commissioned to collect together what ships he could (i. 1. 32), was actually admiral or not, and it is doubtful again, when the titular admiral Cratesippidas took command over the ships that he had thus collected, whether he did so in 410 (Xenophon indeed apparently narrates the fact as occurring in 410) or at the end of Pasippidas' year, i.e. 409. At any rate Cratesippidas was not succeeded by Lysander till the summer of 407 (i. 5. 1). At the end of his year of office Lysander was followed by Callicratidas, who was drowned at the battle of Arginusae in 406 B. C. After an interval of some months the fleet was handed over to Lysander as ἐπιστολεύε, or second in command, the nominal admiral being Aracus. Then there is a gap of one year in our information, during which Lysander was again actual commander of the fleet, whoever may have been the titular admiral, and for the following year (404-403) Libys, the brother of Lysander, was appointed to be admiral.

At the time of the expedition of the Ten Thousand the succession seems to have become somewhat irregular. According to the Hellenica the admiral Samius gave active support to Cyrus in 401. But in the Anabasis Pythagoras appears about July in his place, if indeed he is not to be regarded as his successor. Then in March 400 we hear of Anaxibius as admiral, and in November of the same year he was succeeded by Polus. When the Spartans declared war against Persia in 397, Pharax was admiral. In 395 king Agesilaus, being in Asia, was entrusted by the home government with the nomination of the admiral and appointed his incapable brother-in-law Pisander. During the Corinthian war, when the Spartans once more persevered in naval operations with greater constancy, the list again becomes more complete. The

¹ iii. 1. 1; cp. note. ² i. 4. 2. ³ Anab. vii. 2. 5. ⁴ iii. 2. 12. ⁵ iii. 4. 27-29.

office was held by Podanemus¹ in 393, by Teleutias² in 392, by Ecdicus³ in 391, by Teleutias⁴ again in 390, though probably as ἐπιστολεύε, by Hierax⁵ in 389, and by Antalcidas⁶ in 388. Finally, after the formation of the second Athenian League the Spartans once more found themselves obliged to maintain a fleet at sea. Accordingly we hear of Pollis¹ as admiral in 377, of Nicolochus⁶ as admiral in 376, and of Mnasippus as admiral in 374–373 with Hypermenes⁶ as his secretary. Mnasippus is the last admiral known to history.

As to the powers of the office Aristotle (Pol. ii. 9. 33) calls it σχεδον έτέρα βασιλεία—a criticism which seems, however, to be true only of Lysander, and possibly of Teleutias, the brother of king Agesilaus (392-391 B.C.); and which seems tacitly to refer to Aristotle's previous definition of the kingship as merely a στρατηγία διὰ βίου. In this respect the admiral was indeed another king, having a power independent of and parallel with that of the two ordinary kings. But in another respect his position was far inferior and more precarious: for the office was, as a general rule (the case of Cratesippidas, who was sent to command whatever ships he could find, being apparently an exception), an annual one—at least so it would appear from the list of admirals that can be made out with tolerable certainty so long as the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea - and moreover the same individual could not legally hold it twice (ii. 1. 7). In the case of Lysander (perhaps too of Teleutias), indeed, the ephors discovered an easy evasion of the law, by appointing him for two years emoroheus, or second in command, to a merely nominal admiral; and it was while holding this subordinate position that Lysander attained to his greatest power, and acted like a sovereign prince in the Aegean. Thus at the siege of Athens (405-404) he appears as commander of the fleet quite on an equality with the kings Agis and Pausanias in command of the army, and further to have the advantage over them in that his action was not hampered by the presence of a colleague. Again, when any admiral had proved himself inefficient or untrustworthy, the Spartan government preferred, as they did

with the kings, rather to send out σύμβουλοι to advise him than simply to deprive him of his office (cp. Thuc. vi. 85; viii. 39), unless this was absolutely necessary. Ecdicus 1 the admiral for 301 does indeed seem to have been superseded, though even this instance is doubtful.

The office of the emigroleus or second in command has already been referred to in the case of Lysander. But in ordinary cases the secretary was appointed, as Pollux (i. 96) declares, to be simply δ έπὶ τοῦ στόλου διάδοχος τοῦ ναυάρχου. Thus after the death of Mindarus his secretary Hippocrates took the command of the fleet (i. 1. 23): the admiral Callicratidas left his secretary Eteonicus at the head of the squadron blockading Conon at Mytilene, while he himself sailed to meet the Athenians at Arginusae, and after his death his place was filled by Eteonicus until the arrival of a definitely appointed successor: and the secretary Hypermenes took Mnasippus' place on the death of that admiral at Corcyra.

As to the method of election to the admiralship nothing at all is known, though it is plain that the post must have been regarded as of great significance in the struggle of political parties at Sparta. Thus the choice of Lysander three times to command the fleet, once as admiral and twice as secretary, followed by the choice of his brother Libys, and later of his friend Anaxibius, points to the supremacy of his party in the home government, and similarly the appointment of his opponent Callicratidas in 406 must have meant a temporary check to his policy, though but few details can be made out from the confused and unchronological account of Plutarch. Neither does it seem possible to arrive with any certainty at the time of year at which the admiral entered upon office. A priori we should expect the beginning of the summer 2 season, and several instances can be adduced which suit best with this assumption. On the other hand instances to the contrary are also to be found. Probably therefore the Spartan government was in each case led by the circumstances of the moment.

¹ Cp. Introd. p. liv.

Cp. Beloch, Philologus, xliii. p. 272 ff.
iii. 4. 27; Thuc. viii. 20.

Army.

In Xenophon's time all the Spartiatae of the ages from twenty to sixty years (after which no citizen 1 was bound to serve abroad) were divided into six 2 morae. As however there were not more than 1,500 full Spartiatae all told, and we hear of 576, 600, and perhaps (?) 1,000 men in each mora at different times—the number varying no doubt with the different ages called out to serveύπομείονες and perioeci must have been included as well, though in what proportions it is impossible to discover: the term πολιτικόν or πολιτικά moreover is frequently applied to the whole Lacedaemonian force as distinct from the σύμμαχοι. Each mora was divided into two lochi, each lochus into four pentecostyes, and each pentecostys into two enomotiae?. These tactical units were commanded respectively by polemarchs, lochagi, penteconteres and enomotarchs. The cavalry were similarly 10 divided into six morae, each commanded by a hipparmostes 11: they never numbered more than 600 13; their horses were maintained 18 by the wealthiest men in the state, but their riders were those citizens who were physically most unfit to serve as hoplites—οί τοῖς σώμασιν άδυνατώτατοι καὶ ηκιστα φιλότιμοι—and consequently they formed the most inefficient branch of the Spartan service.

The 300 14 so-called inneis, who were really hoplites, formed the body-guard of the king. By the δορυφόροι of Agesilaus in iv. 5. 8 Xenophon probably means this body of men, and he incidentally mentions 16 one of their three officers as δ πρεσβίτατος τῶν ἰππαγρετῶν in his story of Cinadon's conspiracy.

The perioeci always served as hoplites, even before they were enrolled in the Spartan morae.

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<sup>3</sup> vi. 4. 12; de Rep. Lac. 11. 4.
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³ vi. 4. 12; iv. 5. 12; 2. 16.

⁴ iv. 4. 19; v. 3. 25; vi. 4. 26; vii i. 28; 4. 20.

vii. 4. 20; 5. 10. The rétrapes of de Rep. Lac. 11. 4 is probably a confusion of 860 with the numeral sign 8'.

It is noticeable that in the first six books of the Hellenics no lochi are mentioned (though lochagi are, iii. 1. 28; 2, 16), and that in iv. 3. 15 the term ήμισυ μόραs is used instead of λόχος. Similarly no pentecostyes are mentioned at all, though penteconteres appear twice, iii. 5. 22; iv. 5. 7.

⁷ vi. 4. 12. iv. 3. 21. 23 and passim. ⁹ Thuc. v. 66. 10 de Rep. Lac. 11. 4. ¹⁹ vi. 4. 10, 11.

¹¹ iv. 4. 10; 5. 12. 12 iv. 2. 16. 14 de Rep. Lac. 4. 1-4; Strabo, 481; Thuc. v. 72. ¹⁵ iii. 3. 9.

The helots originally served only as shield-bearers¹, one being attached to each hoplite, or as light-armed troops. But during and after the Peloponnesian War a considerable number of them were given their freedom, when they were called ρεοδαμώδεις², and afterwards served as hoplites—more especially on distant expeditions. Thus there were 1,000 neodamodes in Thibron's² army and 2,000 in Agesilaus' army in Asia. They were generally regarded ⁴ as inferior troops and were often under the command of an ἀνηρ ἰδιώνης, called ἀρμοστής.

The Sciritae, drawn from the district in the north of Laconia, formed a picked body of troops. In 418 they numbered 600. In battle array they were always posted on the left wing; on the march they formed the vanguard, and they seem to have been selected for specially perilous undertakings.

Xenophon gives us very few materials for estimating the total available strength of the Lacedaemonian forces: in fact only once before the battle of the Nemea—does he condescend to detailed numbers, when he tells us that there were 6,000 Lacedaemonian hoplites and 600 Lacedaemonian cavalry, supported by 7,500 hoplites of the allies, 300 Cretan archers, and 400 slingers, at a time when Agesilaus, we must remember, had taken with him to Asia 2,000 neodamodes. Again, as there were four morae at Leuctra on and each mora contained sixteen enomotiae, and each enomotia thirty-six men, we may perhaps infer that some 2,300 Lacedaemonians fought in the battle. Plutarch setimates the numbers of the Peloponnesian army at 11,000 on this occasion, but no reliance can be placed upon his figures; this, of course, would make the number of allies as three to one.

When the king was in command, he was accompanied by a select body of σύσκηνοι 13, comprising the polemarchs, three of the peers (δμοιοι) or full Spartan citizens who were in charge of the commissariat, and two Pythii; and surrounded by a numerous staff, known as οι περι δαμοσίαν (sc. σκηνήν), which included 13 not

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    <sup>1</sup> δπασπισταί, iv. 5. 14; 8. 39.
    <sup>3</sup> iii. 1. 4; 4. 2; cp. v. 2. 24.
    <sup>4</sup> iii. 1. 4; iv. 2. 5; v. 2. 24; vi. 1. 14.
    <sup>5</sup> Thuc. v. 67.
    <sup>7</sup> de Rep. Lac. 13. 8.
    <sup>8</sup> v. 4. 52; Cyrop. iv. 2. 1.
    <sup>9</sup> iv. 2. 16.
    <sup>10</sup> vi. 4. 12, 15, 17.
    <sup>11</sup> Pel. 30.
    <sup>12</sup> de Rep. Lac. 13. 1; 15. 5.
    <sup>13</sup> de Rep. Lac. 13. 7; cp. Hell. v. 3. 9.
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only the $\sigma i\sigma \kappa \eta r o i$, but seers, surgeons, flute-players, and volunteers (whoever they may have been). We hear 1 too, besides the two ephors, of Hellenodicae or judges of disputes, of tamiae or quartermasters, and of laphyropolae or purchasers of booty, as in attendance upon the king, but we are nowhere told whether they were included under $nl \pi \epsilon p l \delta a \mu o \sigma i a r$. The polemarchs were attended by officers known as $\sigma \nu \mu \phi \rho \rho \epsilon i s^2$, or perhaps $\pi a \rho a \sigma \tau d \sigma a i$, whose functions however are unknown.

The Lacedaemonians put their own officers in command of their allied contingents; these officers were known as ferayol³; and when an expedition was voted by the Peloponnesian League, it was their duty to proceed to the allied states, muster the contingents and bring them to the Spartan general. In Thucydides' time the allies were apparently bound to furnish two-thirds of their available forces, and any ally in whose territory the war happened to be, the whole; and the same arrangement probably continued in Xenophon's time. At any rate the contingents were in some way proportional, as we see by the arrangements and for sending το είς τοὺς μυρίους σύρταγμα against Olynthus.

The baggage train of an army on the move and the construction of the camp were entrusted ⁵ to artisans and engineers drawn from the perioeci or helots.

Mercenaries were frequently employed and were generally equipped as peltasts or light-armed troops.

Peloponnesian League and Empire.

After the victory of Aegospotami and the surrender of Athens and Samos the Spartans were not only, as of old, leaders of the Peloponnesian Confederacy, but were in undisputed possession of all the old Athenian allied states on the Hellespont, in Thrace, and in the Aegean, and were de facto masters of not a few of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, like Chalcedon Lampsacus, Abydos, and Miletus, which de jure they had by treaty surrendered to the Persian king

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    de Rep. Lac. 13. 11; Hell. iv. 1. 26.
    iii. 5. 7; iv. 5. 7, &c.
    iii. 4. 2; de Rep. Lac. 11. 2; 13. 4.
    ii. 4. 30; iv. 3. 15; v. 4. 14, 36, 39; vii. 5. 10.
    Cp. Anab. vi. 6. 9 βρχον δὲ τότε (400 B. C.) πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰ
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Cp. Anab. vi. 6. 9 ήρχον δε τότε (400 B.C.) πάντων τών Έλλήνων εξ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
 ii. 2. 1; 1. 18; cp. iv. 8. 5.
 Thuc. viii. 58.
 Plut. Lys. 19.

in 412 B.C. In most of these states Lysander had set up 1 narrow oligarchies, known as decarchies, backed up, where necessary, by a Spartan governor or harmost and a Spartan garrison strong enough to overawe all opposition; and following still more closely on Athenian lines, he had even imposed a tribute upon the subject states, amounting, according to Diodorus, to a thousand talents. So early however as 402 the misrule of these decarchies had excited so much odium that on the temporary disgrace of Lysander they were, we are told, put down by the ephors. The suppression seems to have been by no means complete; for in 395 B.C. they are spoken of as still existing as they were appointed by Lysander. About the same time the Ionian cities revolted from Tissaphernes to Cyrus; and when after Cyrus' death the satrap required them to return to their allegiance, they appealed to Sparta for aid. The Spartans listened to the appeal, and sent out Thibron at the head of a small expedition in 399; he was succeeded by Dercylidas (399-396), and Dercylidas in his turn by King Agesilaus (396-394). So long therefore as the Spartan forces remained in Asia, the Greek cities continued independent. Agesilaus had found them torn by internal dissensions, but by his good offices had contrived δστ' ανευ φυγής και θανάτου έως αὐτὸς παρήν όμονόως πολιτευομένας καὶ εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι. Only a few months however after the recall of the Spartan king (in 394) the crushing defeat of the Peloponnesian fleet at Cnidus put an end for ever to the Spartan empire beyond the seas. Aakedauµórnos ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, says Diodorus, τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον. Only Abydos and Lampsacus on the Hellespont were saved by the energy of the harmost Dercylidas; all the other states in the course of this and the following year submitted to the victorious fleet of Conon and Pharnabazus.

Meanwhile signs of dissolution had appeared in the Peloponnesian Confederacy itself. Even in 403 the Thebans and Corinthians had refused 7 to join the Spartan expedition against Thrasybulus and the Athenian exiles in Piraeus, and again in the

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<sup>1</sup> iii. 2. 20; 4. 2; Diod. xiv. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Arist. 'Αθ, τολ. 39. 2; cp. Diod. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 4. 2, 7; Plut. Lys. 20.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 7; για Lys. 20.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 5. 13.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 4. 30; iii. 2. 25.
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Elean War. The Arcadians and Achaeans had shown their discontent at the arrogance and rapacity of the leading state. The Phliasians were lukewarm. The Eleans, who had stood aloof ever since the Argive Confederacy of 421 B.C., had only been coerced into renewed alliance with Sparta after a protracted war (399-397). In the Corinthian War (394-387) Sparta saw ranged against her not only her old enemies, Argos and Athens (the latter of whom up to this time had in her humiliation obediently sent contingents to the Spartan expeditions under Thibron and Agis in 399, but had now taken courage once again to assert her independence), but also her old allies the Corinthians and Boeotians together with the Euboeans, Locrians, Melians and Acarnanians.

After the Peace of Antalcidas (387-386) Sparta took advantage of the powerful position given her by the support of the Persian king, further to secure and extend her hegemony over her Peloponnesian Confederates; she set up oligarchies in Corinth, Mantinea and Phlius; and Xenophon implies that a similar course was pursued in other states. In 382 she seized the Theban Cadmea, occupied it with a Spartan harmost and garrison, and forced a divagreia of oligarchs upon the citizens, and two years later was equally successful at Olynthus. Consequently by 379 the Spartan empire by land—for such instead of a hegemony it had now once more become-had grown more extensive and absolute than ever before; it embraced the whole of inland Greece from Olynthus to Laconia, except Athens, Argos, and perhaps the more powerful Thessalian cities, and everywhere it was enforced by harmosts, garrisons, and narrow oligarchies. But the loss of Thebes in the following winter, the renewed hostility of Athens, and the restiveness of their allies, taught the Spartans-at least according to Diodorus 16—that they had gone too far. They therefore reorganized (in 377) their confederacy into ten divisions, for military purposes, on a footing more favourable to its members. The Lacedaemonians themselves constituted the first division, the Arcadians the second and third, the Eleans the fourth, the

Achaeans the fifth, the Corinthians and Megarians the sixth, the Sicyonians, the Phliasians and the inhabitants of the Acte the seventh, the Acarnanians 2 the eighth, the Phocians and Locrians the ninth, and the Olynthians and Thracian allies the tenth. At the same time it was agreed (though according to Xenophon 4 this arrangement was made some five or six years earlier) that one hoplite should be counted as equivalent to two light-armed soldiers. and one horseman as equivalent to four hoplites. The beneficial effect, if any 5, was however but of short duration. In a meeting at Sparta in the summer of 376 λόγοι ε εγίγνοντο από τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσοιντο ύπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. Still, however, the war dragged on: the peace of 374 was only of a few weeks' duration: and in 371, just before Leuctra, the grievances of the allies are summarized in the speech of the Athenian orator Autocles at Sparta to the Lacedaemonians and their allies:- 'Your first and last stipulation with the allied states is that they should follow you whithersoever you choose to lead; and yet what has this principle of follow-my-leader to do with independent action? Again, you pick quarrels without consulting your allies, and lead them against those whom you account enemies; so that in many cases, with all their vaunted independence, they are forced to march against their greatest friends; and, what is still more opposed to independence than all else, you are for ever setting up here your decarchies and your thirty commissioners, and your chief aim in appointing these officers and governors seems to be, not that they should fulfil their office and govern legally, but that they should be able to keep the cities under their heels by sheer force.'

The peace agreed to as a result of this conference, whereby the Spartans bound themselves τούς τε άρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν . . . τάς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἐῶν, was only of a few days' duration. Naturally enough therefore disaffection showed itself on the resumption of the war in the ranks of the allies at Leuctra, though even after the battle the oligarchical governments is of Tegea.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. iv. 6. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. iv. 7. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. v. 4. 54.

<sup>4</sup> v. 2. 21.

<sup>4</sup> v. 2. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Contrast Diod. xv. 31 with Polyaen. ii. 1. 20; Isocr. xiv. 15; Plut. Ages. 26.

<sup>7</sup> vi. 3. 7 ff., Dakyns' translation.

<sup>8</sup> vi. 3. 18, 13. 4; Plut. Ages. 28.

<sup>10</sup> vi. 4. 18.
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Mantinea, Corinth, Sicyon, Phlius, Achaea, and other states still eagerly supported Sparta and sent contingents to her assistance. Next year, however, the democrats in most of these states took heart and rose against their oligarchical oppressors, in many cases with success. Accordingly in 369 we find that Sparta to resist the first Theban invasion only got contingents from seven allies—the Corinthians, Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Halians, Sicyonians, and Pellenians. The Peloponnesian Confederacy was really at an end: the Arcadians had formed themselves into a league and built Megalopolis; Messenia now revolted; and in 366 the Lacedaemonians allowed the Corinthians, Phliasians, and any other allies who wished it, to conclude with Thebes a separate peace for themselves. In 362 the allies who fought on the Spartan side at Mantinea—the Arcadians, the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Athenians—were in no sense members of the Old Peloponnesian Confederacy.

§ 5. ATHENS AND THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

The Athenian attempt to recover empire during the Corinthian Wars.

The evidence of inscriptions more or less recently discovered has fully confirmed the old hypothesis of Böckh (Staatshaush. i. 546), which was ignored by Grote, that in the interval between the Battle of Cnidus and the Peace of Antalcidas Athens made a deliberate attempt to regain her maritime empire, the culminating point of which was the expedition of Thrasybulus in 390 and 389. The aim of this appendix therefore is to 4 piece together all the evidence for this hypothesis which can be collected both from authors and from inscriptions.

Xenophon⁵ represents the ambition to recover their empire as the leading motive which induced the Athenians to take the Theban side in the Corinthian War against Sparta: δτι μέν, δ ἀνδρες ᾿Αθηναῖοι, says the Theban orator, βούλοισθ ἀν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. Thrasybulus himself supported the Thebans, pointing out, however, the great

¹ vi. 5. 29; vii. 2. 2. ² vii. 4. 9. ² iv. 8. 31. ³ Cp. Beloch, Attische Politik seit Perikles, p. 344 ³ iii. 5. 10-16.

risk run by Athens ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιώς δυτος. After his victory at Cnidus in 394 B.C. Conon formed alliances, which probably turned out to the advantage of Athens, with Cos, Nisyros, Teos, Chios, Mytilene, Ephesus, Erythrae, and the Cyclades 1. Then in 393 Conon first subjugated Cythera and left on the island a garrison under the command of the Athenian Nicophemus, and during his visit to Athens, which must have lasted some fifteen months (393-392), secured the necessary basis for any future naval supremacy of Athens by rebuilding the Long Walls and the fortifications of Piraeus². During this period Athens recovered possession of her ancient cleruchies, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros³, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to detach Dionysius of Syracuse from Sparta and procure his alliance with Athens⁴, at the same time that public honours were decreed to Evagoras the tyrant of Salamis in Cyprus, who had materially helped Conon at the battle of Cnidus 5. In the same year a treaty was made between Athens and Phaselis in Lycia. Consequently we are not surprised to hear that the reason why in 392 the Lacedaemonians first sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus to negotiate a peace with Persia, was ότι Κόνων και το τείχος τοις 'Αθηναίοις έκ των βασιλέως χρημάτων άνορθοίη και το ναυτικον άπο των εκείνου τρέφων τάς τε νήσους και τάς έν τη ήπείρφ παρά θάλατταν πόλεις 'Αθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι"; or that Tiribazus arrested Conon ώς αδικούντα βασιλέα. Again in the winter of 392-1 the ambition of Athens Xeppointor kal tas amorkias καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν * seems to have led to the breakdown of Sparta's renewed attempt to make peace, this time without the interference of Persia. In 391, notwithstanding the disappearance of Conon, the Athenians further excited the alarm of the Lacedaemonians by their support of the democrats in Rhodes, and even ventured to send a small squadron to the aid of Evagoras in his war against the Persians; and when the Lacedaemonians took more decided measures to check their further progress, they finally despatched Thrasybulus at the head of 40 vessels (the largest fleet they had mustered since the Pelopon-

nesian War) to reinforce their Rhodian allies. Thrasybulus had still wider schemes of his own. Instead of sailing straight to Rhodes he turned towards Thrace and the Hellespont—probably in the spring of 390. First he gained possession of Thasos through the party of Ecphantus, who contrived to expel the Lacedaemonian garrison and admit the Athenians-a success which further resulted in an alliance with the Thracian princes Amedorus and Seuthes and δ περί Θράκην τόπος. Then Archebius and Heraclides delivered Byzantium into his hands, the oligarchical constitution of which he replaced by a democracy, so that he became master of the Hellespont, and as Alcibiades had done after his victory at Cyzicus, imposed a toll of 10 per cent. on all vessels passing through the The Spartan Dercylidas, however, though powerless to offer any opposition, still held Abydos. Then after making an alliance with Chalcedon Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos, and with Mytilene as the base of his operations forced Eresus and Antissa to join the Athenian alliance. At the same time Samothrace , Tenedos, and Clazomenae² appear as Athenian allies. reinforced by Chian and Mytilenian ships he made descents έπ' αργυρολογίαν upon Halicarnassus and other towns on the Asiatic coast, until he was surprised and slain at Aspendus.

Thus it was that Thrasybulus, continuing the work of Conon, succeeded in extending the Athenian empire to the limits which marked it in the interval between the battles of Cyzicus and Aegospotami. Inscriptions further prove that in some instances he once more imposed the φόρος in its later form of an εἰκοστή or 5 per cent. tax upon imports and exports. Thus the Clazomenians agreed to pay την έπι Θρασυβούλου είκοστήν, and the like was apparently done by the Thasians 7. Finally the same inscriptions mention apparently Athenian commandants and garrisons, and perhaps even Athenian interference with the judicial procedure of the allies 4. The Peace of Antalcidas (387-6) therefore was aimed, not so much against the Thebans, as against the Athenians, διαπεπραγμένος

^{*} v. I. 7. ¹ Cp. Dem. xx. 60. 4 Diod. xiv. 94. Lysias xxviii. 17. 3 ClA. ii. 14 b. CIA. ii. 14; Swoboda, Mitth. d. deutsch. Inst. vii. 176. Köhler, ibid. p. 314.

Admralor, vii. 1878, p. 95: but the evidence for the date is not very P Cp. v. 1. 25. strong.

συμμαχεῖν (i. e. with the Lacedaemonians) βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν ᾿Αθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τἢ εἰρήνη. And as in 404, so in 386 the Athenians were obliged to accept its conditions, because not only had Antalcidas the Great King upon his side, but by his recovery of the Hellespont τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς ᾿Αθήναζε ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν.

§ 6. THEBES AND BOEOTIA.

When we first meet with Thebes and the Boeotian League in the pages of Xenophon, the state of things seems to have been much the same as that described by Thucydides. They are allies 1 of Sparta, and we may assume that Thebes was still the ἡγεμών 2 of the Boeotian Confederacy of allied towns, all of which were under some form of oligarchical³ constitution after the model of the leading state. The discontent of the Thebans in particular and of the Boeotians in general with the policy of Sparta at the end of the Peloponnesian War, their sympathy shown towards the exiled Athenian democrats against the Thirty, their refusal to send the usual contingents to aid Sparta in her wars against Persia and Elis, and the interference of the Boeotarchs with Agesilaus' sacrifice at Aulis before his departure for Asia seem to betoken no change in the internal affairs of the confederacy. But the long duration of the Corinthian War (394-387), the outbreak of which was mainly due to Theban ambition, appears to have accentuated the oligarchical nature of the constitutions of the separate states, so that even Xenophon calls them duracreia, and to have promoted the hyemoria of Thebes. The Peace of Antalcidas, however (387-386), not only humiliated Thebes, but crushed the confederacy itself out of existence, giving, as it did, complete autonomy to all the contracting states 5—καὶ μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.

The Liberation of Thebes by the Theban democrats in 379 soon led to a renewal of the Boeotian Confederacy, but on somewhat different lines. The Olynthian Confederacy seems now rather to

¹ i. 3. 15. ² Cp. Thuc. iii. 61. ³ Cp. Thuc. iv. 65; v. 31; Hell. v. 4. 46. ⁴ v. 4. 46. ⁵ v. 1. 31.

have furnished the model: for the aim of Thebes was no longer to be ἡγεμών of more or less autonomous states, but to persuade, or if necessary, to compel them νόμοις 1 τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύευ-in other words to deprive them of separate political existence—though at the same time the Theban democrats retained the old formulae and officers of the Boeotian League. Thus the rebellious Plataea was destroyed, Thespiae subjugated, and Orchomenus, after maintaining its independence till after the battle of Leuctra, was (364-363) brutally razed to the ground. In fact as early as 374 B.C. Xenophon² makes the general statement of Θηβαίοι . . . κατεστρέψαντο τὰς έν τῆ Βοιωτία πόλεις. This commanding position of Thebes within the new Boeotian state, which at the same time preserved the old forms of the league, accounts at once for Isocrates (c. 372 B.C.) putting into the mouth of the Plataeans complaints against the Thebans, who τὰs μὲν ίδίας ἡμῶν έκάστων πόλεις άφανίζουσι, της δε σφετέρας αυτών πολιτείας ουδεν δεομέrous κοινωνείν αναγκάζουσιν, and for Epaminondas after signing the treaty of 371 B. C. claiming, in order to assert the power of Thebes, to substitute 4 'Boeotians' for 'Thebans' in the original document. Plutarch too in his version of the story makes Epaminondas deliberately compare the relation of Thebes to the other Boeotian states with that of Sparta to the other Lacedaemonian states.

This state of things seems to have continued of some time after the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), lasting on until the destruction of Thebes by Philip of Macedon in 338.

Of the details of the constitution of the Boeotian Confederacy but few are known. At the head stood an * ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος who gave his name to the year, but history is silent as to his functions. The chief executive power lay with the college of Boeotarchs, who in Thucydides' * time were eleven in number, two being Thebans, but in the fourth century were only seven 10. Their mode of election is unknown;

¹ Cp. v. 2. 12, 18. ² vi. 1. 1.

³ xiv. 8; cp. Dio Chrys. 45. 13 ώσπερ 'Βπαμεινώνδας ποτέ την Βοιωτίαν είς τας θήβας συνώμισε.

⁴ vi. 3. 19 and note. ⁸ Ages. 28; cp. Paus. ix. 13. 2.

Cp. v. 4. 46 rds reploinidas roleis.

Cp. Freeman, Federal Government, p. 124.

¹⁰ CIG. Sept. i. 2407, 2408; Diod. xv. 52; Paus. ix. 13. 6.

but as representatives of the several Boeotian states, either jointly or severally, they commanded the confederate forces, conducted negotiations with foreign states, and exercised other executive powers, e.g. preventing 1 King Agesilaus from sacrificing at Aulis. Thucydides 2 speaks of four βουλαί των Βοιωτών, αίπερ άπαν τὸ κύρος ξχουσι (i. e. in 421 B. C.), but nothing more is heard of them. Very probably the βουλή³ before which the murderers of Euphron were tried in 366 B.C. was some sort of federal council, not confined to Thebans only. Xenophon, however, does not enlighten us on the point, and no other authority refers to such a βουλή at all. Certainly in the time of the Theban supremacy the ultimate power rested with what Diodorus a calls the Kourh σύνοδος των Βοιωτών, and there is good reason for believing that though within it the Thebans undoubtedly exercised a preponderating voice, yet it was legally open to the citizens of all Boeotian towns.

Of the constitutions of the individual cities of the league still less is known. Before the Liberation of Thebes they were un-Afterwards, when they were subjugated doubtedly oligarchical. by Thebes, they ceased to have any independent existence, being much in the same relation to Thebes as the Attic δημοι to Athens. Each city had an ἄρχων επώνυμος, chosen by lot; but the chief executive power rested with the polemarchs, generally three in number, though at Thebes in 379 there may have been only two 7, assisted by a γραμματείς. At Thebes we hear of a βουλή in 379 and of a alia or exchange still earlier, and we may probably infer parallel institutions for the other states during the same period. Of other officials 10 mentioned in inscriptions and elsewhere, like ίππαρχοι, Ιλάρχαι, κατόπται, ταμίαι, &c., little or nothing is known beyond their names.

⁹ v. 38. ³ vii. 3. 5-12. * xv. 80; cp. 72 το πλήθος; 78 ἐκκλησία; 79 ὁ δήμος; Plut. Dem. 18. If with Köhler (Hermes, xxiv. 638) we date the inscriptions CIG Sept. i. 2407, 2408, about the year 364, we then have certain evidence of an Assembly composed of all Boeotian citizens.

⁶ CIG. i. 1569 a; Plut. Gen. Socr. 31.

^{*} v. 2. 30; CIG. i. 1573.

* v. 2. 25; 4. 2 note.

* Her. v. 79; Dem. xviii. 213; cp. Plut. Pel. 12; iii. 5. 8. ³ v. 2. 29.

¹⁰ Cp. Dict. Ant. i. 301.

§ 7. CRITICAL NOTES.

BOOK I.

- i. 2. βροιγε: βρυε Underhill; βρυτε Kondos; βρυε marg. C; βροιε V.
 i. 22. κατεσκεύασαν: κατέστησαν Dindorf from Socr. Hist. Eccl.
- vii. 25, p. 374 d.
 - ii. 10. dreheiar: drehei Cobet.
 - ii. 13. κατέλευσεν: κατελεήσας απέλυσεν Feder.
 - ii. 14. καὶ χειμών . . . Μέγαρα del. Richter and Kruse.
 - ii. 19. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς . . . αὐτῷ del. Dindorf, &c.
 - iv. 3. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον del. Dindorf, Cobet, &c.
- iv. 13. [ἀπελογήθη ὡs], ἀπηγγελθη F: Riemann believes that here there was a lacuna, which the copyists filled up arbitrarily.
 - vi. 21. froiyov: fruor Underhill; frutor Riemann.
 - vi. 29. δνόματι del. Dindorf and Riemann.
- vi. 32. †οὐδὰν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται†. I prefer Breitenbach's conjecture οὐδὰν μὴ κάκιον οἰκήσει. Nauck conjectures οὐ δέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται.
- vi. 37. την ταχίστην: Riemann here marks a lacuna, which he proposes to fill with ἐπακολουθείν οτ ἔπεσθαι.
- vii. 23. διηρημένων ... ἀπολογήσασθαι del. Blake; ένδε ... ἀπολογήσασθαι del. Nitsche; διηρημένων Leonclavius; διηρημένης MSS.; μερών F₂DV; ήμερών the rest.
- vii. 27. σποκτείναιτε . . . μεταμελήσει Marchant; αποκτείναιτε μεταμελήσαι δε υστερον αναμνήσθητε κ.τ.λ. Peter and Keller; μεταμελήσει δε υστερον δ αναμνήσθητε κ.τ.λ. Madvig.

BOOK II.

- 1. 8. $\Delta a \rho \epsilon i a i o$: this form also occurs in the extracts from Ctesias ap. Phot. Anab. i. 8. 26. It is odd, even if the passage be an interpolation, to find it side by side with the form $\Delta a \rho \epsilon i o$.
- iv. 13. τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπισημαίνοντο: τὰ φίλτατα Portus and Köppen; τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀπεσημαίνοντο καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπέκτεινον Wyttenbach; τοὺς μὰν φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπῆγον, τὰ δ' ἐαυτῶν ἀπεσημαίνοντο Kyprianos.

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BOOK III.

i. 5. δρών Θίβρων: ὀκνών Θίβρων Büchsenschütz; οδχ Ικανδν δρών Bake.

i. 13. δτι . . . κακουργούσιν del. Kruse.

iii. 2. ἀφ' οδ γάρ τοι, κ.τ.λ. Dindorf proposes ἀφ' οδ γάρ τοι ἔφυγε καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, inserting οὐκ before ἐφάνη from V: Cobet reads ἀφ' οδ γὰρ οὐκ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ and Hartmann conjectures ἐξ οδ γάρ τοι ἔφυγε ἐκ τῷ θαλάμω.

έγένου: τὸ ἔφυς Cobet.

BOOK IV.

iv. 6. τοὺς τυραννεύοντας: τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει δυτας τυραννεύοντας Campe.

v. 15. ηρουν: ηρουν Μ.

v. 18. δρθρου: πρὸ δρθρου Büchsenschütz; ἔτι σκοταίος ἀναστὰς δρθρου Campe.

viii. 4. 8rres del. Dindorf.

BOOK V.

i. 15. οἶεσθε καί: οἷεσθε δείν καὶ Pluygers; οἵεσθε κάν Grosser.

i. 18. προπαράσχεσθε BDV; προπαράσχετε CF; προπαρασκευάσασθε Voigtländer.

ii. 34. πότε ἀκούσεσθε: μή ποτε ἀκούσησθε Liebhold.

iii. 12. aurous: rous Cobet.

iv. I. ὑφ' ἐνός: ὑφ' ἔνων Dobree; ὑφ' ἐνῶν Dindorf.

iv. 2. τὰ περὶ . . . τυραννίδα Β; τὴν περὶ ᾿Αρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα Cobet.

iv. 30. ols: de Cobet; dores Hartmann.

iv. 56. ελάττους: ελάττους δυτας C.

BOOK VI.

i. 5. μισθοφόρους del. Dindorf.

i. 8. δε γε μήν: οίδά γε μήν δε Hartmann.

i. 9. μέν: ἡμῶν Cobet.

i. 13. After βοηθείν Hartmann marks a lacuna. σὸ πράττοις B and most MSS.; σὸ πράττεις CV; σοὶ πράττοις Dindorf; ἢ σὰ πράττεις Cobet; οὰ πράττοις Breitenbach; ἐν ἢ σὰ πράττεις Stephanus; οδ πράττεις Keller.

ii. 16. ἐκαινούργει: ἐραδιούργει Hartmann.

ii. 32. ὅπως: οὕτως ὅτι V; ὅμως Grosser; ὡς Morus; ὡστε Madvig and Cobet; ὅπως . . . ἀνεπιστήμονες εἶναι . . . ἀφικέσθαι δοκιῶεν Stephanus.

ii. 39. οὖτω θρασέως: οὖτως ἐθάρσει μήτε . . . φανεῖσθαι Jacobs; οὖτως ἔδρασεν ὡς Hertlein; οὖτω θρασέως ὡς Morus; οὖτως ἐθάρσει ὡς Wyttenbach; οὖτω θρασέως ἔπραττεν ὡς Keller.

iii. 11. τώς ... τὰς πόλεις † âς ... πόλεις Breitenbach; δσας ... πόλεις Kurz; τὰν ... τὰς πόλεις Grosser; οἶς ... τὰς πόλεις Keller; εν φ ... τὰς πόλεις Marchant.

iii. 13. †τί μήν ἀρεστά†: εἰ and ἡμῶν del. Kurz; Liebhold proposes ἔνιοι for εἰ: Simon conjectures τί μήν; ἔστιν εθδηλον ὅτι, εἰ τῶν συμμάχων τινὰς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῶν, ἡμῶν ἤκει ἀρεστὰ οτ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ἀρεστὰ sc. ἤκει: Breitenbach proposes οὐκ ἄριστα for οὐκ ἀρεστὰ, and deletes the second ἀρεστὰ and εἰ: ἡμῶν οὐδ' ὑμῶν Leonclavius; ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ὑμῶν Morus; ὑμῶν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡμῶν Stephanus.

iv. 27. δύναμιν del. Cobet.

v. 4. footo: yévotto Pluygers.

v. 19. οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν: οὐκ ἐπεξῆσαν Cobet.

v. 23. συπδόμενοι: σκοπούμενοι Grosser; εννοούμενοι Schneider; ταθτα οδν διηγούμενοι Voigtländer.

BOOK VII.

- i. 18. ύπεροπτικώς: ύπεροπτικώς έχουτες Kyprianos.
- i. 25. Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχου Dindorf; πολέμαρχου Σπαρτιάτην MSS.; Σπαρτιάτην γεγενημένου del. Breitenbach; Σπαρτιάτην γενεαίου δυτα Grosser.
- i. 28. líva: . . . ràparria: CF omit léra:; Madvig omits léra: and conjectures dirarrar for ràparria.
 - ii. 3. ἀφέστασαν: Madvig marks a lacuna after this word.
 - ii. 5. 'Ηλείων: 'Αργείων Dobree, comparing § 8.
- ii. 8. † ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος . . . ἐμάχοντο † : ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οι δὲ καὶ ἔσωθεν ἔτι τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ. Madvig; τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οι δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἀναβαίνοντας, ἐν ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ. Cobet; τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπαναβοίνοντας αὐτῶν, ἔτι ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ. Hertlein; τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ το τεῖχος, οι δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἐπαναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὅντας ἔποιον, οι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ἐμάχοντο Tillmanns.

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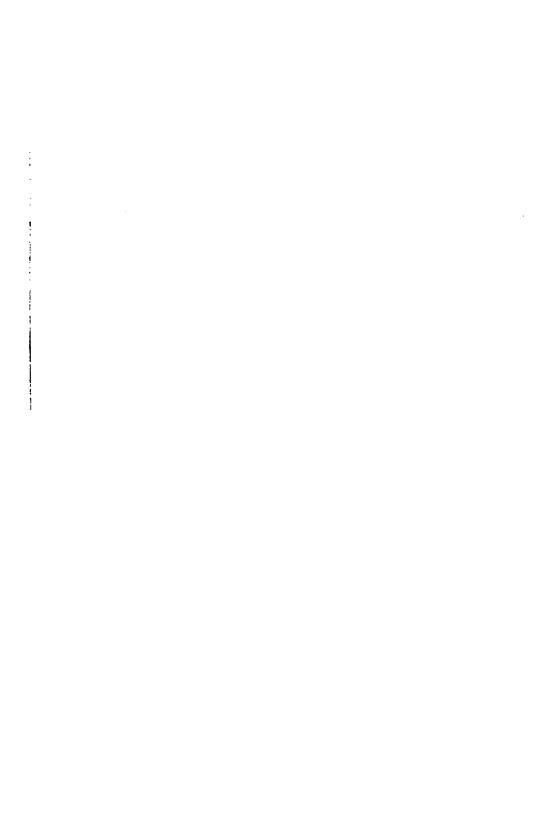
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